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16-19 YEAR OLDS IN THREE NORTHERN NEW TOWNS: THEIR POLITICAL,

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL OUTLOOKS AND ASPIRATIONS

A thesis submitted to the Council for

National Academic Awards in partial

fulfilment of the requirements for the

degree of Master of Philosophy.

by

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Sunderland Polytechnic

August 1984

To my nieces and nephews.

DECLARATION

While registered for the degree of Master of Philosophy, for which

the present submission is made, the author has not been a

registered candidate for any other award, either of the C.N.A.A.

or any University.

The work was carried out in the Department of Teaching Studies at

Sunderland Polytechnic between September 1982 and August 1984,

and is believed to be wholly original, except where due reference

is made.

An advanced course of study on the principles of educational and

sociological research was also undertaken in partial fulfilment

of the requirements of this degree.

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ABSTRACT

16-19 Year Olds in Three Northern New Towns: Their Political,

Economic and Social Outlooks and Aspirations

by

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This thesis examines the attitudes of young people living in three
northern new towns: Peterlee, Cramlington and Washington. It
shows that although the new towns represented attempts to provide new
planned environments for people living in areas which had been
heavily dependent upon mining as the principal source of employment,
the needs of young people were largely ignored when the new town plans
were drawn up. In particular, the developers were given no say over
educational provision and an analysis of the master plan reveals
that the provision of other facilities for young people were not
seen to be the developers' reponsibility.

Empirical data for the study was obtained from a structured question-
naire which was administered orally to young people resident in each
of the new towns. Analysis of the survey data revealed that the life-
chances of young people from poor and working-class backgrounds do not
appear to be markedly better in the three new towns - young people
from working-class backgrounds were found to be less academically
successful and more prone to unemployment than were those from middle-
class backgrounds.

Young people were found to exhibit a high level of dissatisfaction with
the employment and training opportunities available to them, and with
the leisure facilities which had been provided for them. Respondents
from Peterlee were particularly dissatisfied with their new town
environment.

Finally, the attitudes of young people towards a range of political,
economic and social issues were examined. Those of low educational
attainment were found to be particularly alienated from the political
system and attempts were made to link this alienation to their new
town environments. Three models of political behaviour - the class,
attitude and deferential - were tested for relevance, but it was not
possible to say which of these offered the best explanation of the
party political preferences expressed by the young people.

The introduction to this dissertation will be concerned with the aims

and methodology of the study.   It will be shown that discussion of

aims cannot be divorced from that of methodology insofar as the

methodological approach makes implicit assumptions about the study's

aims, and the nature of the research data collected.   Moreover, it

will be shown that a discussion of the methodology cannot be separated

from the physical environment under study, and for this reason the

chapter will introduce the reader to the three new towns.

Aims of the Study

The broad aim of this M.Phil. dissertation is to examine the outlooks and

attitudes of 16-19 year olds in three northern new towns.   More

specifically the study will be focusing upon the following areas of

interest.   Firstly, the attitudes of young people towards life in their

new towns will be examined.   This will involve looking at the extent

to which young people are satisfied, not only with facilities such as

housing and accommodation, shops, transport, etc. which have been provided

for the town's population as a whole, but also with those facilities

provided specifically for people of their age, such as youth clubs, sports

facilities, dance halls, cinemas etc.

Secondly, the study will examine the educational, training, and employment

opportunities available to young people from the three new towns.   In

particular the study will be concerned with the extent to which local

schools and colleges are equipping youngsters with the skills appropriate

for the employment opportunities likely to be available in the 1990s and

beyond, and the attitudes of young people towards education, youth

training and employment opportunities.

Thirdly, the study will examine the political attitudes and orientations of the group. This has two main dimensions: on the one hand it will be examining the extent to which young people understand the functioning of the political system, and feel that it is responsive to their needs, and on the other hand it will be examining the party preferences of young people, and their attitudes to and beliefs about the major political issues of concern to people in the United Kingdom.

Fourthly, the study is interested in the extent to which young people can be said to form a unified group, or are divided on lines of sex, education, social class, family background, etc. For this reason the study will be looking at the influence, if any, which these factors have on the attitudes and life chances of young people.

Young people, though, do not exist in a vacuum by themselves, they are a part of the wider community, of which they constitute only a small minority, and no study of young people would be complete which did not take this fact into account. For this reason, and also because the study has a strong political bias, it was felt appropriate to conduct a number of interviews with town and district councillors who, due to their age and experience, were able to illuminate the major features and facets of life in the new town communities in which the young people are living.

No matter how good the research methodology, it is important to note that this work produces only a snap-shot of conditions at a particular moment in time: it describes but does not explain. Inferences can be drawn and interpretations made, but causality cannot be claimed. Thus the study may identify the dynamic forces acting upon young people, it may clarify the beliefs, values and attitudes which they hold, but it

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cannot identify cause and effect.

Finally, the study speculates on the probable consequences for the three new towns of the major findings it has unearthed, but that speculation is in the context of the above limitations.

Methodological Approaches

A number of different methodological approaches have been used in studies of young people, the problem under investigation typically determining the methodology employed. For example, Patrick (1971), used the technique of participant observation to undertake his study of Glasgow street gangs, whereby he actually became a member of such a gang for a period of time in order to collect data for his study. Other writers, for example, Robins and Cohen (1978) in their study of young people on a London housing estate, used various forms of direct observation to obtain data for their work.

The advantages of direct and participant methods of observation are well stated in the literature (Crimp 1981:20; Nachmias and Nachmias, 1976: 90-4), and they relate mainly to the ability to do in-depth research upon a few individuals, by which the research worker is able to amass a great deal of background information on the feelings and motivations of a small number of people. In the field of youth research such observational methods are perhaps best used to study small deviant subcultural groups. The disadvantage of such observational methods of research is that they can be applied to large numbers of individuals only with great difficulty and at a high cost. Moreover, as Nachmias and Nachmias point out (1976:100)), it is difficult to draw comparisons between particular groups at different times and places using observational research techniques, due to the difficulties encountered in conceptualizing the data researched

and constructing a common measuring rod.

For this reason researchers interested in looking at large populations typically make use of various forms of survey questionnaires: for example, Eppel and Eppel (1966) used a series of unstructured questionnaires in their study of adolescent morality, and Young (1978) used a highly-structured questionnaire to examine the political and social attitudes of 16-21 year olds. The advantages of survey questionnaire methods of investigation relate mainly to the ability to obtain information from a large number of individuals in such a way that replies can be readily compared and various statistical tests applied to the resulting data.

To undertake this study it was felt that use should be made of a highly structured questionnaire. There were three reasons behind this decision. Firstly, the study aimed to collect information of an objective nature from the young people, which could easily be obtained using a questionnaire. Such information included data on schools attended, examination results and qualifications, and personal biographical details such as marital status, age, father's occupation, and so on.

Secondly, it has been argued (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1976:100) that attitudes can be easily and readily assessed using questionnaire schedules which include Likert and other attitude scales. Since the present study aimed to obtain data on the attitudes of young people towards life in new towns and also towards the government, it was felt that a survey questionnaire was the appropriate methodology to use.

Finally, the need to do comparisons of the life-styles and attitudes of young people living in the three different new towns also acted as an incentive to use questionnaire schedules, given the comparative cheapness

with which the study could be undertaken and the ease with which the data could be compared using various statistical techniques.

Any study based upon structured interviews poses a great many problems of both a practical and theoretical nature for the would-be researcher. Both Moser (1958:246-53) and Hyman (1955) draw attention to the practical problems involved in undertaking a research project based upon interviews. These problems relate to errors which may be introduced into the data as a result of both sampling bias, where the size of the total population is not know, and response bias, where the respondent gives false or misleading information. In theory, however, response bias can be minimized by good questionnaire design and proper training of interviewers.

More fundamental problems which face the researcher undertaking a series of structured interviews are those of a strictly methodological nature with which Cicourel and Kitsuse (1963) and Cicourel (1964) were concerned. Cicourel (1964:8-12) argued that any research method may not only impose limitations on what can be studied, but that any social phenomenon can only be studied using a methodological approach which is rooted in the environment within which the social phenomenon is being studied. (Cocourel, 1964:20).

His first point is that any methodological concept is an abstract formulation which by it nature can only be studied in terms of its own definition. Thus, to take an example from psychology (Cicourel, ed., Roth, 1973: 143-5), intelligence tests do not measure intelligence but how good people are at doing intelligence tests, for intelligence as such cannot be studied directly as a mental process, though its existence and nature is inferred from intelligence tests.

Cicourel's second point (1964:20) is that any social phenomenon can only

be studied within a methodology which is rooted in the environment of

the social phenomenon under study.   For any research methodology

presupposes a correspondence between how researcher and respondent

perceive and understand the phenomenon under study.   Thus for the

research project to be successful it is necessary that both researcher

and respondent perceive their environment in the same way, understand the

functioning and workings of the phenomenon in the same way, and speak a

common language.

The following example will serve to illustrate these points. The

researcher may take as evidence of political knowledge amongst a group

of young people the ability to put names to a series of photographs of

leading politicians, but such a procedure will only succeed in measuring

political knowledge if the respondent's perception of what constitutes

political knowledge corresponds to that of the researcher.   It would tell

us nothing about the respondent who perceives (whether correctly or

incorrectly) that he has little scope for influencing political decisions

and consciously decides to alienate himself from the conventional

political process.   In such an instance there would be differences in

how the respondent and researcher perceive both their environment, and

the phenomenon (political knowledge) under discussion.

One final point made by Cicourel and Kitsuse (1963) relates to the way

in which institutions and society define a group.   This is important

insofar as they can have a major influence on the life chances of

individuals composing the group under discussion.   Cicourel and Kitsuse

(1963:133-49) examined the ways in which high school bureaucracies in

the United States perceive and define the actions of high school students,

and found that the ways in which the students are defined have a profound

influence on their future life-chances and in particular on their chances of going on to college after leaving high school. This in turn has a profound effect on social mobility within society.

From this brief discussion of the contributions made to sociological research by Cicourel and Kitsuse it should be apparent that the study of any group of individuals must take place within the context of the cultural environment in which they live. This applies not only because research data can only be interpreted in terms of the cultural environment in which it is collected, but also because the researcher needs to understand the ways in which the cultural environment defines and perceives the group under study if he is to interpret his research data correctly.

The New Towns

The origins of new towns in Britain lie in the pioneering work of Ebenezer Howard (Schaffer, 1970: 1-3) who in his *Tomorrow, A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, written at the turn of the present century, advocated the creation of new towns as a way of alleviating the problems of social decay and urban squalor which had marred life in the big cities of Britain in the nineteenth century. Howard's 'vision' was very much that of a utopian, for he advocated the creation of new towns catering for populations of around 30,000 where growth and development would be planned. Each new town would be self-supporting and spaciously laid out, with its population living in well-designed houses located well away from the town's factories and industrial estates. Each would be surrounded by a green belt of open countryside, serving both the town's agriculatural and recreational needs. Little came of Howard's ideas in the following half-century. However, he did establish the new town of Letchworth with monies raised by the Garden Cities Association (Schaffer,1970: 4-6).

The main impetus behind the building of new towns in Britain came from

the experiences of the Great Depression and the Second World War. The

economic collapse and mass unemployment of the 1930s led to popular

demands for planned economic development, financed by the government in

order to restructure the economy and bring posperity to the more

depressed areas of the country, such as the North East of England.

Moreover, these popular demands were echoed by leading economists of the

day (Keynes,1936; Beveridge, 1944) who advocated increased state

intervention in the economy as a cure for mass unemployment. The Second

World War also acted as a spur on the new towns' movement, for state

intervention in the economy had become acceptable to many people during

the war and the bombing of major cities created an acute housing shortage

in some parts of the country. The first new towns in Britain, apart

from Letchworth, were created by the 1945-51 Labour Government, which had

accepted the need to build them as a way both to rejuvenate the economy

and to provide homes for people from bomb-damaged cities. In all, eleven

new towns - including Peterlee - were designated between 1945 and 1951,

when the Conservative Party was returned to office.

The Conservative administrations of 1951-64 lost interest in creating

new towns as state intervention in the economy became less popular at

a time of full employment and prosperity. However, by the early 1960s

regional discrepancies in the level of economic development had become

apparent and led to renewed interest in the concept, and a second wave

of new towns was designated after 1960. In all, eighteen new towns

(in addition to Cramlington) were created between 1961 and 1969.

Included amongst them was Washington, designated a new town in 1964.

The advent of the Labour Government in 1964 brought a fundamental change

in the nature of new towns, for those created after 1964 were intended to

be regional growth centres. Unlike the early new towns which had small initial populations, the 'newer new towns' were more like new cities. They had high initial populations at the time of their designation and target populations in excess of 200,000. Such new towns include Milton Keynes and Warrington.

All new towns in Great Britain, apart from Cramlington, were created under the *New Towns Act* of 1946, which gave the Government and the Secretary of State for the Environment the power to create new towns on designated sites after holding public enquiries; the Secretary of State having the right to compulsorily purchase land for the site and to appoint members of the Development Corporation to oversee the construction of the new town. (Self, ed., Wells, 1972:30-3).

The Development Corporation acts much like a board of directors, being responsible for the physical construction of the new town, its economic and industrial development, and the provision of services for its population once the new town has been constructed. (Schaffer, 1970: 36-50).

Cramlington New Town differs from other British new towns insofar as it was not designated as such by the Secretary of State for the Environment, and it therefore lacks a Development Corporation. It was created in 1964 as a C.D.A. (Comprehensive Development Area) under the *Town and Country Planning Act* of 1947 - legislation which gave local authorities the powers to initiate house-building programmes. Cramlington is the only example of the Act being used on such a large scale, finance for the new town coming from Northumberland County Council, Seaton Valley Urban District Council (since 1974, Blyth Valley District Council), and the house builders Leech and Bell. The development of the new town is the

responsibility of the Cramlington Sub-Committee, whose members are nominated by Northumberland County Council. (Northumberland County Council, 1981:3).

The account of the development of new towns given in the preceding few paragraphs can be described as humanitarian as it argues that new towns were constructed in an attempt to provide homes, jobs and social services for people living in depressed areas. An alternative view of the new towns' movement is that given by Hudson and Johnson (1976:16-25): using a Marxist framework of analysis they argued that the new towns served an ideological purpose in serving both to legitimate the operation of capitalist modes of production by denying the existence of class conflict (Hudson and Johnson, 1976:17), and to support the material interests of powerful professions and other groups such as architects and urban managers (Hudson and Johnson, 1976:21). They point out that only 3% of new housing stock was built in the new towns between 1945 and 1975 (Hudson and Jounson, 1976:22), and that the construction of the new towns did not by and large benefit those most in need who tended to live in the inner city areas, which were starved of money *in order to finance new town building programmes*. Finally, they argued that manufacturers and capitalists generally benefitted to a great extent from the construction of new towns, because higher incomes and the additional income of women (who were less likely to be employed in the 1930s) there, generated additional consumer demand for their goods and services. (Hudson and Johnson, 1976:22).

Peterlee, which became a new town in 1948, was the first of the three new towns under study to be so designated. Of all the new towns in the United Kingdom, it had one of the lowest initial populations, barely 200, and has enjoyed one of the highest rates of population growth, its

population having risen to over 22,000 by 1981. The main impetus behind the creation of Peterlee New Town came from the old Easington Rural District Council, whose engineer and surveyor C.W. Clarke advocated the creation of a new town in his book *Farewell Squalor*. In particular Clarke (1946:60-2) identified three main reasons for building a new town: the sub-standard nature of much of the rural district's housing and accommodation; its overdependence on mining as a source of employment (some 70% of its male employees were miners) which made the district vulnerable to large-scale unemployment in times of recession; and a shortage of suitable employment opportunities for women, many of whom were leaving the rural district in search of work elsewhere. Clarke believed that Easington Rural District could best cure these problems by constructing a new town, which would provide both modern housing and accommodation, and employment for both men and women outside the mining industry.

Clarke's ideas were duly embodied in the Master Plan published in 1952 by the Peterlee Development Corporation, which had come into being in 1948. The Master Plan, however, went further than did Clarke in his plans for the new town, for it was hoped that the new town would come to provide services for the whole of Easington Rural District, which, with its 82,000 inhabitants, had the largest population of any rural district in Great Britain. (Peterlee Master Plan, 1952:7-15).

The main recommendations of the Master Plan were that a new town be created on a 950 hectare (later increased to 1,130 hectare) site within Easington Rural District. This was designed to (Peterlee Master Plan, 1952:9):

1)   provide homes for up to 30,000 persons, to be drawn mainly from

      the surrounding countryside and colliery villages;

2)   provide shopping, educational, entertainment and other facilities

      for people living in the surrounding countryside;

3)   widen the industrial base of the area, providing in particular

      female employment and alternative employment for men outside the

      mining industry.

Cramlington New Town was designated as such in 1963, being situated within

the old Seaton Valley Urban District (now Blyth Valley District), in

Northumberland.   Its population at designation was 5,200 and had risen

to over 27,000 by 1981.   Like Peterlee, Cramlington was situated on a

coalfield and its population was heavily dependent upon the maining

industry for employment.

Cramlington New Town was envisaged as a growth centre which ultimately

would provide employment for people from South East Northumberland and

North Tyneside, for from the mid-1950s local industry had been in a state

of decline with large numbers of pits being closed. A consequence of this

was an above-average rate of unemployment and emigration of people from

the area.   In 1955 the local employment exchange area covered some 7,000

jobs, but by 1959 this figure had fallen to only 5,000, over 70% of male

employment in the area being then in mining or mining-related industry.

(Northumberland County Council, 1961: Chapter 3).

Cramlington New Town, then, was seen as a regional growth centre, its

site within Seaton Valley Urban District being chosen due to: its proximity

to the Tyneside conurbation, which gave it a labour supply and market

of over 3,000 people living within a 16 kilometre radius; good

communications by rail (it is on the East Coast Main Line), and sea

(only 12 kilometres from the docks at North Shields); and its position within a green belt which it was hoped would attract immigrants from surrounding areas and provide its population with a pleasant life style. (Northumberland County Council, 1961).

The Northumberland County Council Plan, published in 1961, called for the creation of Cramlington New Town on a 2,300 hectare site within Seaton Valley District. It would:

1)   provide homes for 48,000 people (Northumberland Councy Council, 1961: Chapter 2), later increased to 60,500 (Northumberland County Council, 1965:2);

2)   provide jobs for 11,000 people (Northumberland County Council, 1961: Chapter 3), both from the New Town itself and from the surrounding area;

3)   act as a stimulus in rejuvenating the economy of South East Northumberland and North Tyneside by stimulating market demand.

Washington is the third new town under study, being designated as such in 1964.   Like both Peterlee and Cramlington, Washington New Town was built in an area heavily dependent for its livelihood on coalmining and its related industries.   Unlike the other two new towns, Washington had a high population - 20,000 - as its designation, and like Cramlington it was envisaged as much more of a regional growth centre than a self-contained town.   The main impetus behind the creation of Washington New Town, as with Cramlington, arose from the need to rejuvenate the local economy and provide employment for the local population at a time when jobs were disappearing due to the contraction of the coal industry.
This point is taken up by Stephen Holley (1983) the General Manager of Washington Development Corporation from 1965 to 1980.   Holley wrote of

the North East Region in the early 1960s (Holley, 1983:xix):-

> The traditional industries - mining, shipbuilding and
> the dependent steel and heavy engineering industries
> were in decline. In mining also jobs were disappear-
> ing at the rate of 10,000 a year. Unemployment at
> over five per cent was twice the national average, and
> the area was in a communications backwater with a
> massive inheritance of industrial dereliction and
> urban decay.

Washington's Master Plan (Llewelyn-Davies, 1966: 10-11) called for the
creation of a new town on a 2,150 hectare site in the area of the old
Washington District in Durham County, now in the Sunderland Metropolitan
District of Tyne and Wear County. The New Town was intended to:

1)   provide homes for some 80,000 persons;

2)   provide specialist labour for employers in the area;

3)   provide new jobs in an area where the traditional industries were
     in a state of decline;

4)   act as a stimulus in rejuvenating the economy of the North East of
     England by stimulating market demand.

The structural layout of the New Town as adopted in the Master Plan is
particularly distinctive and very different from the other two new
towns under study. Washington's Master Plan was based on an extensive
road and motorway network (Holley, 1983:17), which laid out the town in
the form of a giant grid system based on squares with sides approximately
1.5 kilometres in length. The town's population live in 18 villages or
districts, each with its own community, shopping, educational and other
facilities.

One final point needs to be mentioned about Washington, and this concerns
the fact that at its designation its original population, which numbered

20,000 were living in five or six villages located within the boundaries

of the present town. When Washington was developed these villages were

extensively renovated and integrated into the structural plan of the

town. In consequence of this it is possible to divide the population

into two distinct groups: a native population, composed of the town's

original inhabitants and their children; and a new population, composed

of people who have moved into the new town since its designation.

A particular feature of the new towns is their peculiar age structure,

for especially in the years following their designation, they tend to

attract young couples of child-bearing age. This means that new towns

tend to have a youngish age structure with a very high proportion of

children and young people. Table 1.1 illustrates this in the three

under discussion, showing the percentage of the total population in each

of four five-year age cohorts, in each of the three new towns, and in

each of the three counties in which they are situated.

From Table 1.1 it can be seen that the proportion of those under twenty

in each of the new towns is greater than the corresponding figure for

their counties as a whole. Thus the mean figure for the three new towns

is 35.5% which is some 6.6 percentage points higher than the corresponding

figure, 28.9% for the counties in which they are situated.

Interestingly, these figures reveal differences in the history and

development of the three new towns. Thus, Peterlee had a very lopsided

population structure in 1966 when some 44% of its population were under

twenty years of age and more than 15% were aged under five. By contrast,

in 1981 Peterlee had the lowest proportion of under-fives of the three

new towns and the highest proportion of 15-19 year olds. These figures

reflect the growth pattern of Peterlee which was very rapid between 1948

Table 1.1: The Proportion of Those Aged Under Twenty in the Three New Towns

	Population 1981	0-4 %	5-9 %	10-14 %	15-19 %	0-19 %
Cramlington (1981)	27,118	10.1	9.2	8.4	6.3	34.1
Northumberland (1981)	289,379	6.2	6.9	7.7	7.9	28.7
Peterlee (1981)	22,759	8.2	8.2	10.1	10.3	36.8
Peterlee (1966)	(18,330	(15.1)	(13.7)	(8.6)	(6.8)	(44.2)
Durham (1981)	592,741	6.1	6.7	8.1	8.3	29.2
Washington (1981)	51,835	9.8	9.6	8.9	7.4	35.7
Tyne and Wear (1981)	1,126,109	5.9	6.4	7.8	8.6	28.8
New Towns (Mean)		9.4	9.0	9.2	8.0	35.5
Three Counties (Mean)		6.1	6.7	7.9	8.3	28.9

(Source: Schaffer, 1970;171; New Towns Census and Cramlington Small Area Statistics, 1981).

and 1966, during which period its population rose from 200 to over 18,000 (Self, ed., Appendix, 1972:176). Between 1966 and 1981 the rate of population growth slowed down considerably and its population size rose by only 4,000 (to 22,759) in that period. Cramlington New Town, in contrast, became a new town in 1963, some 15 years after Peterlee, so it is at a much earlier stage of its development. Its population has risen from 5,000 in 1963 to an estimated 19,000 in 1975 (Northumberland County Council, 1975: Introduction), and to more than 27,000 in 1981. In consequence of this, Cramlington had the highest proportion of under-fives of the three new towns in 1981, and the lowest proportion of 15-19 year olds.

The unbalanced age structure of the new towns is a major problem because
it places additional demands on their facilities and services.   Thus
during the baby boom which usually occurs in the years immediately
following the new town's designation, there is a high demand for ante-
natal and post-natal facilities.   As this first generation gets older the
demand for nursery and then primary school places grows and so on through-
out the life-cycle of this generation (see Schaffer, 1970:169; Self, ed.,
Brooke Taylor,1972:127).   As this generation matures and enters its mid-
teens so it places additional demands on leisure, further education,
employment, and other facilities.   This poses a series of problems which
are of direct relevance to this study and these will be discussed at
length in later chapters.

One facet of the development of the new towns has been that they have
failed to reproduce the old working-class communities which existed in the
older urban areas.   The main features of these communities were that they
tended to be centred on terraced streets, with most of the men being
employed by the same firm or organisation.   In County Durham there were
many colliery villages in which most of the men were miners, and in parts
of Sunderland and Hartlepool many were employed as dock workers.   The
extended family in these areas was common place, with married women tending
to live near to, and often in the same street, as their mothers.   Boys
tended to enter the same trades as their fathers, and girls tended to
marry boys from their own neighbourhoods (Willmott and Young, 1957).
As a result of this community ties tended to be very strong, and a high
degree of comradeship existed within these working-class communities.

Life in the towns though is very different.   The nuclear family has
replaced the extended family, and married couples tend to live some distance
away from their parents.   Neighbours are unlikely to be employed in the same

kind of work, and this, combined with the structural layout of the houses, and the tendency for married women to remain in employment, means that the ties of community, which marked life in the older towns, have failed to reproduce themselves.

It should be emphasised, however, that urban development generally since the last war in both North East England and Great Britain as a whole, has weakened and destroyed many working class communities. Dennis (1970), for example, has shown how Sunderland was extensively redeveloped in the 1960s, with many families being rehoused on new housing estates on the outskirts of the town.

When the three new towns were designated it was hoped that they would help to diversify the industrial base of the areas in which they were situated, which were heavily dependent on the mining industry for employment, by attracting new industries. This point has been discussed at length by writers on new towns in Great Britain (Self, ed., Cresswell and Thomas, 1972: 66-80), and the wish to avoid the phenomenon of the 'ghost town', when towns such as Jarrow and Stanley suffered particularly badly from unemployment in the 1930s when their stable industries were decimated in the depression (see Bulmer, ed., Daysh and Symonds, 1978: 143-9), did indeed serve as a major factor behind the new town movement in the 1930s and 1940s.

In these circumstances it is remarkable that Champion, Clegg and Davies (1977) who undertook a detailed statistical analysis of the new towns concluded that both the industrial structure and social composition of British new towns do not differ markedly from those of the counties and regions in which they are situated (Champion *et.al.*, 1977:42, 29-37). This does not mean that the new towns have not, by and large, succeeded in attracting new industry to them, but rather that the type of industry they have attracted

has been little different from that which already existed in their areas or which neighbouring authorities had succeeded in attracting. Table 1.2 illustrates this point for each of the three new towns under study, the data being obtained from the 1981 Census and the Easington District Plan (Easington District Council, 1979).

From Table 1.2 it can be seen that the industrial structures of the three new towns share a number of distinctive features with both the counties and districts in which they are situated. Peterlee is the main exception. As can be seen from the table, Easington District is heavily dependent for its male employment on the mining industry: in 1971, the last year for which comparable figures are available, over 40% of its male population were employed in the mines, compared with only 13% in Peterlee.

In contrast, Peterlee had, in 1981, a much higher proportion of its population employed in manufacturing and service industries than either its district or county did as a whole. This reflects the success of the Development Corporation in attracting new industries to the town. Peterlee has, in particular, a high proportion of its employed population working in the textile, mechanical engineering, and food processing industries (Peterlee Development Corporation, 1982), moreover it has been particularly successful in providing jobs for women, which account for just under one-half of the town's industrial employment. One final indicator of the success (or non-success) of the Development Corporation in providing jobs is given by its unemployment rate. From Table 1.2 it can be seen that at 12.5% unemployment was 25% above the figure for Easington District as a whole. This, ironically, may well result from the higher dependence of the town on manufacturing industry which has been particularly badly affected in the present depression.

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Table 1.2: <u>Occupational Structures of the Three New Towns (1981)</u>

	COUNTY DURHAM			NORTHUMBERLAND			TYNE & WEAR		
	Peterlee	Easington	Co.Durham	Cramlington	Blyth Valley	N'land	Washington	Sunderland	Tyne & Wear
Unemployment	12.5%	9.8%	11.5%	8.6%	9.5%	7.5%	12.7%	10.0%	13.3%
In Manufacturing	35.1	23.6	28.6	26.1	28.4	20.6	29.5	27.2	27.8
Service Industry	44.5	41.7	53.3	55.8	53.2	59.4	55.3	55.1	58.4
Males in Mining	12.9(a)	43.0(b)	11.7(a)	3.0(c)	na	8.9(a)	2.0(d)	na	11.7(e)

Sources: The Census 1981; The Census 1971; Easington District Council, 1979:19;
          Washington Development Corporation 1979; Northumberland County Council, 1975.

    (a) 1971 Census – administrative county only.
    (b) 1979 Easington District Council, 1979:19.
    (c) 1975 Northumberland County Council, 1975: Table 48.
    (d) 1978 Washington Development Corporation, 1978: Table 20.
    (e) 1971 Durham County.

    (na) Not available.

The employment structure of Cramlington and Washington are remarkably

similar to one another and to those of the districts and counties in

which they are situated.   Most of the mines in the surrounding areas

were closed in the1950s and 1960s, and fewer than 5% of employed males

in both new towns now work in the mines or mining related industries.

(Bulmer, ed., Bulmer, 1978: 150-67; Holley, 1983:54; Northumberland

County Council, 1981:5).   Both Cramlington and Washington are heavily

dependent for employment on service industries, though over one-quarter

of Cramlington's and 30% of Washington's employed populations work in

manufacturing industries.   In both new towns a high proportion of the

employed population were working in offices and the retail trade.   In

Washington in 1981 electronics, light engineering, and related industries

provided more than 7,000 manufacturing jobs (Holley, 1983:54), and in

Cramlington pharmaceuticals, mechanical engineering and electronics

provided more than 5,500 jobs in 1980.   (Northumberland County Council,

1981:11-2).   Unemployment in Cramlington was, at 8.6% above that in

Northumberland but somewhat lower than that in Blyth Valley.   In

Washington unemployment at 12.7% was 25% above the figure for Sunderland,

but lower than the figure for Tyne and Wear as a whole.   This would suggest

that neither in Cramlington nor in Washington has development been

particularly successful in helping to rejuvenate the North East of England,

though both towns appear to have kept pace with development in the rest of

the North East in that roughly 90% of their populations were employed in 1981.

A related question of interest to writers on the new towns concerns the

class structures of the new towns (Self, ed., Cresswell and Thomas, 1972:

68), for when the original new towns were designated, town planners were

concerned that they should not become one-class towns, but should have a

reasonable social balance with people from all social classes represented

in them.   This point was forcibly emphasised in the Reith Report on new

towns (Reith, 1946:10):-

> .... if the community is to be truly balanced, so
> long as social classes exist, all must be in (the
> new towns).

The view that a 'socially balanced' community was a good thing arose because

it was felt that it would serve to widen people's horizons, and would serve

to make the new towns attractive to employers and professional people,

(Self, ed., Cresswell and Thomas, 1972:68).

Table 1.3 illustrates the extent to which the three new towns have a wider

social mix amongst the populations than do their districts and counties.

From this table it is clear that home ownership patterns in all three new

towns are quite distinctive and different from those found in both the new

towns' districts and counties.   Thus, Cramlington has a higher proportion

of home owners than both Blyth Valley District and Northumberland County,

whereas Washington and Peterlee - especially - have higher proportions of

people living in rented accommodation in comparison with their districts

and counties.   Too much should not be written into these differences as

the figures reflect the way in which the new towns were developed, rather

than than their social class composition.   Thus most of the rented

accommodation in Peterlee and Washington has been built and provided by

the Development Corporation, whilst in Cramlington the house-builders Leech

and Bell built a high proportion of the new town's housing stock for direct

sale to purchasers (Northumberland County Council, 1981:12).

A better indicator of social class in the new towns is undoubtedly that

provided by the Registrar General's classification.   From Table 1.3 it is

evident that in all three new towns the percentage of the population

(household heads) engaged in non-manual (white-collar) employment is greater

Table 1.3: Class Structures of the Three New Towns

	New Town	District	County	Difference NT District	Difference NT County
PETERLEE					
Rented Accommodation	86.0	69.5	52.3	13.5	33.7
Owner-Occupied	14.0	30.5	47.6	13.5	33.6
Non-Manual	25.6	21.6	34.7	4.0	9.1
Skilled Manual	42.9	49.3	38.7	6.4	4.2
Other Manual	31.5	29.1	26.6	2.4	4.9
CRAMLINGTON					
Rented Accommodation	41.7	50.6	55.7	8.9	14.0
Owner-Occupied	58.3	49.4	46.3	8.9	14.0
Non-Manual	43.6	37.5	40.9	6.1	2.7
Skilled Manual	36.8	39.5	36.1	2.7	0.7
Other Manual	19.6	23.0	23.0	3.4	3.4
WASHINGTON					
Rented Accommodation	67.1	61.9	61.3	5.2	5.8
Owner-Occupied	32.9	38.1	38.7	5.2	5.8
Non-Manual	34.5	31.5	35.9	3.0	1.4
Skilled Manual	43.0	43.9	39.5	0.9	3.5
Other Manual	22.5	24.6	24.6	2.1	2.1

Source: Small Area Statistics, and Census for Durham, Northumberland and Tyne and Wear 1983.

than that in their districts. Peterlee and Cramlington, in particular,
have far higher proportions of non-manual workers in comparison with their
districts. In addition, Cramlington has a higher proportion of non-manual
workers than Northumberland, although Durham County has a considerably
higher proportion of non-manual workers than Peterlee. Peterlee has a
far lower proportion of skilled workers than Easington District and higher
proportions of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. This probably reflects
the higher dependence of the district on mining as a source of employment
and the new town's dependence on manufacturing industry, for most miners
are classified as skilled workers and factory workers as semi-skilled
workers. Both Cramlington and Washington have lower proportions of semi-
skilled and unskilled workers than their districts and counties, but the
differences are not very great.

From this brief discussion of the industrial and class structures of the
three new towns it should be readily apparent that all three are remarkably
similar to the districts and counties in which they are situated. All three
new towns do have wider occupational class backgrounds than their districts
but these differences are not very great.

In all three new towns education is organised on a comprehensive basis,
with pupils of mixed ability being admitted into secondary schools.
Peterlee has three comprehensive schools (including a Roman Catholic school)
with approximately 4,500 pupils. Washington has five comprehensive
schools (including a Roman Catholic school) with approximately 5,250 pupils.
Secondary schools in both Peterlee and Washington admit pupils at the age
of eleven, after they have completed their years at junior school. In
Cramlington education is organised somewhat differently, for the local
County High School is the only high school in the town and admits pupils

at the age of thirteen, after they have completed their years at middle

school. Approximately 1,200 attend Cramlington High School. Catholic

children in Cramlington do not have their own High School and many of

them attend St Benet Biscop County High School in Bedlington.

Each of the three new towns provide leisure facilities for its 16-19 year

old population. Eighteen and nineteen year olds are particularly well

catered for in each of the new towns, for each has a wide selection of

public houses and social clubs. Sixteen and seventeen year olds are not

so well catered for. Both Washington and Peterlee have a number of youth

clubs though Cramlington has only one, the Phoenix, which is attached to

the local County High School and is closed during school vacations.

There are plans afoot to build a purpose-built youth centre in Cramlington.

Both Peterlee and Cramlington have purpose-built sports centres which

also serve the needs of people living in the surrounding countryside.

Concordia in Cramlington is probably the best-equipped sports centre in

Northumberland. Washington is the only one of the three new towns with

a cinema, though Horden, which borders Peterlee, has one which is used by

young people from the new town. Cramlington lacks a cinema although

videos are occasionally shown in Concordia.

Finally, each of the three new towns have a wide selection of clubs and

societies ranging from the C.N.D. to the Archery Society. Few of these

clubs and societies are specifically for young people, though many will

accept members in their late teens.

In party political terms, the area under study, South East Northumberland

and County Durham, is a Labour stronghold and has been so ever since the

early 1920s. The Labour Party has held County Durham by a substantial

majority at every local government election since 1925 (Bulmer, ed.,

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Bulmer, 1978:131). Analysis of both General and Local Election results, however, reveal that whilst the Labour Party remains the dominant political force in both Easington and Blyth Valley districts, in which Peterlee and Cramlington are situated, the Party appears to be in the process of losing a considerable amount of its support in these two new towns, although it is maintaining its position in Washington.

Thus on the Easington District Council the representation of 'Others' (mainly Liberals and Independents) rose from four seats in 1973 to seventeen in 1983, with 'Others' being particularly successful in Peterlee where they gained a majority of the new town's thirteen district council seats in 1979. In Cramlington, the rise in support for 'Others' (mainly Liberals) has been even more spectacular, for in the mid-1970s the Labour Party lost a considerable amount of its support in Blyth Valley to Eddie Milne's Independent Labour Party at a time when it was being discredited in the area due to the Poulson affair and allegations of corruption in the local party (see Milne, 1976: 231-45). Since then Labour has, to a large extent, regained its dominance of the Blyth Valley District Council, increasing its number of seats on the Council from 23 in 1976 to 33 in 1983. However, the Party has manifestly failed to improve its representation in Cramlington where it held ten seats in 1979 and only five in 1983. The main beneficiary of Labour's decline in the town has been the Liberal Party.

This is not the time nor the place to enter into a discussion of the causes of Labour's decline in Peterlee and Cramlington, though this subject will be discussed in greater detail in a later chapter. Suffice to say here that these figures suggest that voting patterns in at least two of the three new towns under study are in a state of flux, and could be in the process of undergoing radical changes.

In this discussion it has been shown that the social and economic

conditions existing in the three new towns are not greatly different

from those existing in the North East as a whole, although they do have

a distinctive age structure with high proportions of children and young

people amongst their populations.   It is true to say that they lack

the ties of community which marked working-class life in the older

towns, but the same can also be said of post-war housing estates in most

of Britain's major towns and cities.   Unemployment is just as serious

a problem in the new towns as it is in the rest of the North East, and

the social class characteristics of the three new towns are not markedly

different either.   Moreover, a study undertaken by Wirz (1975) would

tend to suggest that there are no real reasons for believing that a new

'classless' community has arisen in the new towns, given his findings

on the membership of various clubs and societies in the Scottish new

towns which he examined.   It should, however, be mentioned that the new

towns do lack many of the features which mar life today in Britain's inner

cities, although, yet again, the same can also be said of the rest of the

North East.   Thus the level of car ownership and the proportions of

single-parent families in the three new towns are no higher or lower than

are those in the rest of the region, and fewer than 1% of the population

are of new commonwealth origin.   Moreover, it is doubtful if the standard

of housing is any better in the three new towns than it is in the rest of

the region.   Less than 3% of homes in the region are without indoor

toilets, and Peterlee has a high proportion of substandard accommodation

(Nicholson, 1978).   Many of the houses built in Peterlee were based upon

inappropriate designs.   Many have flat roofs and are not properly

weather-proofed, whilst others have been under-mined by the N.C.B. and

are now in need of renovation due to subsidence.

The somewhat surprising conclusion to come from this discussion must be
that there are no real reasons for believing that young people living
in the three new towns should be in any way different from those living
in the rest of the region.   Given the peculiar age structure of the new
towns, there are (or in the case of Cramlington, will be) more of them,
and this has created problems for the new towns in providing educational,
vocational and leisure facilities for them, though these problems will
be reduced to the extent to which it is possible for young people to
commute to nearby towns and cities to satisfy their needs.   Moreover, it
should be mentioned that there are two powerful socializing agencies at
work in the three new towns which militate against the creation of a
specific new town youth culture - namely education and the mass media.

When the subjects undertaken by pupils in schools in the three new towns
were examined in detail, they were found to be basically the same as those
undertaken by pupils in the rest of the region and in England as a whole.
Thus the majority of CSEs and GCE 'O' levels undertaken by fifth-formers
in the three new towns are subjects such as English language, mathematics,
history, geography, domestic science etc., which have long formed the
traditional curriculum in the typcial English secondary school.

In all three new towns the population read the same national newspapers,
watch the same television programmes and listen to the same radio broad-
casts as those living in the rest of the country.   Each new town, though,
has its own specific local newspaper, but then so do most towns in the
area.   Similarly, Tyne-Tees broadcasts its own television programmes
but these are watched by people in the whole region.

It should be readily apparent from the discussion in Chapter One that

any study of young people in Britain's new towns cannot easily be

divorced from a discussion of young people in Britain as a whole.

For this reason, source material by economists, sociologists, political

scientists and other social scientists relating to young people in

Britain as a whole was examined.   Before moving on to consider this

work, it is perhaps worth looking at the extent to which the needs of

young people have been taken into account by new town planners.

The master plans for seven new towns in the North of England were

examined in some detail in an attempt to gain an idea of the extent to

which the needs and requirements of young people were considered by town

planners.   Table 2.1 overleaf shows the results of this work by

illustrating the amount of space devoted to young people and education

in the original master plans for the seven new towns: it suggests that

new town planners did not pay much attention to young people and their

special needs when the master plans for the new towns were being drawn

up.

The Cramlington Master Plan devotes two pages to the educational needs

of children in the new town and then devotes only one paragraph to young

people under 'other items' on page 26 of the report.   (Northumberland

County Council, 1961:26).   Similarly, the Peterlee Master Plan did not

even mention young people or their needs; whilst the Master Plan for

Washington devotes only two paragraphs to the need to provide youth clubs

and related facilities for young people.   (Llewelyn-Davies, 1966:82).

Of the eight master plans examined, only the one for Warrington New Town

(Austin-Smith, 1969) discusses the needs of young people in detail.

It reports the details of a study carried out in local schools in which children and young people aged 14-18 were asked to write a series of essays on the New Town.[*]   (Austin-Smith, 1969:221-30).

Table 2.1: References to Young People in New Town Master Plans

New Towns	Education	Young People
Peterlee	3 pages	Nothing
Cramlington	2 pages	1 paragraph
Washington	1 page	2 paragraphs
Newton Aycliffe (Original)	3½ pages	3 paragraphs
Newton Aycliffe (Extension)	2½ pages	1 paragraph
Runcorn	2 pages	1 paragraph
Warrington (Consultative Plan)	8 pages	9 paragraphs
Central Lancashire New Town	1 page	1 paragraph

Sources: Peterlee Development Corporation, 1952:21-4;
           Northumberland County Council, 1961:21-2,26;
           Llewelyn-Davies, 1966:82-3, 84;
           Newton Aycliffe Development Corporation, 1948:
                     83,104,107-10;
           Newton Aycliffe Development Corporation, 1966;
           Ling, 1966:111-3;
           Austin-Smith, 1969:149-57, 221-30;
           Central Lancashire New Town Development
                     Corporation, 1974:48-9, 129.

Interestingly, when the cited references are examined in detail it is evident that the new town planners did not, by and large, believe that the provision of facilities for young people was their responsibility, it being felt that it was the duty of the local education authority and/or the Youth and Community Service to provide facilities for young people.   This point can be illustrated by reference to both the Runcorn

[*] The present writer, a Warringtonian by birth, took part in this study.

(Ling, 1966) and the Washington (Llewelyn-Davies, 1966) Master Plans.

The one cited reference in the Runcorn Master Plan (Ling, 1966:41)

reads:-

> Youth Centres will be located in the local centres
> in conjunction with other social facilities in
> accordance with the County Education Committee's
> policy of providing a greater variety of out-of-
> school activities, including Art and Drama, than
> is found in the normal Youth Club. The County
> Council have suggested that 4-6 Youth Centres will
> be required and discussions will be held to see how
> these can best be equivalently provided in relation
> to the local centres.

In similar vein, the Washington Master Plan (Llewelyn-Davies, 1966:82)

states the need to provide Youth Centres to cater for the sporting needs

of young people, and Youth Clubs to cater for other activities. However,

the Master Plan goes on to say that these will be financed by the

Education Authority rather than the Development Corporation.

This is an interesting observation in the light of the findings of a

number of studies (see Newton, 1983) which suggest that youth clubs and

youth centres which are attached to local schools are not generally

preferred by young people, there being a general reluctance amongst

older pupils to become involved in school-related activities outside

school hours while the needs of school leavers, in particular, are

unlikely to be adequately catered for in such youth clubs.

Similarly, other writers on the new towns have tended to ignore young

people and their problems, most concentrating their attention on the

problems posed by the baby boom which typically occurred in the new

towns in the few years following their designation (see, for example,

Schaffer, 1970: 171-13; Self, ed., Brooke Taylor, 1972:128). A case in

point is that of Holley, who in his study of Washington New Town devotes

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only three lines to young people (Holley, 1983:119).

Interestingly, three questionnaire studies of young people have been undertaken in the three new towns under discussion. Morley (1966) looked at the leisure activities of young people in Peterlee, Newton (1983) undertook a similar study in Cramlington, and Lynch and Bruce (1982) looked at the level of community satisfaction amongst young people in Washington. Although these studies were carried out at different times over a sixteen-year period, all three studies revealed a high degree of dissatisfaction with youth facilities in the new towns. It was also found that young people wanted to see a greater variety of youth facilities set up in their new towns; for example, Morley (1966: 22-3) found a great deal of support for the building of a bowling-alley in Peterlee, whilst Newton (1983) and Lynch and Bruce (1982:32-3) discovered a demand for youth facilities as varied as an ice-rink and a cinema.

These studies, whilst certainly revealing a high level of dissatsifaction with youth facilities in the new towns, should not be interpreted too strictly. The study in Warrington (Austin-Smith, 1969:221-300) cited earlier also revealed a high degree of dissatisfaction and general boredom amongst young people in Warrington in a study which was under-taken before any development of the new town had taken place. This may indeed suggest that young people in many, if not all, towns in Britain are dissatisfied and generally bored with available youth facilities. So the findings of the cited studies in the northern new towns under examination should not be taken as evidence that young people in these three new towns are any more badly catered for than those in the rest of the United Kingdom.

The interest which social scientists have in 16-19 year olds lies in the unique position they hold in the life-cycle (see Smith, 1968:17-21), occupying a transition point in the life-cycle between childhood and adulthood such that they are moving from a position of dependence to one of independence. The typical child in western society is dependent upon his parents for food, clothing and other basic essentials. He is likely to attend school and is unlikely to be a wage earner though he may have a part-time job, e.g. delivering newspapers, but this is unlikely to earn him more than pocket-money. The child has few democratic rights, and he is considered in courts of law to be only partially responsible for his actions. The adult, in contrast, lives in a different psychological world. He or she is likely to be married and to have major responsibilities. Although sex roles are undergoing some changes and unemployment is now a major social problem, the chances are that the average man in his mid-twenties will be the major breadwinner in his family, whilst his wife, especially if her children are young, is likely to spend most of her time in the home looking after them, although it should be mentioned that the last twenty years or so have seen a large increase in the number of married women in employment. Adults enjoy full citizenship rights, having the right to vote in government and local elections, and being fully responsible for their actions in courts of law.

Young people, though, live in neither world. Although many (c.28%) remain in education after the statutary school leaving age of sixteen, the majority leave school to join the ranks of the workforce. If the school-leaver is lucky enough to find employment after leaving school, and about 50% do so, he must adapt to a situation where he is a wage or salary earner, and he has to accept the discipline of a work situation.

To compensate for these restrictions he is now likely to have more money to spend and thus he must learn to be a consumer.

Those who become unemployed after leaving school or after finishing a temporary work experience scheme are likely to be the least well-qualified (D.O.E., 1974), and these young poeple face the problem of having to adapt to a life of leisure on a low income in the form of Social Security Benefit.

An altogether different set of problems facing 16-19 year olds are those posed by the rituals of courtship and marriage. For both girls and boys this means having to break their ties with their old single-sex groups and having to learn how to form more permanent relationships with members of the opposite sex (Smith, 1968:71-3). Finally, those who choose to live with their boyfriend or girlfriend, and those who marry early, face the problem of having to adapt to a situation in which they are living with somebody else and having all the responsibilities, including perhaps children, which cohabitation and marriage bring.

Adapting to one's civil responsibilities is the third feature of the transition from childhood to adulthood. In Britain, as in other Western societies, people are able to vote in elections after their eighteenth birthday. Few people in Britain, though, take more than a casual interest in politics and few are members of political parties.

To a large extent it is possible to divide a discussion of the literature relating to 16-19 year olds into two time periods: that written between approximately 1946 and 1970, during a period of relative prosperity, and that written since 1970 in a period which has been characterized by increasing economic instability and steadily rising unemployment. These

two periods should not be taken as fixed, and many of the cited

references will overlap the two time periods.

The 1945-70 Period

The quarter century after the end of World War Two was a period of

relative prosperity for Britain and most of the Western World.

Unemployment, which had been the major economic and social problem in

the 1930s had all but ceased to be a cause for concern.   Poverty and

its related social problems had, it was felt, been banished forever and

writers (Galbraith, 1969) believed that the new welfare capitalism was

capable of sustaining full employment and advancing economic growth and

development.   Living standards rose rapidly in these years (Pears,1973:

Sec.G.13) and people were able to afford many of the products of the

fast-growing consumer goods industries.

The period was also one of political stability.   The Liberal Party, it

was felt, was on its last legs and the two major political parties,

Labour and Conservative, together obtained between 85% and 90% of the

popular vote at every general election held between 1945 and 1970

(Pears, 1973: Sec.C.7).   Moreover, the Labour and Conservative Parties

were becoming more and more ideologically similar to one another.

The Labour administrations of 1945-51 and 1964-70, although pledged to

the establishment of a Welfare State and the nationalization of key

industries, accepted the need for competition within industry.   Whilst

the Conservative Governments of 1951-64, although supporting the basic

principles of free enterprise within industry, also accepted the need to

intervene in the operation of the free market in order to prevent the

'excesses of capitalism' and to provide everyone with a minimum standard

of living.

It is perhaps not surprising that the interest of writers on young people was, during these years, confined mainly to a discussion of how they were coping with living in a world of prosperity. Two studies which are worth mentioning in passing were those undertaken by Carter (1962) and Maizels (1970). Both of these studies were concerned primarily with the transition from school to work and both discovered that boys and girls exhibited a high level of dissatisfaction with their schools, this being found to be a prime factor in their decision to leave school early (Carter, 1962:22-4; Maizels, 1970:28-30).

Other writers at the time believed that prosperity and full employment were having a bad effect on young people, with many observers claiming that the Welfare State was 'feather bedding' young people, making them 'lazy', 'criminal', 'materialistic' and (sexually) 'immoral' (see Smith, 1968:1-12). Yet research by Eppel and Eppel (1966:155-67) failed to find any supporting evidence for these claims. Indeed, the Eppels concluded that the attitudes and beliefs of young people towards a variety of moral subjects did not differ markedly from those of adults.

Other writers in the 1950s and 1960s, for example Gilbert (1957) and Coleman (1961) in the United States, and Abrams (1959) and Musgrove (1969) in Great Britain, believed that a new homogeneous classless youth culture had evolved in both Britain and the United States in those years (see Hall and Jefferson, eds., Clarke, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts, 1976:17-25, Mungham and Pearson, eds., 1976:15-8). It was alleged that this homogeneous youth culture had arisen due to growing affluence and modern consumerism which were blurring class differences in society, the effects of a universal education system and the mass media which were creating a more unified and universal culture, and the emergence of distinctive youth styles, most noticeable in rock music and dress.

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In these approaches the 'hippies' and 'flower children' were seen as the main protagonists of this new universal youth culture.

These arguments have been strongly criticised by a number of writers. Empirical work by Roszak (1971) suggesting that there were still major class-related distinctions separating working-class and middle-class youths. The 'hippy' movement, for example, was found to be a mainly middle-class affair, restricted largely to university campuses in Great Britain and the United States. It attracted few working-class recruits and Roszak (1971) has shown that the values and beliefs of 'hippies' were common to middle-class society in general.

A more fundamental criticism of this view of a universal youth culture is that proposed by Clarke et.al. (Hall and Jefferson, eds., 1976:24-7). Whilst they accept that living standards rose considerably in the 1950s and 1960s, they point out that the relative distribution of income between social classes had not narrowed markedly in the period since 1945, and argue that class divisions in society were just as wide in the mid-1960s as they had been twenty years earler. Further, Clarke et al (Hall and Jefferson, eds., 1976:25) quote empirical work by Titmus which suggested that poverty was still widespread in Britain in the late 1950s, whilst Maizel's work cited above (1970:100) suggested that social class had a major influence on examination success and the vocational choices of young people.

Studies by political scientists, most notably Alford (1964) and Butler and Stokes (1971) in the 1950s and 1960s were finding a strong relation-ship between social class and voting behaviour. Table 2.2 below, taken from Butler and Stokes (1971:104,105) shows the nature of this relation-ship. Thus, it can be seen that using both subjective (self-assigned)

and objective (occupational) measures of social class, middle-class

people had a strong tendency to support the Conservative Party and

working-class people the Labour Party.

Table 2.2: Class and Voting (1963)

Subjective Class	Conservative	Labour
Middle	79%	21%
Working	28%	72%
Objective Class		
Middle	71%	29%
Working	27%	73%

Source: Butler and Stokes, 1971:104,105.

In contrast, further work by Butler and Stokes (1971:230-9) suggested

that the attitudes of respondents on political issues were not major

explanatory factors in the understanding of voting behaviour.

It is of interest that the association between age and voting was

rarely examined in this period, though Butler and Stokes (1971:78)

argued that, although young voters were volatile in the support they

gave to the separate political parties, their voting preferences

tended to mirror those of their parents and were thus deeply rooted in

social class.

In similar fashion, other political scientists in the 1950s and 1960s

tended to ignore young people. An extensive literature search revealed

only one journal article on the subject by Abrams and Little (1965:

102-3) who, in their generational model of voting behaviour argued that

political attitudes and orientations were closely linked to the human

life-cycle, such that the main political matters of concern to people

varied according to their ages and positions in the life-cycle. Thus, senior citizens are more likely than other age-groups to be concerned with the value of their old-age pensions, whilst young voters are more likely to be concerned about issues such as training and unemployment.

Thus, the plight of 16-19 year olds was not studied in any detail by political scientists during the 1950s and 1960s. This neglect has had two main cuases. Firstly, political scientists,where they have looked at young people, have tended to focus their interest on political socialization. They have, therefore, concentrated their attention on children roughly between the ages of five and sixteen, looking specifically at the ways in which young children acquire their political attitudes and orientations, and at group differences between children. Secondly, studies of adults have, by and large, looked at adults in general, making only the occasional references to younger people. Moreover, even these studies have tended to examine the younger *voter*, and prior to 1970 people were only allowed to vote after their 21st birthdays. Thus, 16-19 year olds were generally ignored in adult studies of political behaviour.

Political scientists such as Greenstein (1969), Dennis (1971) and Stacey (1978) were interested in the fundamental processes of political socialization; it being argued that children passed through a series of developmental stages during which their understanding of the political system gradually unfolded. Whilst other writers such as Dowes and Hughes (1971) discovered that major differences existed in the child's understanding of the political system according to three main variables: sex, social class and education, thus, boys, middle-class children and those of high educational attainment were found to be more knowledge-

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able about politics than were girls, working-class children and those of low educational attainment.

This is not the time nor the place to enter into detailed discussion of the shortcomings of the various developmental studies of political socialization mentioned above, suffice it to say here that they can be criticised for two main reasons. Firstly, their orientations were psychologically based to far too great an extent: they tended to see political attitudes and orientations as gradually unfolding during the life-cycle of each individual. As such, unusually for sociological theories, they tended to relegate to second place, if not totally ignore, societal and other environmental influence acting upon political development.

Secondly, they were far too institutional in orientation, limiting the world of politics to an examination of the main political parties and major governmental institutions. Wider political influences and extra-parliamentary politics were almost totally ignored in these studies. Cohen (1983: 28.36), for instance, has drawn attention to the importance of the working-class community and the trades union movement in influencing the beliefs and political attitudes of young people in the early to middle decades of the twentieth centry. A study by Willis (1977) is also worthy of mention here: Willis's main aim was to under-stand the process by which, to use the sub-title of his book, 'working-class kids get working-class jobs'. Carrying out an ethnographic study in a Midlands school, Willis identified a working-class school subculture, a characteristic of which was the rejection of school work and academic values. Willis (1977:126-37) concluded that the members of this school subculture deliberately chose not to make progress in their academic work because they perceived that they had little to gain from school work

- their position in later life being already fixed, insofar as they were unlikely to obtain anything other than working-class jobs. Extending this analysis to the world of politics it may well be that many (and especially working-class) young people will choose not to become interested in politics because they do not see the point of doing so, as they believe that they are unlikely to be able to change anything. If this is the case, it would pose problems for Dowse and Hughes, whose study was mentioned above, their findings having indicated that working-class youths were less knowledgeable about politics than were middle-class youths. Dowse's measure of political knowledge was, however, based upon a purely institutional view of politics and as such it imposed a definition of politics on the young people studied and did not attempt to define it in terms of that group.

1970-1984

The years since 1970 have seen a steady worsening in the economy of the whole of the Western World. The causes of this decline are not the concern of this study, suffice it to say that in Britain unemployment has grown steadily and economic growth has fallen considerably. Some idea as to the rise in the level of unemployment can be gained from the fact that in 1960 the monthly total of unemployed people in Great Britain averaged only 360,000 or less than 2% of the workforce. (Pears, 1973:Sec.G.16). By 1972 this figure topped the one million mark (6% of the workforce), rising to over three million in December 1983. Some sections and regions of the economy have been more badly hit than others: the contribution of the manufacturing industry to the national income has declined in relative terms since the mid-1970s, and regions such as Wales, the West Midlands and the North East of England have been particularly badly affected, unemployment in these areas being 50%

higher than the figure for the rest of Great Britain.   Similarly,
minority groups such as Commonwealth immigrants and 16-19 year olds
have been more badly affected by the rise in unemployment than have
other people.

The period since 1970 has seen a breakdown in consensus politics with
both major political parties offering the electorate radically different
solutions to the country's problems.   Under Michael Foot the Labour
Party adopted a more left-wing manifesto, stressing the need for higher
public expenditure and state investment in the economy, whilst the
Conservative Government, under Margaret Thatcher, has pursued 'a right-
wing monetarist policy based upon free market economics and a minimum
of state intervention in the economy.   In particular, this has meant
a massive reduction in the level of state expenditure.

Voting patterns in the United Kingdom have also undergone drastic changes
in recent years and now appear to be in a state of flux.   In particular,
the late 1960s and 1970s witnessed a growth in support in Wales and
Scotland for the Nationalist Parties, *Plaid Cymru* and the S.D.P.   More
impressively, the fortunes of the Liberal Party, and since 1981 their
Alliance partners, the Social Democratic Party, have improved vastly.
In all, support for the Liberal Party, which gained only 7.5% of the
popular vote in 1970, rose from 18.3% in the October 1974 General Election
to 25.4% in 1983.[*]   In the 1970s the rising fortunes of the Liberal
Party were at the expense of both the Labour and Conservative Parties,
although in the 1983 General Election the increase in the size of the
Liberal (and Social Democratic) vote was almost entirely at the expense
of the Labour Party whose vote slimped to its lowest level since 1918.

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* Includes the vote of the S.D.P.

The most important problem facing 16-19 year olds in the period since
1970 has undoubtedly been unemployment.   Youth unemployment has been
an increasing problem in most of the Western World since the late
1960s (O.E.C.D., 1980):   indeed, all the eighteen member nations of
the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.)
recorded sharp rises in the proportions of young people aged 15-24
seeking work between the years 1965 and 1970.   Thus, the figure for
Austalia rose from 2.6% in 1966 to 12.1% in 1979, whilst that for
Italy rose from 8.4% in 1965 to 12.0% in 1979, and that for Great
Britain from 1.2% in 1965 to 11.9% in 1979 (O.E.C.D., 1980:14-5).
Moreover, in all eighteen countries the rise in the proportion of young
people unemployed has been far greater than the corresponding rise in
the level of adult unemployment: in Australia the ratio of young to
adult unemployed was 3.4 in 1979, Italy 6.6 and Great Britain 3.3
(O.E.C.D., 1980:17).

More up-to-date figures for the United Kingdom are more difficult to
obtain due to recent changes in the way in which these are compiled,
and their wide monthly fluctuations, with the figures being particularly
high in August at the end of the school year.   Table 2.3 gives some
idea as to how youth unemployment has risen since 1978.

From Table 2.3 it can be seen that the percentage of unemployed school-
leavers has risen considerably from 12.5% in 1978 to nearly 30% in
July 1983.

Further, although the percentage of adult unemployment has more than
doubled in the same period, the rise in the percentage of school-leavers
seeking work has been roughly twice that, suggesting that youth
unemployment is a far more serious problem than adult unemployment.

Table 2.3:   Unemployed School Leavers 1978-82 (Monthly Averages)

Year	Unemployed School Leavers* (100)	Estimated %	Adult %	Ratio Youth/ Adult	Careers Office Vac's May (1000's)
1978	83.3	12.5	5.7	2.2	33.6
1979	68.3	9.1	5.3	1.7	41.3
1980	104.1	13.5	6.8	2.0	23.7
1981	100.6	13.9	10.5	1.3	6.7
1982	168.5	23.1	12.1	1.9	8.7
1983 July	211.1	28.9	13.0	2.2	
1984 Jan.	118.1	16.0	12.7	1.3	

* Aged 18 and under
  Source: Monthly Digest of Statistics, December 1982:Table 3.10;
            Regional Office of the M.S.C., in Newcastle; *The Guardian*,
            4 April 1984:1.

Moreover, the period has also seen a dramatic fall in the number of

vacancies held for young people at careers offices, which numbered over

41,000 in 1979 and less than 9,000 in 1982.

Within the United Kingdom, there are also significant regional variations

in the percentage of both youth and adult unemployment. The North East

of England, where the three new towns are situated, is particularly

badly affected. Adult unemployment in this region stood at 18.2% in

December 1983, almost 50% above the national average of 12.7%.

As is perhaps to be expected, it is those young people who are unskilled

and of low intelligence who are most likely to be unable to find work

(D.O.E., 1974:10). This subject was examined by Murray (1978) who

administered a questionnaire schedule to two random samples of school-

leavers, one group in employment and another on community and industry

schemes designed specifically for the young unemployed. Murray's work

identified a group of young people from large families, of low intelligence

and with few academic qualifications, who were particularly vulnerable
to unemployment.

Given the high proportions of young people in Britain's new towns it is
tempting to suggest that youth unemployment will be a particularly
serious problem to them, and indeed this view was partially confirmed
by a study undertaken in Warrington New Town by the Manpower Services
Commission (M.S.C.). Their report indicated that in July 1980 some
30.6% of male and 36.3% of female school-leavers were unemployed compared
with national figures of 15.7% and 26.2% respectively (M.S.C., 1981:
Table 4.2).

A number of theories of youth unemployment have been proposed by
economists (see Casson, 1979), though two are in vogue at the moment.
These are the involuntary and the benefit-induced theories of unemployment.

The involuntary theory of unemployment (Casson, 1979:33-6), states that
young people have simply priced themselves out of the job market. It is
argued that the wages paid to young people rose in the period of
prosperity before 1970 as employers competed with one another for new
recruits and as trade unions campaigned successfully for their younger
members. Because of this the wage differential between younger and
older workers was narrowed, with the result that it is now more profitable
for an entrepreneur to employ an older, more skilled worker because of
the additional costs involved in training the younger worker. In this
model youth unemployment could be reduced if the original wage
differential between older and younger workers was restored by lowering
the wages paid to young people.

The benefit-induced theory of unemployment (Casson, 1979:39-41) argues
that unemployment can result in those situations where unemployment and

and related social security benefits are so high that workers and

potential workers consider that any extra income they may earn from

being in employment will not off-set the invoncenience of having a

job.   Thus, it is argued, some unemployed people may prefer to be

without work because they are better off when they are in receipt of

state benefits.

A number of empirical studies (Casson, 1979: O.E.C.D., 1980; D.O.E.,

1974; M.S.C., 1977) have been undertaken in various Western European

countries into the causes of youth unemployment and these have found

little evidence to support either the involuntary or benefit-induced

theories of unemployment.   Casson (1979: 55-7, 97-107) in his review

of the evidence concluded that youth unemployment is due mainly to

young people's status as school-leavers, in that during the current

recession employers, in preference to making skilled workers redundant,

have simply cut back their recruitment of young people, with the

consequent result that youth unemployment has risen at a faster rate

than adult unemployment.   Moreover, it seems that the employment

prospects of young people have been adversely affected by structural

changes in the economy in recent years.   Thus the manufacturing sector

of the economy, which has traditionally provided a large number of

unskilled jobs typically undertaken by young people, has contracted

sharply in recent years (M.S.C., 1977:12),whilst experiencing a high

rate of technological innovation through which machines are being used

increasingly to do routine work of an unskilled nature (D.O.E., 1974:

19; Atkinson and Rees, eds.,1983:3).

Finally, Casson (1979:102) argues that recent economic trends have also

pushed up the level of youth unemployment.   Young people face

increasing competition for available jobs: a baby boom which occurred

in the 1960s has increased their absolute numbers (O.E.C.D., 1970:8, M.S.C., 1977:20), and the number of married women seeking work has increased (O.E.C.D., 1980:8).

Even though there is little empirical evidence to support either the involuntary or the benefit-induced theories of unemployment, both theories have exerted a powerful influence on the present government and its adopted solution to the problem. Whilst the government agrees that youth unemployment is related to the present recession it believes that were wage differentials allowed to increase, so that it became cheaper for entrepreneurs to employ school-leavers, youth unemployment would fall to a lower level (see Young, 1982: Rees and Atkindon, eds., 1982).

The government run Manpower Services Commission (M.S.C.) has in the past introduced a series of schemes intended to help reduce the number of unemployed young people - the most recent of these being the Youth Training Scheme (Y.T.S.). Although these schemes differ in detail each has a similar basis - employers are subsidised to provide temporary employment and training (usually for twelve months) for a number of young people, each job being an additional position specifically created for each young person.

Young people are paid a small wage for undertaking the training scheme (currently £25.00 per week) which is less than what an adult would be paid for doing the same job. Hence wage differentials between young and adult workers are maintained, if not increased, although young people undertaking these training schemes receive more than they would obtain in social security benefit if they were unemployed.

These schemes have been strongly criticised. Atkinson and Rees (eds.,
1982:3-8) point out that, as these government schemes are based upon a
false set of premises concerning the causes of youth unemployment,
they are unlikely to offer much more than a short-term solution to
the problem, whilst Markall (Atkinson and Rees, eds.,1982:92-6) argues
that it is unlikely many young people will be able to obtain anything
above minimal skills and experience within the twelve months of their
scheme. In addition, Markall points out that many of the posts created
are within occupations and trades (such as typing and manufacturing)
which have been particularly adversely affected by the introduction of
new technology. It should be pointed out, however, that when the old
Youth Opportunities Scheme (Y.O.P.) was first introduced, some 80% of
trainees managed to find full-time employment after completing their
training, although this figure had fallen to 36% by 1982. (See
Atkinson and Rees, eds.,Gregory and Noble, 1982:60-81).

A final criticism made about these training schemes concerns the way
some employers have abused them. Gregory and Noble (Atkinson and Rees,
eds.,1982:76-7) claim that some employers use the training schemes as
a way of recruiting cheap labour. , In particular, it is alleged that
some employers take on youth trainees, giving them a minimum of training
and having them undertake jobs which would otherwise be done by full-
time employees on a far higher wage. A study by the Trade Union Unit
(reported in Atkinson and Rees, eds., Gregory and Noble, 1982:77-9)
concluded that such abuses and exploitation were widespread amongst
those employers participating in the scheme, although most employers
were found to be operating the training schemes fairly.

Social scientists and people in general are concerned about the consequences of mass unemployment amongst young people in Britain today. Economists are particularly worried about the affect of mass unemployment on the quality of the labour force, and upon the attitudes of young people towards work and employment. Murray (1978) examined this question by administering a series of questionnaires to young people, his work suggesting that prolonged unemployment is likely to 'alienate' young people, making tham more cynical about their future employment prospects, more dogmatic and reducing their commitment towards work. It would perhaps be rash to draw any firm deductions from Murray's findings, but it seems reasonable to assume that any cynicism towards work by young people is likely to persist into later adulthood, thus reducing the quality of the labour force in the future.

Social commentators, by contrast, are concerned about the effect of mass unemployment amongst young people on the crime rate and the degree of stability within society. In contrast to the 1950s and 1960s when young people were being criticised lest their newly found affluence should lead them astray, in the 1980s young people are being criticised lest unemployment and lack of money should lead them into crime. In particular, the summer of 1981 witnessed youth and race riots in a number of inner cities which, at the time, many people blamed upon unemployment.

This question has been examined by Harrison (1983:112-36, 335-9) and Mungham (Atkinson and Reed, ed., 1982:29-40). Mungham (1982:37) concluded that there is very little evidence to suggest that youth unemployment poses a problem in an 'insurrectionary sense', arguing that the riots of 1981 resulted from racial tension and police harassment of (black and coloured) young people, rather than

unemployment. Indeed, it is interesting to note that, although the

North East has the highest unemployment rate in England, it is also

the one region which did not experience any serious rioting in the

summer of 1981. Significantly, the area also has one of the lowest

proportions of Commonwealth immigrants amongst its population.

Harrison (1983:336-9) did, however, conclude that unemployment was

likely to lead to an increase in petty crimes and muggings.

It was shown earlier that many social commentators believed that a

new homogeneous youth culture had evolved in Britain during the years

of prosperity which followed the Second World War. However, it was

shown that this thesis was rejected by others who questioned both the

material basis of this universal culture, that is, universal affluence,

and the view that young people shared a common set of attitudes and

a universal life style.

Writers since the mid-1960s have, in contrast, concentrated their

attention on the rise of working-class youth subcultures in the inner-

city areas. Such groups have included the 'Teds' in the 1950s, 'Mods'

and 'Skinheads' in the late 1960s and 1970s, and more recently the

'Punks' (Cohen 1972; Brake, 1980; Hall and Jefferson, eds., 1976;

Mungham and Pearson, eds., 1976). Although the various thoeries of

working-class youth subcultures differ in their details, they all share

the view that such subcultures have their origins within the

contradictions and conflicts which were inherent within the development

of modern capitalism in the inner-city areas in the period since 1945.

Cohen's work (1972), summarised in Hall and Jefferson, eds., 1976:30-4),

is of particular interest. Cohen carried out his study in the East

End of London although his analysis is applicable to most urban areas

of Britain.   He argued that before the 1960s, working-class life

in the inner-city was closely knit, being based on neighbourhood

solidarity and the extended family.   Most people worked locally and

the workplace was strongly linked to the local community, adolescent

males tending to enter the same firms and trades as their fathers.

In such a situation youth subcultures were very unlikely to develop,

given the common world view which the closely knit working-class

community imposed upon its younger members.

However, the comprehensive redevelopment of London's East End in the

late 1950s and 1960s effectively destroyed the older working-class

community there. The extended family disintegrated, the older

neighbourhood community did not reproduce itself on the new council

estates, and many of the older firms and companies closed down, so that

 adolescents were forced into entering different occupations and trades

to those of their fathers.   As young people under these conditions

became more divorced from the older working-class community it is,

Cohen continues, perhaps inevitable that they should have bonded

themselves together in their own subcultural groups.

Clarke *et al.* (eds.1976:45-57) agree with Cohen to a large extent but

find his work limited, in that his analysis does not explain exactly

how different groups with different 'styles' and 'ideologies' come

into being.   In particular they criticise Cohen (eds., 1976:52-3) for

neglecting the importance of the dominant bourgeois ideology and the

rise of the consumer society in his analysis.   They argue that the

older working-class communities had to a large extent isolated working-

class young people from the dominant ideology. Under the distintegrat-

ion of the old working-class community and the expansion of the mass

media, young people become more and more exposed to both the dominant ideology and modern consumerism. In this model, working-class youth subcultures arose as a kind of hybrid or synthesis of both the older working-class culture and the dominant culture. Modern consumerism and the expansion of the teenage market were also of extreme importance here in that they gave the various youth subcultures which were evolved the ability to differentiate themsleves from one another in terms of, for example, their music and their clothing.

It may be thought that these theories of youth subculture are of direct relevance to a study of young people in the new towns, owing to the stress which they place upon the redevelopment of urban areas and the breakdown of both the external family and the working-class community. However, it should be stressed that working-class youth subcultures of the type examined by Cohen, Hall and Jefferson (e.g. the Teds, Mods, Skinheads, etc.,) have tended to be restricted to the poorer inner-city areas of Britain. Conditions within the inner-city areas tend to be somewhat different from those in the new towns in that a very high proportion of their population tend to be engaged in lower manual occupations, there is likely to be a higher proportion of coloured immigrants, and their populations are beset with a variety of social problems ranging from a high incidence of single-parent families through to substandard housing and high unemployment. Under these social conditions the working-class youth subcultures which evolved were perhaps very likely to take on a deviant and at times violent and racist form.

Social conditions in the new towns are fundamentally different: higher proportions of their populations are engaged in white-collar and skilled manual occupations and they do not, by and large, suffer

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from the same social problems which mar life in the inner-city areas.
Here a different youth subculture is perhaps likely to evolve - one
which is likely to be more middle-class in its orientations, putting
more stress on the middle-class values of personal advancement,
economic success and independence. This is likely amongst other things
to have a major influence on voting behaviour and politics in more
general terms in the new towns. This will be discussed in greater
detail later in this chapter.

In the brief introduction to this section it was shown that the most
significant political feature of the period since 1970 has been the
decline of the two-party system and the rise of the Liberal Party and
more recently the S.D.P. This situation is shown in Table 2.4 below
which records the percentage of the popular vote obtained by the three
major political parties at the three general elections of 1970, 1979
and 1983, each of which was won by the Conservative Party.

Table 2.4: Percent of the Popular Vote Obtained by the Three Major
Parties*

Party	1970	1979	1983
Conservative	46	44	43
Labour	43	37	28
Liberal	8	14	26+

* The Nationalist, Unionist, Independent and
  Minor Parties' vote has been excluded.

+ Includes the S.D.P. vote.

Source: Pears, 1983: Sec.D4.

From Table 2.4 it can be seen that the Liberal Party vote rose from only 8% in 1970 to 14% in 1979 and to a staggering 26% in 1983. By contrast the vote of the Labour Party has fallen considerably from 43% in 1970 to only 28% in 1983. Hand-in-hand with these trends has been a dramatic decline in the level of class-related voting. It will be recalled that prior to 1970 political scientists discovered a strong correlation to exist between social class and voting such that working-class people tended to vote for the Labour Party and middle-class people tended to vote for the Conservative Party. Table 2.5 illustrates the decline of class-related voting in Britain in the 1983 General Election.

Table 2.5: Class-related Voting in the 1983 General Election

	All Voters	A & B	C1	C2	D & E
Conservative	44	62	55	39	29
Labour	29	12	21	35	44
Liberal/SDP	27	27	24	27	28

Source: Crewe, *The Guardian*, 13 June 1983:5.

From Table 2.5 it can be seen that a majority of middle-class voters (A,B & C1) supported the Conservative Party in the 1983 General Election, although a quarter of them voted Alliance candidates. The Labour Party, though, lost a considerable amount of its traditional working-class support: it had the support of only just over a third of the skilled working-class vote, (C2) and only 44% of the semi-skilled and unskilled working-class vote (D and E), two groups which had over-whelmingly supported the Labour Party in general elections prior to the mid-1970s.

The reasons for these changes in voting behaviour and in particular the fall in the level of support for the Labour Party have been the subject of much investigation by political scientists. Himmelweit, Humphreys, Jaeger and Katz (1981) account for these changes by arguing that there has been a large increase in the degree of issue-related voting in recent years by which people, rather than voting on strictly class lines, vote for the political party which they believe most strongly represents their interests (1981:194-7) - this change in the psychology of voting behaviour arising from both increased media coverage of the political parties and general elections, and the decline of the traditional working-class community. Increased media coverage of the political parties and general elections is important in explaining the decline of class-related voting insofar as the mass media serve an educative function in explaining to the electorate how the manifestos of the various political parties differ from one another. This means that voters in the 1970s and 1980s are likely to be far more knowledgeable about the differences in policies put forward by the different political parties than they were in earlier periods.

The decline of the traditional working-class community was examined earlier in the discussion of Cohen's work on youth subculture. Cohen (1983) takes this argument further in a recent article on the decline in Labour Party support amongst young voters. Although this article is based on ethnographic work carried out amongst young people in London's East End, it is of relevance to other areas of Britain. Cohen argues that the source of the Labour Party's success in the older working-class community lay in its links with the trade union movement, which in turn arose from the strong links which existed between local industry and the local community. The history of the Labour Party in

Britain has long been intimately tied up with that of the trades union movement. Trades union funds provide most of the Labour Party's finance and many Labour M.P.s are sponsored by the trades unions. In this situation young people were exposed to Labour Party ideology from an early age in the home and later in the workplace and they could be relied upon to support the Labour Party once they had reached maturity. With the comprehensive redevelopment of the area - the breakdown of the local community and the extended family, and the closing of local firms - the links between the trades unions and the working-class community were lessened and support for the Labour Party fell as voters were increasingly exposed to wider cultural influence. Moreover, Cohen continues, young people were more likely to be affected by this process since working-class youth subcultures provided an alternative world-view to that of the older working-class community and social poverty and the loss of skilled jobs in the area made them more apathetic about politics, this trend being accelerated by the Labour Party's failure to improve their lot when in government in the mid-1970s. It is, however, doubtful if young people living in these conditions would give their vote to the Conservative Party in preference to the Labour Party. Rather they are more likely to become abstainers and not vote at all, although some may be attracted towards the extemist policies of the National Front.

Extending Cohen's analysis further to the new towns it seems reasonable to speculate that conditions within the new towns will lead to an increase in the level of issue-related voting amongst both older and younger voters. Some evidence for this view was examined in Chapter One, where it was shown that voters in Cramlington and Peterlee New Towns were more likely to support Alliance and Independent candidates in local

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elections than were voters in the surrounding countryside. Both these
new towns, it will be recalled, are in areas which were, until recently,
dominated by the coal industry and historically the National Union of
Mineworkers has probably been the most ardent pro-Labour Party trades
union in Britain. It seems, then, to be not unreasonable to suggest
that the decline in the absolute numbers of miners within these new
towns, combined with an increase in service and manufacturing industries
(often non-unionised) to a large extent accounts for the fall in Labour
Party support there.

Clearly one would expect these trends to be more pronounced amongst
younger rather than older voters, given that most young people in these
new towns were brought up within them and away from the more closely-
knit comunities within which their parents were born and spent most of
their formulative years. Additional evidence for this thesis is
provided by Butler and Kavenagh (1980:397) who subjected the results of
the 1979 General Election to a detailed statistical analysis and
discovered that a number of constituencies containing new towns exhibited
a particularly high swing to the Conservative Party. Ince constituency,
for example, which contains Skelmersdale New Town, registered the
highest swing to the Conservative Party in the North West of England.

In conclusion, this chapter has reviewed the contributions made to the
study of young people by town planners, economists, sociologists, and
political scientists. It has been shown that new town planners and
writers on the new towns generally have all but ignored the problems
faced by young people living in new town environments, whilst the
interests of other writers has tended to be guided by economic and
social factors. Thus, in the 1950s and 60s writers were looking at how
young people were coping with the problems posed to them by their newly

found affluence, whilst as youth unemployment rose in the years after 1970 so writers were to turn their attention to its causes and consequences. Finally, sociologists have examined the nature of working-class youth subcultures, which have arisen in recent years in Britain's inner-cities.

It is intended in this chapter to outline for the reader the major
characteristics of the young people, and by comparing these character-
istics, where possible, with relevant census material it is hoped to
show the extent to which they can be said to be representative of
young people in the three new towns.   The chapter is divided into three
main sections dealing with the personal characteristics of the young
people, their origins, and their family backgrounds.

Section One: Personal Characteristics

In Appendix A it is mentioned that 224 young people participated in
this study: of these, 79 were resident in Peterlee, 66 in Cramlington,
and 79 in Washington.   In all, 107 were male and 117 female; 74 were
aged 16-17 years, 83 aged 17-18 years, and 67 aged 18-19 years.*
Almost all of the young people lived with their parents (199 or 89%).
Eight were living in their own marital homes, and a further fifteen
lived in their own accommodation (mainly flats and bedsitting rooms).
One lived with another relative, and one with a guardian.

The vast majority of interviewees (216 or 96%) were single, but eight
were married.   Ten young people had children of their own, or were
expecting children at the time of the interview.   The maximum number
of brothers and sisters was eleven (including half siblings), and at
the other extreme, eighteen were only children.   Table 3.1 gives a
breakdown of family size by new town, from which it can be seen that
the mean family size varies from 2.97 in Cramlington to 3.30 in
Washington.

* Ages in school year beginning 1st September 1982.

Table 3.1: Numbers of Brothers and Sisters by New Town*

New Town Row %	One or Two	Three	Four Plus	Mean Size
Peterlee	29 36.7	34 30.4	26 32.9	3.18
Cramlington	28 42.4	18 27.3	20 30.3	2.97
Washington	24 30.4	29 36.7	26 32.9	3.30
All	81 36.2	71 31.7	72 32.1	3.16

* Interviewees included in totals.

Altogether 117 (52.5%) of the   respondents were employed or under-
taking government training schemes at the times of their interview,
66 (29.5%) were unemployed, and 41 (18.3%) were engaged in further
or higher education.   Table 3.2 shows how these figures varied
between the three new towns.

Table 3.2: The Employment Status of Young People

New Town Row %	Unemployed	Employed*	Education
Peterlee	22 27.8	45 57.0	12 15.2
Cramlington	17 25.8	34 51.5	15 22.7
Washington	27 34.2	38 48.1	14 17.7
All	66 29.5	117 52.2	41 18.3

* Includes three at college undertaking block release courses.

The figures in this table should be treated with some caution, given

that figures for Cramlington were collected six months before those

in Peterlee and Washington and they therefore relate to the previous

school year. However, these figures do suggest that young people from

Cramlington were more likely to remain in education than were those from

Peterlee and Washington. Youth unemployment was above the 25% mark in

all three new towns and was most serious amongst young people from

Washington. The majority of young people interviewed were, however,

engaged in regular employment or were undertaking government schemes.

Almost 75% of the group (167 respondents) were members of the Anglican

or Episcopalian faiths, 32 (14.3%) were Roman Catholics, 19 (8.5%)

belonged to other Christian churches (mainly Methodists and Scottish

Presbyterians), and 5 (2.2%) had neither been christened nor baptised.

When asked, however, whether or not they had any religious feelings, 41

(18.4%) interviewees described themselves as atheists and 61 (27.4%)

as agnostics. In contrast, 97 (43.6%) young people claimed to be religious

and another 24 (10.7%) said that they were either strongly or very

strongly religious.

Section Two: The Origins of Respondents

All of the interviewees were British, although only 146 (65.2%) described

themselves as such when asked what their nationality was. In contrast,

66 (29.5%) said that they were English, 5 (2.2%) said Scottish, 5 (2.7%)

said British *and* English, and 1 used a regional designation ('Yorkshire

lass'). Given the open-ended nature of the question, it is somewhat

surprising that no-one described themselves as a *Geordie* or *Makum*

(Wearsider), although several said their nationality was Church of

England.

In line with the findings of Northumberland County Council and the Development Corporations in Washington and Peterlee, it was found that the majority of respondents involved in the study originated from the North East of England, with almost 70% of new residents in the three new towns having moved from towns and villages situated less than sixteen kilometres away. Washington has the largest proportion of native residents, and more than one-third (twenty-nine) of its young people interviewed originated from families which had been living in what is now the New Town for several generations. The corresponding figure for Cramlington was thirteen (19.7%). Only in Peterlee did the proportion of new residents coming from places more than fifteen kilometres away rise above the 40% mark, and most of these originated from County Durham and the Tyneside conurbation. These points are illustrated in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Origins of Respondents' Families in Kilometres from the New Town*

New Town Row %	Native	1 - 5	6 - 10	11 - 15	16+
Peterlee	1	26	8	9	34
	1.3	33.8	10.4	11.7	44.1
Cramlington	13	7	16	20	10
	19.7	13.2	30.2	30.7	18.9
Washington	29	6	19	11	14
	36.7	12.0	38.0	22.0	28.0
All	43	39	43	40	58
	19.3	21.7	23.9	22.2	32.0

* In calculating the percentage figures for new residents, natives have been excluded from the totals.

Table 3.4 illustrates the lengths of time for which respondents' families had been living in the three new towns. As is to be expected,

Peterlee has the highest proportion of young people originating from families which had been living in the new town for more than fifteen years.* In all forty-six (59%) young people fell into this category. This means that a sizeable proportion (c.50%) of the young people interviewed in Peterlee were born in the new town and therefore represent its first real generation. In contrast, the majority of young people interviewed in Cramlington and Washington were born outside their new towns.

Table 3.4: Lengths of Time Resident in the New Towns in Years +

New Town Row %	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	20+	Native
Peterlee	11	6	15	25	21	1
	14.1	7.7	19.2	32.1	26.9	1.3
Cramlington	5	18	23	6	1	13
	9.4	34.0	43.4	11.3	1.9	19.7
Washington	9	19	13	5	4	29
	18.0	38.0	26.0	10.0	8.0	36.7
All	25	43	51	36	26	43
	13.8	23.8	28.2	19.9	14.4	19.2

+ In calculating percentage figures for new residents, natives have been excluded.

When respondents were asked why they thought that their parents had moved to their new towns, housing (mentioned by 56.6%) and employment (mentioned by 31.4%) were given as the two main reasons. Replies were not found to vary significantly between young people in the three new towns, even though Peterlee had been constructed mainly to provide houses and Cramlington and Washington to provide additional employment in the area. These points are illustrated in Table 3.5 below.

* Native families excluded.

Table 3.5: Reasons Cited for Moving to the New Towns*

New Town Row %	Housing	Employment	Other	Number
Peterlee	45	25	6	76
	59.2	32.9	7.9	
Cramlington	27	14	8	49
	55.1	28.6	16.3	
Washington	27	16	7	50
	54.0	32.0	14.0	
All	99	55	22	175
	56.6	31.4	12.0	

* 'Don't knows' and natives excluded.

Section Three: Family Background

At the time of the interviews some 182 (82.7%) respondents had fathers who were in regular employment, 13 (5.9%) had retired, 3 had died, and 22 (10.0%) were unemployed. It was interesting that the unemployment rate amongst their fathers was not found to vary by more than two percentage points between the three new towns - the figures ranged from 9.2% in Peterlee to 10.8% in Cramlington.

Table 3.6, below, shows the occupational classification of respondents' fathers. Almost half of the fathers were skilled manual workers, and a further 12% were semi-skilled or unskilled manual workers. Peterlee had the lowest proportion of skilled manual workers (34 or 43.6%) and Washington the highest proportion (42 or 53.8%). Just over 40% of respondents' fathers in the three new towns were non-manual workers. The actual figure varied from 35.9% in Washington to 42.3% in Cramlington.

Table 3.6:   Occupations of Respondents' Fathers by New Town

New Town Row %	ABC1	C2	DE
Peterlee	33	34	11
	42.3	43.6	14.1
Cramlington	25	32	8
	38.5	49.2	12.3
Washington	28	42	8
	35.9	53.8	1o.3
All	86	108	27
	38.9	48.9	12.2

ABC1 -   White Collar
C2   -   Skilled Manual
DE   -   Semi-Skilled and Unskilled

Comparing these figures with those given in Table 1.3, which shows the occupational classification of household heads in each of the three new towns at this time of the 1981 census, it is possible to say something about the representativeness of the sample.   It is readily apparent that the sample of young people interviewed is skewed in so far as it understates the proportions of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, and overstates the proportions of skilled manual and non-manual workers in the three new towns.   This is particularly true in the case of Peterlee: almost 43% of respondents there had fathers engaged in non-manual occupations, a figure which was eighteen percentage points higher than the corresponding census figure.   Discrepancies were also found to exist in these figures for both Cramlington and Washington, though they were not so great as for Peterlee.   In both the latter cases the proportions of fathers with skilled manual trades were far higher than would have been expected, and in Cramlington the sample appears to have *understated* the proportion engaged in non-manual work. These points are illustrated in Table 3.7.

The discrepancies in the figures for Peterlee are undoubtedly connected

with the rehousing policy which is being pursued by Easington District

Council. Since semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers are more

likely than other groups of workers to be living in council accommoda-

tion they were the most likely groups to have been rehoused, and their

teenage children were the most likely to be unavailable for interview.

Looking at Table 3.7, it can be seen that whilst in 1981 some 86% of

families in Peterlee were living in council houses, only 56.4% of

respondents were living in this type of accommodation at the time of

their interviews two-and-a-half years later.*

The discrepancies in the figures for Cramlington and Washington may

reflect the way in which the samples were obtained: a stratified sample

was used in Cramlington and only five of the eighteen villages

in Washington were sampled.   Alternatively, these differences

could well reflect differences in the occupations of older and younger

married men as respondents tended to have fathers with a median age

somewhat above the figure for married men in the three new towns as a

whole.   The decline in the numbers entering craft apprenticeships and

the increasing numbers entering service occupations in recent years does

indeed suggest that older married men would be more likely than younger

ones to be engaged in skilled manual occupations.

Moving on now to an examination of the occupational status of respondents'

mothers, some 127 (57.2%) respondents had mothers who were employed at

the time of the interview, 3 mothers had retired, and 4 had died.   In

all 88 (39.6%) mothers were unemployed, the majority of these being

described as housewives.

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   * This analysis ignores council house sales.

Table 3.7: Differences in the Occupations of Respondents' Fathers and Males in the 1981 Census

	Survey %	Census %	Difference %
Peterlee			
Non-Manual	42.3	25.6	16.7
Skilled Manual	43.6	42.9	0.7
Other Manual	14.1	31.5	-17.4
Rented Accommodation	56.4	86.0	-29.6
Owner-Occupied	43.6	14.0	29.6
Cramlington			
Non-Manual	39.5	43.6	- 5.1
Skilled Manual	49.2	36.8	12.4
Other Manual	12.3	19.6	- 7.3
Rented Accommodation	43.9	41.7	2.2
Owner-Occupied	56.1	58.3	- 2.2
Washington			
Non-Manual	35.9	34.5	1.4
Skilled Manual	53.8	43.0	1o.8
Other Manual	1o.3	22.5	-12.2
Rented Accommodation	58.3	67.1	- 8.8
Owner-Occupied	41.8	32.9	8.9

Source: 1981 Census

It is interesting that differences were found to exist regarding both the level of unemployment and the type of work being undertaken by mothers in the three new towns. In Peterlee and Washington only 38 (46.7%) and 42 (53.2%) mothers respectively were employed, but in Cramlington 47 (71.2%) mothers were employed. This reflects clearly the lower rate of unemployment in Cramlington relative to the other two new towns. Differences were also found to exist in the types of

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work being undertaken by mothers in the three new towns.   This point is

illustrated in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8:   Occupational Classification of Respondents' Mothers by New Town*

New Town Row %	AB	C1	C2	DE	Unemployed
Peterlee	9 22.5	11 27.5	3 7.5	17 42.5	36 46.2
Cramlington	4 7.8	17 33.3	3 5.9	27 52.9	18 27.7
Washington	3 7.0	1O 23.3	3 7.O	27 62.8	34 43.O
All	16 11.9	38 28.4	9 6.7	71 53.O	88 39.6

* Percentage figures relate to those in employment

AB - Professional and Managerial
C1 - Office and Clerical
C2 - Skilled Manual
DE - Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Manual

It can be seen from that Table that the majority of working mothers (71

in all) were engaged in either semi-skilled or unskilled manual work, and

a further 28% (38 in all) were employed in white-collar occupations,

of a clerical or secretarial nature.   The figures for

Peterlee are particularly striking, for more than one-fifth of working

mothers were employed in professional or managerial positions.

In conclusion, this chapter has looked at the main characteristics of the

young people, from the three new towns, who took part in the study.   The

majority of respondents were born in the North East of England and most

within sixteen kilometres of their new towns.   Approximately one-in-

three were unemployed, and just under a fifth were engaged in further

education.   In the last section of the chapter it was shown that the sample is somewhat skewed, insofar as it may understate the proportion of young people from families with fathers engaged in semi-skilled and unskilled manual work.
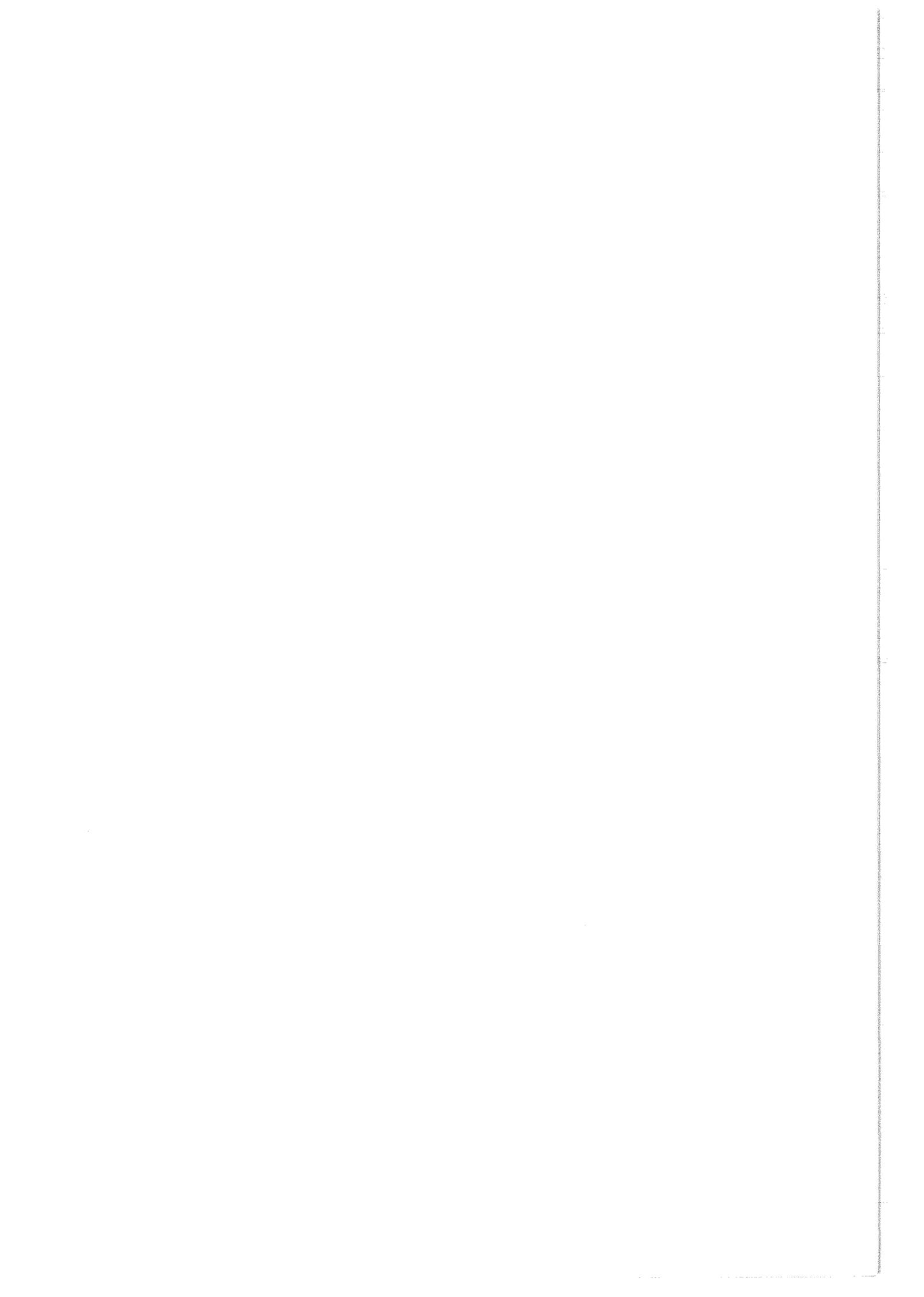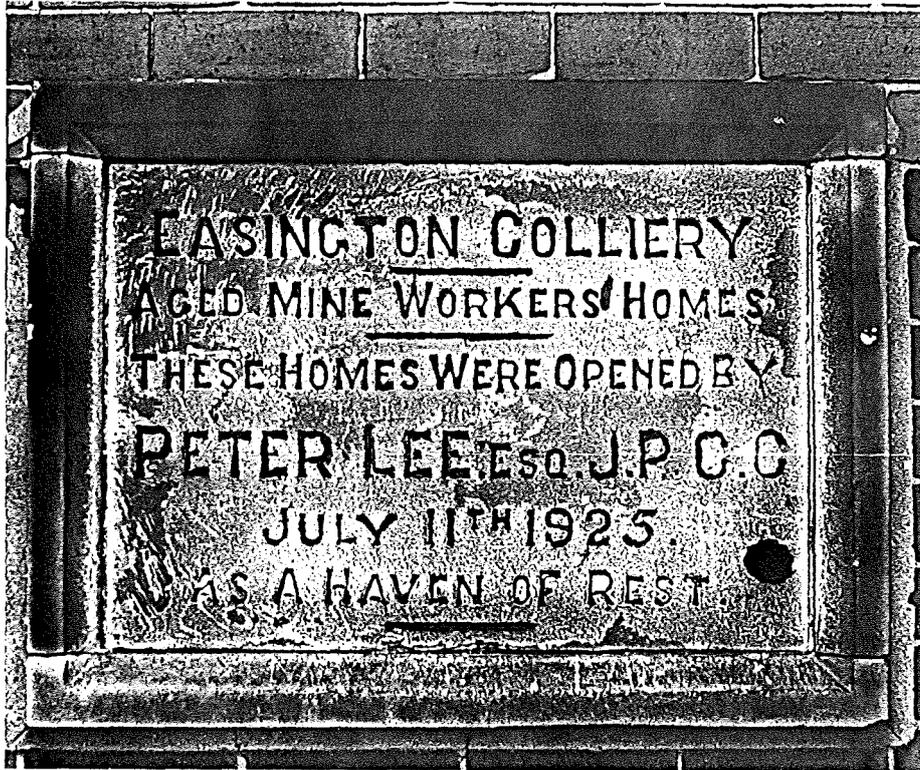
Plate 3: Peter Lee

Peter Lee, after whom the new town was named, was the first Labour
Party Chairman of Durham County Council.

Plates 4 – 5: Old Towns

Above: Old Washington.
Below: Old Cramlington.

Both Washington and Cramlington were built upon the sites of older towns.

Plates 6 - 7: Cramlington 'Old' and 'New'

Above: The 'pub' (and working men's club) provided the principal leisure facilities for miners in the old colliery villages.

Below: Streets in Cramlington New Town have been arranged in alphabetical order.

This chapter discusses the roles and functions of secondary and further education in the three northern new towns under discussion. It is divided into three main sections: Section One looks at the extent to which the three new towns have developed their own distinctive educational systems; System Two looks at the role of secondary education in the three new towns, and the extent to which it is both preparing young people for life after school and helping to create a more equal society; Section Three examines the role and functions of further education in the three new towns.

Section One: The Education System

In this section the Reith Report on New Towns (cmnd.6876,1946), and the master plans for all three new towns are briefly discussed in an attempt to assess exactly what role, if any, was envisaged for education in the new towns.

On the whole it can be said that all four cited works are remarkable, not for what they say about education so much as for what they do not say.   The Reith Report (cmnd.6876, 1946) devotes only thirteen paragraphs to education (nos. 151-64).   Of these thirteen paragraphs five are devoted to the building and siting of schools; one each to special schools, private schools, universities,and schools in Scotland; two to secondary education, and two to further education.   In fact, it appears to ignore all discussion of the role and function of education, saying that it was to be the responsibility of the Department of Education and individual local authorities to provide schools and to educate the new towns' youngsters.   Thus the report (cmnd. 6876, 1946: para.151) says:-

> Sites for educational purposes should be
> allocated in consultation at the earliest
> possible stage with the local education
> authority. The standards which will in
> future govern requirements are set out in
> the regulations of the Minister of Education
> under the Education Act, 1944. They are
> based on the new conceptions of education
> embodied in that Act.

It is, however, interesting that the Reith Report (para.153)

recommended that secondary education in the new towns be organised on

a tripartite system based upon secondary grammar, technical, and modern

schools. At no point in the Report is the possibility of establishing

comprehensive or co-educational schools discussed.

Similarly, although the report (paras. 154, 160-1) recommended that

further education colleges be established in the new towns, at no point

were the role and function of these colleges in the local community

discussed. At first sight this does seem to be a little difficult to

understand for the late 1940s was a period when state planning was in

vogue, following the Allied victory in World War II and the election

in 1945 of a Labour Government committed to a policy of full employment

and the establishment of a Welfare State (Craig, 1979: 123-31).

Indeed, in Chapter One of this study it was shown that the new town

idea embodied the very principle of state planning in an urban setting,

to facilitate both balanced industrial development and a balanced

social structure. Thus one might, perhaps, have expected the Reith

Report to discuss the role that education could play in creating both

a skilled workforce and a more egalitarian society. But it should

not be forgotten that the Education Act of 1944 had been passed by

Parliament just two years before the report's publication. That

Act had made educational provision the responsibility of individual

County and County Borough Councils in co-operation with the Department

of Education: had the Reith Report recommended that the newly-formed

Development Corporations be given responsibility, or even a say in,

educational provision within their new towns, this would undoubtedly

have been unacceptable to the educational establishment at a time when

the education system was being radically altered throughout England and

Wales. Moreover, some of the measures embodied in the Education Act

were radical for the time: most notably the concept of equal educational

opportunities for all, and the raising of the school leaving age to

fifteen. Yet the Act did not specifically recommend that the tripartite

system of secondary education be introduced, so it is perhaps a little

strange that the Reith Report should have recommended its establishment

in·the new towns.

It was against this background that the Master Plan for Peterlee New Town

was drawn up in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The Peterlee Master

Plan (1952: 21-3) specifically stated that education provision within the

new town was not the responsibility of the Development Corporation and

referred the reader to a report produced by the Durham County Education

Authority in 1951. This report proposed that seven secondary schools be

built in the new town, namely one secondary grammar school, one secondary

technical school, one Roman Catholic secondary school, and two boys' and

two girls' secondary modern schools. The Peterlee Master Plan did not,

however, enter into a discussion of the role education was to play in the

new town, although it did state the need to establish a further education

college to provide technical training for people working locally.

During the 1950s and 1960s five secondary schools and a technical college

were built in Peterlee. From their inception all were co-educational:

one was a secondary grammar-technical school, three were secondary modern

schools and one, St Bede's opened in 1969/70, was a Roman Catholic comprehensive school. In the early 1970s all of Peterlee's secondary schools were made fully comprehensive.

In July 1984, secondary and further education in Peterlee was radically reorganised. One comprehensive school, Howletch, was closed and the other three schools lost their sixth forms. Responsibility for the provision of all further education of both a traditional academic ('A' level) and vocational nature was transferred to the local technical college which became County Durham's first tertiary college (see *The Peterlee Times*, 2 February 1984).

The majority of Peterlee's young people interviewed as part of this study attended one or other of the new town's comprehensive schools. Table 4.1 gives details of the pupil population of these schools.

Table 4.1: Peterlee Secondary Schools (January 1984)

School	Total Population	Lower Sixth	Upper Sixth
Dene House	962	5	13
Shotton Hall	1,185	53	25
Howletch*	512	33	28
St Bede's (R.C.)	1,166	40	31
TOTAL	3,825	131	97
Peterlee F.E. College (1983)	Full-Time Part-Time	250 1,300	

Sources: Easington District Council Office.
Education Year Book.

* Closed in July 1984.

Cramlington and Washington New Towns were built in an altogether different climate to that in which Peterlee had been built, the main impetus behind the creation of both being, as was shown in Chapter One, the need to rejuvenate the economy of the North East of England, where unemployment at 6% (twice the national average) was a major problem (see cmnd. 2206,1976). Educationalists were hotly debating the relative merits of both comprehensive and co-educational schools (see Benn and Simon, 1972) and some were arguing that education in schools should have a wider vocational content (Entwistle, 1970). In this situation it would perhaps have been expected that the master plans for Cramlington and Washington would have examined the question of education in some detail, discussing, for example, both the nature of secondary and further education in the two new towns and the role of the schools in helping to create a skilled labour force. In fact the two Master Plans, like the Peterlee Master Plan, say almost nothing about these issues.

The Cramlington Master Plan (Northumberland County Council, 1961:22-3) recommended that seven secondary schools and a college of further education be built in the new town on two education campuses. These schools were to consist of five secondary modern schools, including one Roman Catholic and two secondary grammar/technical schools, serving an eventual school population of 3,150. The role and funtion of these schools were not discussed in the Master Plan.

In the event only one secondary comprehensive school, Cramlington High School, has been built in the new town though at the time of writing (March 1984) the County Council is discussing the possibility of building a second high school in the new town. Cramlington High School admits pupils at the age of thirteen and currently (1983-4) has a pupil population of about 1,400, of whom approximately seventy-nine

are in the Lower Sixth and thirty-nine are in the Upper Sixth.

Cramlington New Town does not have a Roman Catholic High School and a

high proportion of Roman Catholic children travel to St Benet Biscop

High School in Bedlington. As yet, Cramlington lacks a further

education college, although Cramlington High School offers a range of

courses including GCEs, RSA examinations and B/TEC general diplomas

to those young people aged 16+ who wish to undertake some vocational

training. In addition a high proportion (about 10%) of Cramlington's

16-17 year olds undertake courses at Ashington Technical College.

The Washington Master Plan also ducked the question of education,

stating that this was the responsibility of the local education

authority, (Llewelyn-Davies, 1966: 82-4) viz:-

> An assessment of the total provision of educational
> facilities in the New Town has been made by the Director
> of Education of Durham County Council.   (para.321).

Again, the Washington Master Plan says nothing about the debate which

was taking place in education at the time about the merits of

comprehensive schooling and the relevance of the school curriculum to

the needs of industry. This was so despite the fact that the Master

Plan discusses in some detail the needs of industry in the new town

and the role which the latter might play in providing a pool of skilled

labour (Llewelyn-Davies, 1966: 51-7). It made provision for building

six secondary schools (including a Roman Catholic School) for an

estimated population of 7,000 pupils. The plan also added that a

further education college was to be built in the new town though its

role was not discussed (para.310).

By 1983-4 five comprehensive schools had been built in Washington New

Town although one of these, Biddick School, was opened in 1978-9 and

lacked a sixth form at the time of writing.   Table 4.2 gives details

of the numbers of pupils attending each of these schools.

Table 4.2:   Secondary Schools in Washington (1983-4)

School	Approx. Population	Lower Sixth	Upper Sixth
Biddick	700	-	-
Oxclose	1100	65	37
St Robert's (R.C.)	1000	57	39
Usworth	1200	39	33
Washington	1350	46	31
Total	5350	207	140

Source: Washington Careers Office, Education Year Book.

Washington New Town lacks a college of further education, although

Sunderland Polytechnic is establishing an outstation in the new town to

teach a number of subjects.   Many young people from Washington attend

one or other of the two colleges of further education in Sunderland,

which provide a variety of vocational courses of a full-time, part-

time, and sandwich nature.

To summarise at this point, it should be apparent from what has been said

in the preceding pages that the system of education which was evolved

in the three new towns is very similar to that which exists elsewhere

within the local education authorities in which they are situated.

In all three new towns the provision of education is the responsibility

of the local education authority, and the two Development Corporations

and the Cramlington Sub-committee have no real power to influence

educational policy in their new towns.   The new towns, then, have

failed to develop their own distinctive systems of secondary and

further education, although Peterlee has the only tertiary college in

the North East of England.   It follows that there are no a priori

reasons for presupposing that the content and nature of education in the

new towns should be any different from that in the rest of the Northern

Region.

Section Two: Secondary Education

There are two matters to be discussed here: the content of the schools'

curriculum and the extent to which the schools in the three new towns

are helping to create a more balanced and equal society.

The school curriculum has encountered much criticism in recent years,

amidst claims that it is too deeply rooted in the teaching of academic

subjects such as English literature, physics, etc., which have long

formed the backbone of the traditional English secondary school curriculum.

A DES Report, *The School Curriculum* (1981: paras. 39-56), took up this

point in arguing that secondary schools should teach a greater range of

vocational subjects and forge stronger links with industry.   In

particular the report emphasised the need for schools to keep abreast of

modern developments and to expand the teaching of modern languages,

micro-electronics and technically-based subjects.

It should be pointed out however that not all writers are agreed that

education should have a strong vocational element.   Entwistle (1970:

79-95) points out that many employers prefer to take on and themselves

train young people who have had a broader in-depth education whilst

they were at school, and the DES (1981: para.39) in its report pointed

to the need for schools to teach a broad and balanced curriculum.

An altogether different criticism is that voiced by Hargreaves (1982),

who argues that the curriculum in many modern comprehensive schools is

irrelevant to the needs and interests of many, and especially working-

class, youngsters.   Hargreaves would like to see the curriculum expanded

to include the teaching of subjects which cater for leisure activities

and expand people's knowledge of their local communities.

To test the relevance of these criticisms of secondary education to

schools in the three new towns under discussion, the published CSE and

GCE 'O' level examination results for 1983 were subjected to a systematic

examination.   These were obtained from the public libraries in

Washington, Cramlington and Durham City.   The subjects were broken down

according to the three-fold classification shown in Table 4.3, namely

into: traditional subjects, such as mathematics, English language,

cookery, woodwork, etc;   vocational subjects, such as commerce, typing,

and computer studies;   and social skills subjects with a strong leisure

and/or community content, such as drama, French studies, local studies,

etc.   Such a breakdown of subjects is open to some criticism as it is

difficult to know exactly how to classify some.   Art and music, for

example, have been classified as traditional as woodwork and metalwork

have been, although the former have a strong social skills bent

and the latter have vocational uses.

From Table 4.3 it can be seen clearly that more than three-quarters (77%)

of the subjects taken at CSE and GCE 'O' level in all three of the new

towns were of a traditional nature,and only 14% were social skills

subjects and 9% vocational.

Moreover, the vocational subjects taken are of dubious value to the

world of industry and commerce, the bulk of these passes being in office-

based subjects such as typewriting, accountancy, and commerce for which

employment opportunities are declining rapidly as a result of the

introduction of new technology.   Schools in all three of the new towns

are now teaching computer studies courses at CSE and/or GCE 'O' level

Table 4.3:   Threefold Classification of Examination Results of 1983
             Fifth-Formers*

Count Col. %	Peterlee	Cramlington	Washington	Total
Traditional	2921 (78.1)	2106 (78.8)	5399 (76.6)	10426 (77.5)
Vocational	281 (7.5)	258 (9.7)	630 (8.9)	1169 (8.7)
Social Skills	583 (14.4)	307 (11.5)	1018 (14.4)	1863 (13.8)
Social Skills (excluding Oral)	291 (7.8)	94 (3,5)	786 (11.2)	1171 (8.7)

Source: Schools' Perspectives

*Figures exclude Howletch School, Peterlee, for which published figures
 are not available and St Benet Biscop School, Bedlington, for which
 the results of Cramlington's youngsters are not available.

standard, but as yet though only a minority (approximately 10%) of fifth

formers in each of the three new towns are studying computer studies at

this level.

Life and social skills-type subjects also appear to have been somewhat

neglected in the curriculum of schools in the three new towns: although

15% of examination passes amongst 1983 school leavers were in these

subjects, this figure is reduced to barely 9% when English language oral

is excluded from the list of subjects.   This indicates that by and large

secondary schools in the three new towns are not catering for the leisure

activities of young people, this being a question of particular concern

in a region in which upwards of 50% of young people are unable to obtain

permanent employment when they leave school.

Clearly the traditional curriculum still dominates the teaching of young

people in schools in the three new towns, this may not be a problem if

employers are satisfied with the calibre of school-leavers and, as was

mentioned earlier, there is some evidence to suggest that many employers

prefer to employ young people who have studied a broad and balanced range

of subjects at school (Entwistle, 1970: 78-95).   However, the extent to

which employers are satisfied with the calibre of school-leavers is not

a subject which has been examined in this study.

One other area on which the DES (1981: paras. 48-50) expressed some

concern is the teaching of modern languages in secondary schools, it being

felt that too narrow a range of languages was offered to pupils.   An

examination of both CSE and GCE 'O' level results revealed that German

and French were the only languages (other than Latin) being taught to

young people in each of the three new towns.   Of these two French was by

far the most popular with 31% of fifth formers having an examination pass

in the subject.   By contrast only just over 7% of young people had

studied German up to CSE or GCE 'O' level standard.   These points are

illustrated in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4:   Languages Taught in New Town Schools

Language Pupil %	Peterlee	Cramlington	Washington	Total
French	81 (28.8)	87 (25.0)	222 (35.2)	390 (31.0)
German	19 (6.8)	25 (7.2)	48 (7.6)	92 (7.3)
Latin	18 (6.4)	– –	21 (3.3)	39 (1.7)
No. of 5th formers	281	347	630	1258

Source: Schools' prospectuses

This analysis would perhaps suggest that there is a need for the schools in the new towns to expand their modern language teaching, perhaps offering Russian, Italian, and Spanish as additional second and third languages.

The extent to which schools in the three new towns are helping to create a more egalitarian society has three main dimensions: racism, sexism, and equality of opportunity. Given the low proportion of people of New Commonwealth origin in the three new towns, the question of racism in education will not be examined in this chapter and in fact all of the 224 young people interviewed in this study were of British or Irish origin.

The question of sexism in education was discussed in the DES publication cited earlier (DES 1981: paras. 47, 54). In particular the DES report expressed the view that girls were handicapped in that traditionally they tended to study modern languages, domestic subjects (cookery and needle-work), and arts subjects which had lower job potential than those studied by boys, namely mathematics, physics, chemistry, woodwork, and metalwork.

Table 4.5 illustrates those subjects which were undertaken by a pre-ponderence of either males or females at both CSE and GCE 'O' level standard. From this it can be seen clearly that the division of subjects between the sexes in comprehensive schools is indeed split along traditional lines, with males tending to study subjects of a scientific or home craft nature (i.e. woodwork and metalwork) and females tending to study languages and domestic subjects such as cookery and needlework, and to shy away from science subjects except for biology and human biology.

It is of interest that the main vocational subjects undertaken by respondents were almost entirely of a clerical nature, namely commerce, accounts, typing and shorthand, which were taken almost exclusively by females. To a large extent this is clearly linked to the female

Table 4.5: Subjects Undertaken by Sex

	Male	Female	Unisex	Uncertain*
Traditional Subjects	Physics Chemistry Metalwork Woodwork G.E.D.	Geography English Literature French German History R.I. Biology D.S. (Cookery) D.S. (Needlework)	English Language Mathematics Science Art Music	A.O. Maths Latin
Vocational Subjects	Technology Plastics	Commerce Accounts Typewriting Shorthand Economics	Computer Studies	Office Practice Electronics Building Studies Business Studies

Social Skills Subjects	English Oral
	Design
	Environmental
	  Studies
		Child Development
		Sociology
		Human Biology
			French Studies
			Drama and
			  Human Movement
			Humanities
			Social Studies
				Local Studies
				Film Studies
				European Studies
				Home Management
				German Studies
				Ceramics
				Politics
				Geology
				Arithmetic

* Numbers too small to categorise as male, female or unisex.

reproductive system,   insofar as the aim appears to be to produce

competent secretaries in the shortest possible time, working on the

assumption that after leaving school most women will work for a few

years before leaving the job market in order to start a family.

It would seem then that secondary education in the three new towns has

done little to alter the nature of subjects traditionally taken by

males and females.

For well over 50 years educationalists have noted that a strong

correlation exists between the home background of children and their

subsequent academic success.   Such that children from small families

and middle-class backgrounds tend to be more successful academically than

those from large families and working-class backgrounds (see Mortimore

and Blackstone, 1982).   Given the popular image of new towns with their

better and brighter environments, there is a prima facie case for

believing that this correlation will be lot less marked in them than it

is elsewhere.

In this section the survey data pertaining to 'O' level GCE and CSE

results will be examined in an attempt to discover what influence home

background has on examination success amongst respondents.   In doing

this two main indices of academic achievement were used: a simple count

of the number of 'O' level GCE passes obtained, and a concocted scale

which converted grades obtained at GCE 'O' level into numerical values

which were then added together in such a way that a high score was

indicative of high academic success and a low score of low academic

success.*

_____

* See Appendix B for details of how this scale was constructed.

Overall, roughly 77% of respondents had taken one or more CSE examinations

and just over 50% had taken one or more GCE 'O' levels.   Only 21 (9.4%)

respondents had taken no examinations at all.   The mean score of all

respondents on the concocted examination scale was 39.2 with a minimum

of 0 (no examinations taken) and a maximum of 82.

From Table 4.6 it can be seen clearly that the academic results of

interviewees in all three new towns were remarkably similar.

Table 4.6:   Numbers of CSEs and GCE 'O' Levels By New Town

Examination Statistics	Count Col.%	Peterlee	Cramlington	Washington	Total
CSE	None	23	19	10	52
		29.1	28.8	12.7	23.2
	1-3 CSEs	20	9	8	37
		25.3	13.6	10.1	16.5
	4-6 CSEs	23	24	33	80
		29.1	36.4	41.8	35.7
CHI SQR	7+ CSEs	13	14	28	55
= 0.01		16.5	21.2	35.4	24.2
GCE 'O' level	None	38	32	38	108
		48.1	48.5	48.1	48.2
	1-3 GCEs	13	13	23	49
		16.5	19.7	29.1	21.9
	4-6 GCEs	15	8	9	32
		19.0	12.1	11.4	14.3
CHI SQR	7+ GCEs	13	13	9	35
= ns		16.5	19.7	11.4	15.6
	Concocted Scale	37.5	40.3	40.1	39.2
ANOVA = ns	Standard Deviation	21.7	20.2	18.1	20.1
	No examin- ation passes	11 13.9	7 10.6	3 3.8	21 9.4

ns = not significant

Interviewees in Washington New Town were, however, somewhat more likely

to have been successful at CSE and less successful at GCE 'O' level than

were young people from the other two new towns.   This may merely reflect

differences in the absolute numbers of young people entered by schools in the three new towns for the two examinations, Washington schools being more likely than schools in the other two new towns to enter pupils for CSE examinations and less likely to enter them for the corresponding GCE 'O' level examination. Washington also has the lowest proportion of respondents who were entered for no examinations (3 or 3.8%) and Peterlee has the highest proportion (11 or 13.9%). Finally, the mean score on the concocted scale of examination success did not vary significantly between young people in the three new towns, Peterlee having the lowest mean value (37.5) and Cramlington the highest mean value (40.3).

Further analysis failed to find any significant differences in the academic performance of young people according to the school attended.

When the examination results were broken down by the sex of the respondent, no significant differences were found regarding the absolute numbers of CSEs obtained by males and females. Females were, however, significantly more likely to be successful at GCE 'O' level than males and the mean value of the concocted examination scale was significantly higher for females than for males. Thus from Table 4.7 it can be seen that whilst just over 60% of women were successful in obtaining one or more GCE 'O' levels and almost 19% obtained seven or more, only 44% of men obtained one or more GCE 'O' levels and only 12% obtained seven or more. The overall concocted examination score for women was 42.5, some seven points higher than the corresponding value on the scale for men. These differences were significant at the 1% level of confidence as measured by Kendall's TAU and an ANOVA test.

It is difficult to explain why females were more academically successful

Table 4.7: Numbers of GCE 'O' Levels by Sex

Sex Row %	None	1-3	4-6	7+	Exam Score
Male	60 56.1	21 19.6	13 12.1	13 12.1	35.6
Female	48 41.0	28 23.9	19 16.2	22 18.8	42.5
Statistics	TAU = 0.01		ANOVA = 0.01		

than males. Hargreaves (1928: 23-5) argues that some working-class young

men develop their own counter-culture which plays down and under-rates

the importance of academic achievement at school.   Were such groups to

exist amongst young men in the schools in the three new towns, this may

well explain the existence of these sex-related differences in academic

success.   Further analysis of the data did not, however, support this

explanation insofar as females tended to be academically more successful

than males in all four social class groupings.

The next subject for consideration is the influence of social class on

examination results.   The measure of social class employed was the

Registrar General's occupational classification of respondents' mothers

and fathers, whichever was the higher.   Use of this measure reveled

that young people from working-class backgrounds (groups C2 and DE) were

significantly less successful in academic terms that those from middle-

class backgrounds (groups AB and C1), these results paralleling the

findings of Mortimer and Blackstone (1982).

Thus it can be seen from Table 4.8 that whilst over 75% (43) of young

people from professional and managerial households (groups AB) and

52% (27) from clerical backgrounds (group C1) were successful in

obtaining one or more GCE 'O' level, the corresponding figures for

young people from skilled manual (group C2) and other manual (groups DE)

backgrounds were only 43% (36) and 25% (7) respectively. The mean

scores of respondents on the concocted examination scale was also found to

vary directly with social class, the mean score for young people from

managerial and professional backgrounds being 48.9 and that for young

people from semi-skilled and unskilled manual backgrounds being 24.7.

Neither of these results could have occurred more than once in 10,000

occasions by pure chance, as measured by Kendall's TAU and ANOVA tests.

Table 4.8:   Numbers of GCE 'O' Levels by Social Class

Social Class Row %	None	1-3	4-6	7+	Exam Score
AB	14	14	14	15	48.9
	24.6	24.6	24.6	26.3	
C1	27	10	11	8	43.6
	48.2	17.9	19.6	14.3	
C2	45	20	7	9	34.1
	55.6	24.7	8.6	11.1	
DE	21	5	–	2	24.7
	75.0	17.9	–	7.1	
Statistics TAU = 0.0000			ANOVA = 0.0000		

Table 4.9 shows the influence of family size on examination success.

From this table it can be seen that young people from large families

(of four or more children) were likely to be less successful academically

than those from small families (of one or two children). Thus whilst

almost 70% (55) of respondents from small families obtained one of

more GCE 'O' levels and 25% (20) obtained seven or more, only 36% (26)

of respondents from large families obtained one or more GCE 'O' levels

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and only 8% (6) obtained seven or more.   Similarly, the mean score

for respondents from small families on the concocted examination scale

was 46.6 and that for respondents from large families was 31.8.   Again,

neither of these results could have occurred by chance more than once

in every 10,000 occasions, as measured by Kendall's TAU and ANOVA

tests.

Table 4.9:   Numbers of GCE 'O' Levels by Family Size

Family Size Row %	None	1-3	4-6	7+	Exam Score
One or two	26	18	17	20	46.6
	32.1	22.2	21.0	24.7	
Three	35	20	6	9	38.5
	50.0	28.6	8.6	12.9	
Four or more	47	11	9	6	31.8
	64.4	15.1	12.3	8.2	
Statistics	TAU = 0.0000		ANOVA = 0.0000		

Whilst this analysis demonstrated clearly the importance of family

background, as measured by social class and family size, in explaining

the academic performance of young people from the three new towns, it

should be mentioned that it is far from complete, in so far as the

causal mechanism which explains the phenomenon has not been identified

(see Tyler, 1977: 99-107).   What these findings do suggest, however,

is that secondary education in the three new towns has not been

successful in eradicating the educational disadvantages suffered by

young people from large families and working-class backgrounds.

Moving on now to an examination of the relative importance of sex,

social class, family size, school, and birthplace in explaining the

academic performance of young people from each new town, Table 4.10

shows the statistical significance of each of these factors.

Table 4.10: Academic Success in Each New Town

New Town	No. of GCEs (TAU)	Examination Score (ANOVA)
Peterlee		
Sex	ns	ns
Social Class	0.0005	0.0004
Family Size	ns	ns
School	ns (CHI SQR)	0.0315
Cramlington		
Sex	ns	ns
Social Class	0.0028	0.0086
Family Size	0.0000	0.0000
School	ns (CHI SQR)	ns
Birthplace*	ns	ns
Washington		
Sex	0.0117	0.0028
Social Class	0.0084	0.0132
Family Size	0.0415	0.0111
School	ns (CHI SQR)	ns
Birthplace*	ns	0.0241

ns = not significant
* whether native or non-native

From Table 4.10 it can be seen that in Peterlee social class is by far
the most important factor influencing examination success amongst 16-19
year olds. Neither family size nor sex appear to be significant factors
in influencing either the number of GCE 'O' levels obtained or the value
of the concocted examination scale. The mean score of Peterlee
respondents on the concocted examination scale was found to vary
significantly according to the school attended, but this appears to be
due almost entirely to the low level of examination success attained by
those young people who lived in the town but were educated elsewhere.
Respondents attending St Bede's Roman Catholic School were also found to
be slightly more educationally successful than other young people in the

town, though the small sample size makes it difficult to reach any firm conclusions.

In Cramlington, both family size and social class were by far the most important factors correlating with examination success: sex, school attended, and birthplace did not appear to be major contributory factors.

In Washington New Town four factors correlated highly with examination success: sex, social class, family size, and birthplace. The importance of birthplace is probably explained by the preponderance of working-class people amongst the town's native population. The importance of the respondents' sex in determining examination success at CSE and GCE 'O' level is more difficult to explain and is worthy of further investigation. The school attended does not appear to be a major factor in explaining differences in examination success amongst young people in the town.

To conclude this section: it has been shown that the curriculum content of schools, as measured by those subjects taken at CSE and GCE 'O' level, is still heavily weighted in favour of those traditional subjects which have long formed the backbone of the curriculum in the typical English secondary school. In the second part of this section it was shown that home background, as measured by social class and family size, appears to be the major factor in influencing the academic success of young people. This would suggest that the new town environment has done little to correct the educational disadvantages suffered by those young people from working-class backgrounds.

Section Three: Further Education

There are two matters to be discussed here: the nature of the demand for further education, and the educational opportunities available to 16-19 year olds living in the three northern new towns.

The DES in a recent *Statistical Bulletin* (12/83), examined the nature of the demand for further education in England in the school year 1980/81. Their work revealed that in England as a whole some 32.9% of 16-17 year olds and 23.8% of 16-19 year olds were full-time students attending school or further education colleges and an additional 10.6% of 16-17 year olds and 12.5% of 16-19 year olds were part-time students. Further analysis of their data suggested that the proportions of 16-17 year olds and 16-19 year olds engaged in further education (the A.P.R. or age participation rate) varied directly with the proportion of non-manual workers in the population of each LEA (local education authority): a regression analysis suggesting that this one factor alone accounted some 70% of the variance in the A.P.R. between separate local education authorities.

Given the high proportion of the population engaged in manual occupations in County Durham and Sunderland M.D.C. it is perhaps not surprising, in the light of the DES findings, that the proportions of 16-17 year olds and 16-19 year olds participating in further education were found to be some-what lower than the national averages, the figures for Northumberland being on a par with those for England as a whole.

Table 4.11:   A.P.R.[*] in the Three Education Authorities (1980-81)

Total %	16 year olds		16-19 year olds	
	School	Total	School	Total
Durham	16.7	28.0	10.3	17.0
Northumberland	30.4	43.5	17.5	25.9
Sunderland	18.1	30.9	9.7	16.7
England	24.1	39.2	14.1	23.8

* A.P.R. Age Participation Rate
  Source: DES *Statistical Bulletin* (12/83) Tables 4 & 5.

Unfortunately it was not possible to obtain details of the exact numbers of 16-19 year olds participating in further education in each of the three new towns, although details of the numbers of 16-17 year olds attending schools and further education colleges were obtained from the local careers offices. These figures are shown in Table 4.12 from which it can be seen that the age participation rate varied from just 24% in Peterlee to 33% in Washington and 34% in Cramlington. The figures for Peterlee and Cramlington are somewhat lower than those recorded for their LEAs over two years earlier, although that for Washington was slightly higher.

Table 4.12: A.P.R. of 16-17 Year Olds by New Town (April 1984)

New Town	All 16-17 Year Olds	School	College	Total A.P.R.	LEA A.P.R.*
Peterlee	471	na	na	113 24.0	28.0
Cramlington+	350	73	46	119 34.0	43.5
Washington	946	207	105	312 33.0	30.9

na = not available   Source: Careers Offices

* 1980/81
+ Cramlington High School only

When the survey data was examined it was discovered that social class did indeed appear to be the major factor in the individual young person's decision whether to remain in education after reaching the school leaving age.   Thus from Table 4.13 it can clearly be seen that whilst nearly 75% of the 57 respondents from upper middle-class backgrounds remained in education after reaching their 16th birthdays only 32% of the 28 respondents from lower working-class backgrounds did so.   Further

analysis suggested that men were neither more nor less likely than women to enter further education. Of those sampled, young people from Peterlee were the most likely to remain in education, but this figure is far higher than would have been expected and probably results from the skewed nature of the sample which, as is shown in Appendix A, was biased in favour of owner-occupiers.

Table 4.13: Characteristics of Young People Who Have Participated in Further Education

Statistic	Group	Size of Group	Further Education	Percent of Group
New Town				
	Peterlee	79	45	57.0
	Cramlington	66	34	51.5
CHI SQR = ns	Washington	79	30	38.0
Sex				
	Male	107	49	45.8
CHI SQR = ns	Female	117	60	51.3
Social Class				
	AB	57	42	73.7
	C1	56	29	51.8
	C2	81	28	34.6
TAU = 0.001	DE	28	9	32.1

ns = not significant

A major question of concern to educationalists in Britain today concerns the problem of falling rolls (see The M.S.C., 1980:10), by which the total number of young people entering further education in the late 1980s and early 1990s is expected to fall somewhat as a result of the falling birth rate which occurred in the 1960s. Using census data and estimated age participation rates, Figure 4.1 shows the estimated numbers of 16-17 year olds seeking full-time further education in each of the three new towns. The graph assumes constant A.P.R.s (as calculated in Table 4.12) and growth rates of 0%

Figure 4.1:   Projected Numbers of 16-17 Year Olds Entering Further
Education
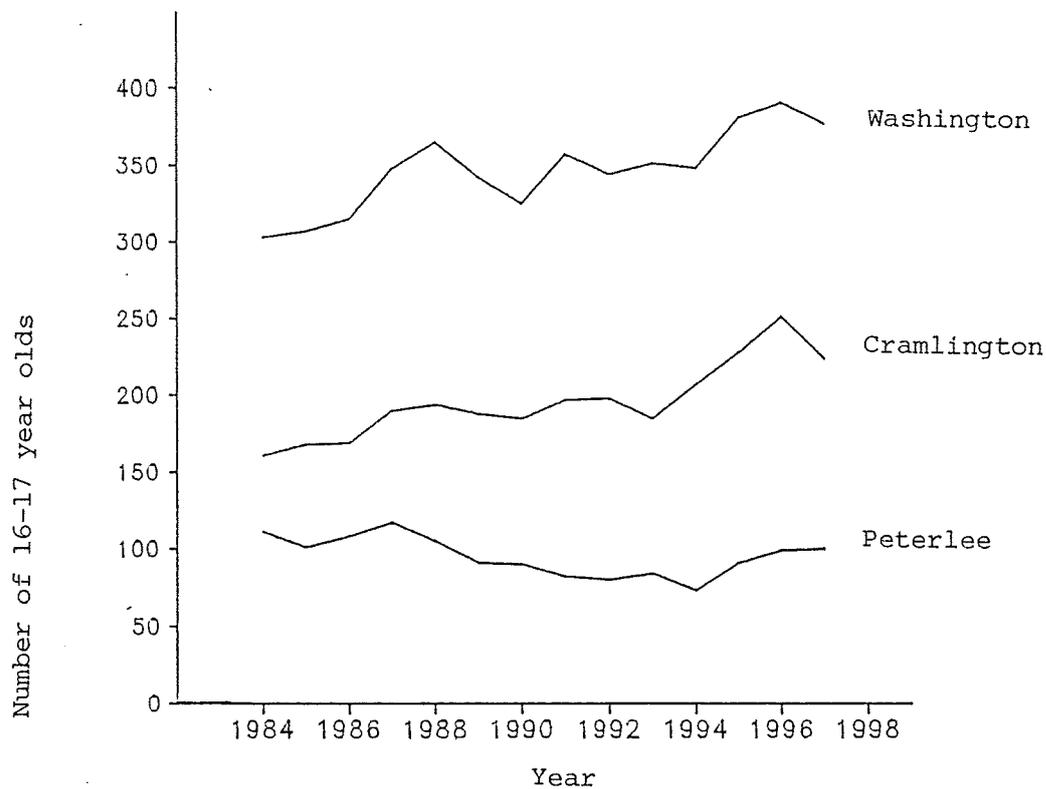
Source: 1981 Census

per annum in Peterlee, 2% per annum in Cramlington, and 1.5% per annum

in Washington.   Finally the graph ignores the fact that the catchment

area of schools and colleges serving the three new towns is far wider

than the new towns themselves.

From Figure 4.1 it can be seen that after reaching a high point of 120,

in 1987, the absolute number of 16-17 year olds entering further

education in Peterlee can be expected to fall to barely 70 in 1994.

This suggests that a major contraction of demand for further education

in the new town can be expected, this being, no doubt, a major factor

which was taken into account when the local authority decided to

concentrate all further education teaching in the local technical (now

tertiary) college.

Demand for further education places by 16-17 year olds from Cramlington can be expected to rise considerably over the next ten to twelve years. Thus whilst demand for further education places stood at 160 places in 1984, this figure can be expected to rise to 200 in 1992 and 250 in 1996. Clearly then there is a case for expanding secondary and further education facilities in Cramlington, and it is for this reason that Northumberland County Council is considering a proposal to build a second comprehensive school in the new town.

Demand for further education places by 16-17 year olds from Washington can be expected to rise by roughly one-third over the next decade or so, with demand fluctuating from just over 300 places in 1984 to just over 400 places in 1997. These figures may well suggest that there are good reasons for expanding further education facilities in the town, although as shall be shown later in this chapter, there is also a case for con- centrating GCE 'A' level teaching in one or two comprehensive schools.

In a study into further education the M.S.C. (1980: 13-6) identified six groups of 16-19 year olds within the general population, each with different educational and vocational needs. These groups were:-

A.   those taking GCE 'A' level courses at school or college, the
      majority of whom enter higher education colleges (usually
      universities or polytechnics);

B.   those taking courses of a clearly vocational nature, mainly at
      colleges of further education. This group can be further divided
      into those:-
      a)   studying full-time;
      b)   in employment, and undertaking courses on a part-time basis;

C.   those remaining at school or college full-time with no clear

vocational or higher educational aims in mind, for example

those resitting GCE 'O' levels;

D. those who are unemployed and not undertaking any further education

courses;

E. those in employment and undertaking usually unskilled jobs with

no educational or vocational content;

F. a residual group of those young people with special educational

needs, e.g. the physically and mentally handicapped.

In the remaining pages of this chapter the educational provisions made
for groups A, B, and C in each of the three new towns are examined.
Discussion of the teaching and training needs of group D, who are
catered for by various government training schemes (YOPs and YTS),
will be held over until the next chapter which looks at the
employment and vocational profile of young people in the three new
towns. The special needs of groups E & F are not discussed in this study.

It is not easy to obtain exact figures for the numbers of young people
undertaking GCE 'A' level courses although an estimate of the size of
this group can be made from the number of 17-18 year olds attending
school (in the upper sixth form) in each of the three new towns.
This is shown in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14:   Sizes of Upper Sixth Forms in New Town Schools

Population	Peterlee	Cramlington	Washington
All 17-18 year olds	850	350	920
Upper Sixth Form	96	37	140
Percent	11.3	10.5	15.2

Source: Cramlington and Washington Careers Offices;
          Easington District Council Offices

From Table 4.14 it can be seen that approximately 11.0% of 17-18 year olds were attending school in Peterlee and Cramlington, and 15.0% in Washington.   If it is assumed that over 90% of these are undertaking 'A' level courses, and an additional few percent are added to these figures to make allowance for those undertaking 'A' levels at technical college, it is probably safe to say that approximately 12% (one-in-eight) of Peterlee's and Cramlington's 16-19 year olds and 16% (one-in-six) of Washington's 16-19 year olds have studied or are studying 'A' level subjects.

Table 4.15, below, indicates the absolute numbers of 'A' level subjects available to young people in schools and colleges in each of the three new towns.

Table 4.15:   GCE 'A' Level Courses in Schools and Colleges

Institution	Peterlee	Cramlington	Washington
Schools	17	15	24
Colleges	28	na	25

Source: Schools and Colleges Prospectuses for 1982-4.

From Table 4.16 it can be seen that there is a wide variety of 'A' level subjects available to 16-19 year olds living in the three new towns, with young people from Peterlee having the widest choice and the young people from Cramlington the smallest choice.   When individual subject passes are broken down according to the tripartite classification used earlier in the analysis of CSE and GCE 'O' level results, it becomes apparent that the vast majority of subjects undertaken at 'A' level standard were of a traditional academic nature, aimed almost exclusively at university or polytechnic entrance.

Table 4.16:   'A' Level Classification of New Town Schools and Colleges

Type of 'A' level Total %	Peterlee Passes	Subjects	Cramlington* Passes	Subjects	Washington Passes	Subjects
Schools						
Traditional	137 81.1	13	85 88.6	14	290 88.1	17
Vocational	20 11.8	2	11 11.4	1	24 7.3	5
Social Skills	12 7.1	1	-		15 4.6	2
Science	36 21.3	4	30 31.3	3	106 32.2	4
Social Science	27 16.0	2	-		30 9.1	3
Languages	7 4.1	3	3 4.1	2	15 4.6	3
Arts	12 7.1	2	3 3.1	2	31 9.4	3
Colleges						
Traditional		15				13
Vocational		8				6
Social Skills		5				6
Science		6				3
Social Science		3				3
Languages		2				1
Arts		4				2

*Cramlington High Schools includes Fail grades.

Source: School and College Prospectuses.

Thus it can be seen clearly from that table that over 80% of subject
passes in all three new towns were in subjects of a traditional nature,
aimed mainly at university or polytechnic entrance.   Whilst the
proportion of passes in subjects with a strong vocational nature
(mainly economics) varied from only 7.3% in Washington to just over 12%
in Peterlee, the only languages offered were French, German, and Latin,

with the majority of passes being in French. The main science subjects studied were the traditional trio of physics, chemistry, and biology. Finally, Table 4.16 also shows that the range of subjects offered at 'A' level is somewhat greater at Peterlee Tertiary College and Monkwearmouth College, Sunderland, than it is in Peterlee and Washington Comprehensive schools. Without doubt, the reason for the wider range of subjects at these colleges is not unconnected with the size of the student population there, which is somewhat larger than that of the schools. This may well suggest that there is a case for concentrating the teaching of 'A' levels into one or two Washington schools as a way of increasing subject choice at that level, for the teaching of minority subjects such as Spanish and psychology would become feasible in the larger sixth form classes. Indeed, it is worthy of note that students undertaking 'A' level courses in Washington schools often have to attend other schools for a few hours each week if they wish to undertake a minority subject, a practice which provoked some criticism amongst the Washington 'A' level students who were interviewed. One saying that this was a prime factor in his decision to leave school and abandon his A level course.

Moving on to examine the survey data of the 224 respondents interviewed 45 (20.1%) had obtained or were studying for one or more 'A' levels, a figure which is perhaps a little higher than would have been expected given the size of the upper sixth forms in new town schools. As Table 4.17 shows, the new town with the highest percentage of 'A' level students is Peterlee (20 or 25.3%), and the lowest is Cramlington (10 or 15.1%). This result, though, again probably reflects the skewed nature of the Peterlee sample.

Females were somewhat more likely to study 'A' levels than males were,

and the proportion of young people from middle-class (non-manual) backgrounds undertaking 'A' levels (30 or 26.5%) was almost exactly twice that of young people from working-class (manual) backgrounds. Owing to the sample sizes involved it is unfortunately not possible to say whether or not these differences are statistically significant with any degree of confidence. However, a series of chi-square tests suggested that the town and sex differences were not statistically significant, although the findings for social class were significantly different at the 1% level of confidence. These points are illustrated in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17: Characteristics of Young People who have Undertaken 'A' Levels

Statistic	Group	Size of Group	'A' Level Students	Percent of Group
New Town	Peterlee	79	20	25.3
	Cramlington	66	10	15.1
CHI SQR = ns	Washington	79	15	19.0
Sex	Male	107	18	16.8
CHI SQR = ns	Female	117	27	23.1
Class	Middle (ABC1)	113	30	26.5
	Working (C2DE)	109	15	13.8
TAU = 0.01				

Because of the small sample sizes involved it was decided not to under-take a more detailed analysis of the individual 'A' levels taken by respondents. One or two general points can, however, be made about the respondents taking 'A' levels. Firstly, the majority (38 or 84.4%) of those who had undertaken 'A' levels had done so at school: only seven respondents had taken them at technical college, and all but one of these came from Peterlee New Town. Secondly, the overwhelming majority of those respondents with or undertaking 'A' levels were

attending (six respondents), or hoping to attend, institutions of
higher education (mainly university or polytechnic), one of the
exceptions being a female from Cramlington who was intending to join
the army because of the vocational training in music it offered her.
A number of students dropped out of their 'A' level courses in order
to enter full-time employment, the jobs taken being of a professional
or managerial nature which involved an element of part-time vocational
training leading to BEC national diplomas.

Educational provision for those young people wishing to pursue
vocational courses of both a full-time and part-time nature is the
next subject to be considered. They fall into two main groups:
those undertaking traditional craft apprenticeships and studying mainly
City and Guilds courses, and those undertaking courses which lead to a
professional or secretarial qualification, mainly BECs and TECs.

The schools and further education colleges serving the three new towns
offer a variety of courses for these two groups as Table 4.18 shows,
but it can be seen that of the schools only Cramlington High School
caters for those wishing to undertake RSA and B/TEC courses of an
office and secretarial nature, this work being done in co-operation
with Ashington Technical College which BEC students attend one day
each week. Peterlee Tertiary College and Monkwearmouth College, as
well as Ashington Technical College, offer a range of B/TEC courses
of both a full-time and part-time nature, these courses being aimed
at those young people who wish to pursue clerical jobs or a career in
management services or the professions.

Those young people from Washington undertaking craft apprenticeships
are served by Wearside College in Sunderland and those from

Table 4.18: Vocational Subjects Available to New Town Students

Subjects	Peterlee	Cramlington	Washington
SCHOOLS			
B/TECs		*	
R.S.A.		*	
COLLEGES			
B/TECs			
Secretarial and Clerical	*	*	*
Finance and Business	*	*	*
Engineering	*	*	*
Electronic Engineering	*	*	*
Computing		*	
Fashion			*
APPRENTICESHIPS			
Joinery		*	*
Plumbing		*	*
Mining		*	*
Construction and Bricklaying		*	*
Motor Mechanics		*	*
Bricklaying		*	*
OTHER COURSES			
Hairdressing and Beauty Care	*	*	
Nursery Nursing	*	*	*
Catering	*	*	*
Marine courses		*	
Health Studies	*		

Source: Schools' and Colleges' Prospectuses

Cramlington by Ashington Technical College, both of which offer a variety of courses from joinery and plumbing to motor mechanics and mining. Peterlee Tertiary College does not offer any such courses, and young people in Peterlee must attend such courses in Sunderland, Durham, or Hartlepool. In addition, the four colleges serving the three new towns offer a range of other courses from hairdressing and beauty care to health education and nursery nursing. Again, it is difficult to calculate the exact numbers of young people from the three new towns undertaking such courses, but of those surveyed 59 (26.3%) had undertaken or were undertaking vocational courses of some kind. Table 4.19 shows the types of courses these young people undertook, broken down by sex, social class, and new town. From that table it can be seen that respondents from Peterlee were the most likely to have undertaken vocational courses and respondents from Washington the least likely. The main vocational courses undertaken by men were City and Guilds courses undertaken in connection with apprenticeships, and by women BEC courses of a clerical and/or secretarial nature. Men were more likely to undertake TEC courses than were women, which reflects the engineering nature of these courses. Other courses popular amongst women included nursery mursing and hairdressing and beauty care.

It is somewhat strange that none of the respondents were unhappy with the kind of teaching involved in their vocational courses. A number of those from Cramlington and Washington were unhappy, however, with the costs and distances involved in travelling to the technical colleges at which they were studying. A woman from Cramlington who had under-taken a nursery nursing course at Ashington Technical College is a case in point. She complained about having to spend over two hours a day travelling to and from the technical college: this meant that her

Table 4.19: Vocational Courses Undertaken by Respondents

Group Column %	BECs	TECs	City & Guilds	Other Vocational	Other Courses	None
Peterlee	3	4	10	9	20	33
	3.8	5.1	12.7	11.4	25.3	41.8
Cramlington	8	1	6	3	16	32
	12.1	1.5	9.1	4.5	24.2	48.8
Washington	2	2	2	9	15	49
	2.5	2.5	2.5	11.3	19.0	62.0
Male	4	6	11	8	21	57
	3.7	5.6	10.3	7.5	19.6	53.3
Female	9	1	7	13	30	57
	7.7	0.9	6.0	11.1	25.6	48.8
White-Collar	8	5	9	13	36	42
	7.1	4.2	8.0	11.5	31.9	37.2
Blue-Collar	5	2	9	7	15	71
	4.6	1.8	8.2	6.4	13.8	65.1
TOTAL	13	7	18	21	51	114
	5.8	3.1	8.0	9.4	22.8	50.9

average 'day' was over ten hours long with 'homework to do afterwards'. She felt that this put many people off doing vocational courses and said that she knew of some people who had dropped out of their courses for this reason. There could then be a case for expanding further education facilities in both Cramlington and Washington. Cramlington High School had indeed gone some way towards meeting this demand, it now being possible to undertake B/TEC courses there.

Finally, educational provision for those young people in group C, who wish to undertake courses in further education with no clear vocational or higher educational aims in mind, has to be considered. They have tended to form a residual group whose members undertake a hotch-potch of courses including GCE 'O' levels, CSEs, B/TECs, and GCE 'A' levels,

in consequence it is not easy to separate them from the other two groups which have been considered. It can, however, be said that all three new towns have made some provision for this group at both the technical college and schools, such students being able to take or resit GCE 'O' levels as well as undertaking 'A' levels or vocational courses. A recent innovation aimed specifically at these students is the CEE (Certificate of Extended Education). These courses are offered at both Oxclose Comprehensive School, Washington, and Cramlington High School. None of the respondents interviewed had, however, undertaken CEE courses, although eleven respondents remained at school or went on to further education colleges to resit their GCE 'O' levels.

This section has examined the nature of the demand for and supply of further education in the three new towns. It has been shown that the absolute numbers participating in further education there are little different to those in the county districts in which they are situated, and in the cases of Peterlee and Cramlington the proportions are somewhat lower than for the LEA as a whole. The 'A' levels undertaken by students were of mainly a traditional academic nature, and most 'A' level students were undertaking those courses as stepping stones to institutions of higher education (universities and polytechnics), with only a handful of them intending to finish their education on leaving school or college. The choice of vocational courses open to young people is quite large and mainly of a conventional nature (B/TECs, City and Guilds etc.). A number of students and ex-students from Cramlington and Washington expressed some disquiet about the cost and time involved in travelling to further education colleges.

CHAPTER FIVE: YOUNG PEOPLE EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND YOUTH
                TRAINING.

This chapter discusses the problems of youth training, employment and

unemployment in the three new towns under study.   It is divided into

three main sections: Section One sets the scene by placing the study

within a national and regional framework; Section Two examines the

industrial and employment profiles of the three new towns: Section

Three looks in detail at the respondents who participated in the study,

examining in particular their attitudes towards both youth training

and the employment opportunities which are available to them.

Section One: Youth Unemployment in the Northern Region.

This section looks at the problem of youth unemployment both nationally

and regionally, and examines the main measures taken by the government

to alleviate the problem.

In Chapter Two it was mentioned that in contrast with the 1950s and 60s

when it averaged only 2%, unemployment in the 1980s has become a major

economic and social problem for Britain with both young people as a

group and the North East as a region particularly badly affected.

In the Northern Region (which includes Cumbria) unemployment has been

constantly higher than in the rest of the United Kingdom since before

the Second World War.   Looking at the period since 1975, unemployment

in the Northern Region has fluctuated at levels of between one-and-a-

half and four percentage points higher than that in the United Kingdom

as a whole: thus in 1975 when 4% of the U.K. population were unemployed,

the figure for the Northern Region was 5.6%.   These figures rose to

10.3% and 14.1% in 1981 and to 12.4% and 14.3% in 1983.   The

particularly high level of unemployment in the Northern Region has been

attributed to the decline of its staple industries: mining, ship-building, iron and steel, and heavy engineering.

The nature of youth unemployment was also discussed in Chapter Two, where it was shown that in Great Britain as a whole more than 600,000 young people aged 16-19 were unemployed in 1983.   This figure represents approximately one-in-five of the total number of people unemployed, unemployment amongst school-leavers having risen from 12.5% in 1975 to 13.9% in 1981 and to 28% in January 1984.[*]   The causes of youth unemployment have been attributed to a combination of factors ranging from: the reluctance of employers to take on new workers in a period of recession; the introduction of the new technology, which has destroyed many jobs tradtionally undertaken by young people; and the relatively high rates of juvenile pay, pricing many young people out of the job market.

When we do consider both the high level of youth unemployment and the particularly poor state of the local economy in the North East of England, it should be apparent that youth unemployment is a far more serious problem there than in the rest of the country, and has been intensified by the high proportion of young people who leave school at sixteen.(See Chapter 4).   Thus whilst in July 1978 some 11.5% of 16-19 year olds were unemployed in England as a whole, the corresponding figure for the Northern Region was 18.1%, these figures raising to 15.8% and 20.2% in July 1981 and to 27.4% and 36.0% in October 1983.

The main measures taken by the government sponsored Manpower Services Commission (M.S.C.) to relieve the problem of youth unemployment have been, as was stated in Chapter Two, the introduction of various youth training schemes, the main one being the Youth Opportunities (Y.O.P.s)

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* *Social Trends,* 1984: MSC Regional Office, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

scheme, which was replaced by the Youth Training Scheme (Y.T.S.) in 1983. The main features of these schemes are that employers are paid a sum of money for employing a youngster for a set period of time (six months under Y.O.P.s and twelve months under Y.T.S.) and that each placement includes an element of training. Young people are paid £25.00 per week for participating in the scheme. As was previously shown, these schemes have been strongly criticized on the grounds that they constitute a source of cheap labour for employers, many of whom offer placements which carry no proper training.

In England and Wales the number of school leavers undertaking such training schemes has risen rapidly in recent years, the proportion undertaking Y.O.P./Y.T.S. schemes having risen from 6.1% of those leaving school in 1979 to 18.0% of those leaving school in 1982 (*Social Trends,* 1984:46) and 38.0% of those leaving school in 1983 (*The Guardian,* 4 April, 1984:1).

Section Two: The Economic Role of the Three New Towns.

After briefly discussing the economic role which the three new towns were intended to play in rejuvenating the economy of the North East of England, this section goes on to examine the present industrial profiles of the three new towns, and the extent to which they have a youth unemployment problem.

In 1963 the Government, in a White Paper entitled *The North East: A Programme for Regional Growth and Development* (cmnd.2206), supported the growth and extension of the new towns in the North East of England. This stated, (para.82):-

> The building of new towns... can also play a big
> part in stimulating a region's economic and social
> development and raising the quality of its life.
> This is as true in the North East as elsewhere.

In particular the report argued that the new towns had a vital role
to play in helping to rejuvenate the economy of the North East, which
was in a state of decline owing to the contraction of its staple
industries.   It was hoped that the new towns would serve as growth
points which would attract new industry to the region.

The report said of Peterlee (para.84):-

> Peterlee... also has a part to play in the region's
> economic advancement. It is now proposed to enhance
> its power to do so by the provision of 90 acres
> (36.5 hectares) of additional... land free from
> subsidence.

The report also backed the creation of Washington New Town on a site
which (para.86):-

> ... is convenient for travel-to-work to and from
> Sunderland and South Tyneside; it has sufficient
> land for both residential and industral developments,
> and it can therefore play an important part in meeting
> some of the housing and employment needs of the whole
> Tyneside/Wearside complex.

Similarly, the report (para.87) welcomed the designation of Cramlington
New Town:-

> The aim here is to meet some of the housing and
> employment needs of North Tyneside and South East
> Northumberland and by providing for balanced
> residential and industrial development... The
> Government consider that this can make a useful
> contribution to the region's development through
> the scope it will give for northward expansion
> of the Tyneside industrial complex.

It is remarkable that the developers of the three new towns have
achieved some success in attracting new industry to them.   It can be
seen from Table 1.2 that all three new towns have lessened their
dependence for employment on the traditional coal and heavy engineering
industries, and large proportions of their employees are now engaged in

the service and manufacturing industries.

Peterlee has a high proportion of its employed population working in the textile, mechanical engineering, and food processing industries. Peterlee Development Corporation has been particularly successful in providing jobs for women, and just under one half of the new town's industrial jobs are filled by them.

The employment structures of Cramlington and Washington are very similar and both are heavily dependent on service industries although more than one-quarter of Cramlington's and nearly one-third of Washington's employed populations work in manufacturing industries. In both new towns a high proportion of the employed population are engaged in retail, wholesale, office and distributive trades. In Washington, electronics, light engineering and related industries provided more than 7,000 manufacturing jobs in 1981 (Holley, 1983:54) and in Cramlington, pharmaceuticals, mechanical engineering and electronics provided more than 5,500 jobs in the same year. (Northumberland County Council, 1981:11-12).

However, even though the developers of the three new towns have had some success in this matter unemployment in the 1980s is a major problem in each one as Table 5.1 overleaf shows. From this Table it can be seen that the unemployment rates in the travel-to-work areas containing the three new towns are actually higher than those of the three counties in which they are located. Unemployment is lowest in Cramlington (14.1%) and highest in Washington (20.5%).

Table 5.1: Unemployment in the Three New Towns (1983)

New Town T.W.A.*	Rate	County
Peterlee (S.E.Durham)	18.5%	16.7%
Cramlington (Morpeth)	14.1%	13.5%
Washington (Sunderland)	20.5%	17.0%
Region		18.4%

* T.W.A. Travel to Work Area

Source: MSC Newcastle. Monthly Averages.

Table 5.2 below shows that of the 208,149 people unemployed in the North Eastern Region in January 1984, 82,640 (almost 40%) were under 25 years of age, and 40,036 (19.2%) were under twenty. The proportions of unemployed aged under twenty years in the local area offices containing the three new towns are on a par with the figure for the North Eastern Region and vary from 16.3% in Washington to 23.3% in Peterlee.

Table 5.2: Age Structure of the Unemployed (1984-85)

L.A.O.* Row %	16-19	20-24	25+	Total
Peterlee	852 (23.3)	754 (20.6)	2054 (56.1)	3660
Cramlington	375 (18.7)	382 (19.1)	1244 (62.2)	2001
Washington	738 (16.3)	943 (20.8)	2854 (62.9)	4535
North East	40036 (19.2)	42604 (20.5)	125509 (60.3)	208149

L.A.O.: Local Area Office

Source: MSC Regional Office, Newcastle.

More detailed figures are available showing the economic status of
1983 school leavers for each of the three new towns in April 1984.
This information is summarized in Table 5.3 below, from which it can
be seen that the rates of unemployment amongst 1983 school leavers
varied from 7.2% in Washington to 15.2% in Peterlee.   These figures,
however, understate the extent of the problem, for only one-quarter
of Peterlee's and one-third of both Cramlington's and Washington's
1983 school leavers had obtained full-time employment by April 1984.
In contrast, more than half of 1983 school leavers from each of the
three new towns were undertaking youth training schemes which, by
their nature, offer only short-term employment.   The extent of the
problem of youth unemployment in the three new towns therefore depends
upon how many of these people will be successful in obtaining full-time
employment when their training schemes end.   Should few of them be
successful unemployment amongst 1983 school leavers could well be in
excess of 50% in January 1985, when their periods of youth training
come to an end.

Table 5.3:   Economically Active School Leavers (April 1984)

E.A.* Col.%	Peterlee	Cramlington	Washington
Full-time Employment	82 (24.9)	95 (33.3)	181 (32.6)
Y.T.S.	197 (60.0)	156 (54.7)	334 (60.2)
Unemployment	50 (15.2)	34 (11.9)	40 (7.2)
TOTAL	329	285	555
Education	113	119+	312
Sick/Pregnant	5	na	6
Left Area	17	na	51
Not Known/Other	7	na	22
	471	na	946

* E.A.: Economically Active
+ Cramlington High School, 1983 School Leavers only.

Source: Careers Offices for the three new towns.

The building of both Cramlington and Washington New Towns began in the mid-1960s and, in common with other new towns, baby booms occurred in both a few years later following the influx of newly-married couples. In consequence, as this generation comes of age the absolute numbers of 16-19 year olds in Cramlington and Washington can be expected to grow somewhat after 1980.   Figure 5.1 illustrates this point: it will be seen that the absolute numbers of 16 year olds in Washington can be expected to increase by roughly 25% from c918 to c1143 between 1984 and 1997, assuming a growth rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$%, whilst the numbers of 16 year olds in Cramlington can be expected to rise by 40% from c473 to c659

during the same period, assuming a growth rate of 2%. In contrast, because Peterlee is at a much older stage of its development and has a more stable, if not a declining, population the numbers of 16 year olds there can be expected to fall by 9.5% from c462 in 1984 to c420 in 1997.

Figure 5.1: Projected Numbers of 16 Year Olds by New Town.
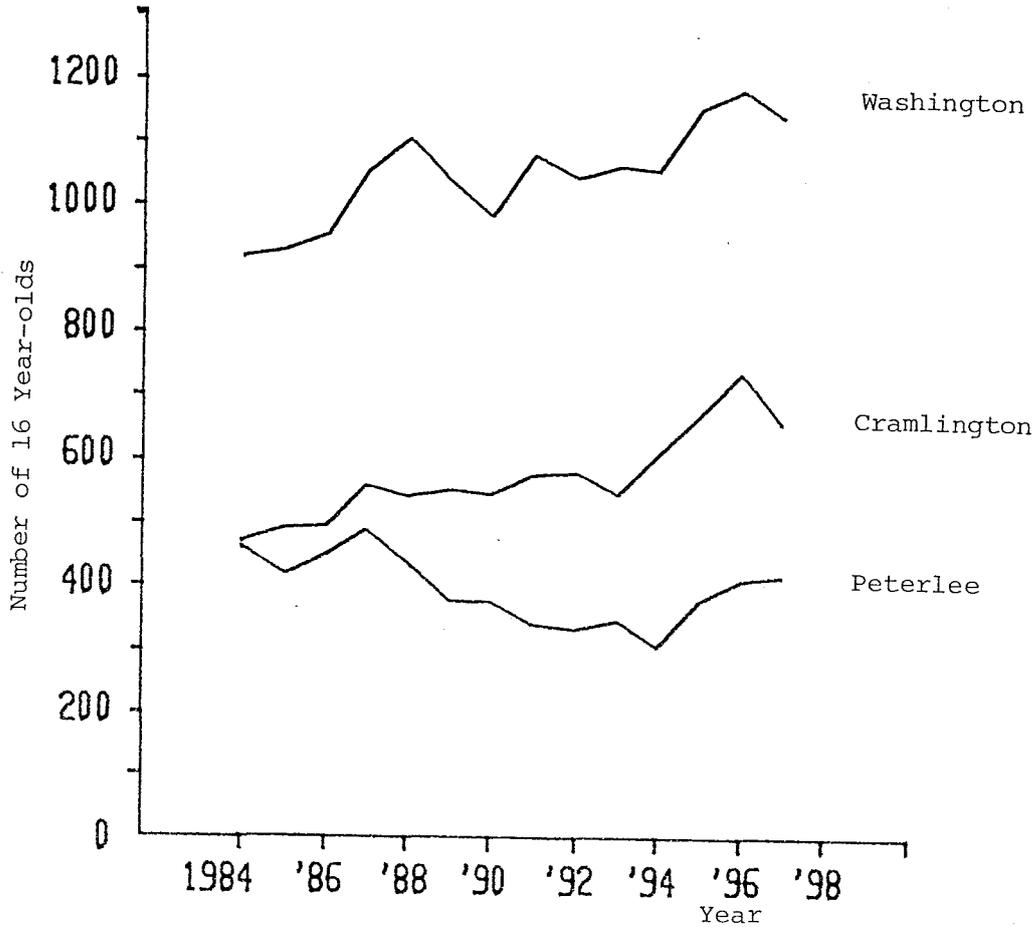
Source: 1981 Census.

At first sight these figures would tend to suggest that while young people from Cramlington and Washington New Towns will find it increasingly difficult to obtain full-time employment, young people from Peterlee will find jobs increasingly plentiful, but there is a fallacy here, for a very high proportion of employees from the three new towns commute each

day to jobs outside of their new towns. (See Champion *et.al.*,1977: 225-35).

Unfortunately at the time of writing (April 1984) the published findings of the 1981 Census do not record the numbers of people who live in each new town but work elsewhere. The 1981 Census does, however, record the numbers of employees living in each new town who work outside their county districts. These figures are shown in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4:   New Town Commuters (1981)

New Town	Working Outside	Number (Total %)	District (Total %)
Peterlee	Easington	264 (29.9)	1238 (31.3)
Cramlington	Blyth Valley	767 (61.2)	1686 (50.9)
Washington	Sunderland	741 (35.6)	2695 (23.8)

Source: 1981   New Town Census, 10% Sample;
          1981   Cramlington Small Area Statistics.

From Table 5.4 it can be seen that the level of commuting from each of the three new towns and the districts in which they are situated is very high, the figures for the individual new towns ranging from 30% in Peterlee to over 60% in Cramlington. Given that these figures relate only to those people working outside their county district boundaries it is likely that upwards of 50% of the employed population of Peterlee and Washington are employed outside their new town boundaries, whilst the figure for Cramlington could well exceed 70%.

This analysis suggests that the problem of finding work for the increasing population of 16-19 year olds in Cramlington and Washington is not serious as simple population projections would indicate, given

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the possibilities of young people being able to commute to jobs outside their new towns.

Section Three: The Sample

After examining the attitudes of young people towards the vocational guidance which they received both at their schools and local careers offices, this section goes on to examine the vocational profiles of those who took part in the study. In particular the section looks at the plight of the young unemployed, and at the attitudes of both full-time employees and youth trainees towards the work which they are undertaking.

Young people in the three new towns receive vocational guidance from two main sources: their schools and their local Careers Office.

The school prospectuses for ten of the eleven comprehensive schools* serving the three new towns were examined, and it was discovered that all schools offer some vocational guidance to their pupils in both their fourth and fifth years. Each school has a careers teacher who advises pupils about their choice of career, and each school operates a system of vocational placements by which young people in their fourth and fifth years have the opportunity of spending a week away from school, working in a local office or factory.

The Careers Service, which is the responsibility of individual local education authorities, has a local office in each of the three new towns which offers advice to young people and employers, and attempts to place the former (mainly school leavers) in suitable jobs. The Careers Service is also responsible for operating the Youth Training Scheme at the local level.

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* Howletch Comprehensive School, Peterlee, did not publish a prospectus in 1984.

The attitudes of young people towards the careers advice they had received were examined in the questionnaire. Table 5.5 shows the overall attitudes of respondents towards: careers advice at school; careers advice at the office; and help in finding a job.

Table 5.5: Attitudes Towards Vocational Guidance

C2 - Careers Advice at School
C3 - Careers Advice from the Careers Office
T28- Help in finding jobs.

Question Row %	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Not Satisfied	Very Dissat- isfied	Mean (Stnd. Dev.)
C2	13	89	7	97	18	3.08
	5.8	39.7	3.1	43.3	8.0	(1.18)
C3	22	99	20	73	10	2.78
	9.8	44.2	8.9	32.6	4.6	(1.14)
T28	10	51	61	64	38	3.31
	4.5	22.8	27.2	28.6	17.0	(1.13)

Table 5.5 shows that the attitudes of respondents towards the careers advice they had received both at their schools and local Careers Offices were evenly divided, although respondents were somewhat more likely to say that they were satisfied with the advice they had received from Careers Offices than with that received at school. Thus, whilst 45.5% (102) of respondents were satisfied with the careers advice they had received at school, 51.2% (115) were not satisfied; and whilst 54% (121) of respondents were satisfied with the advice they had received from the local Careers Office, 37% (83) were not satisfied.

Respondents were somewhat less satisfied with the help they had received in finding jobs, with 45.5% (102) falling into the dissatisfied category and 27.2% (61) falling into the satisfied category. An additional 27.2% (61) were uncertain.

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When the attitudes of respondents towards the careers advice they had

received at school and at the Careers Office were analysed by both

new town and sex no significant differences were found.

Differences were, however, found in the attitudes of respondents

broken down by *occupational status* towards the help they had received in

finding jobs.   It is interesting that, as can be seen in Table 5.6

below, unemployed respondents appear to be only marginally more

dissatisfied with the help they had received in finding work than those

who were or had at one time been employed.   The statistical difference

being explained almost entirely by the twenty-six (63.4%) respondents

in education who fell into the uncertain category.

Table 5.6:   Attitudes Towards Help in Finding Jobs

Occupation Row %	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Not Satisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Mean (Stnd. Dev.)
White-Collar*	3 7.5	13 32.5	5 12.5	11 27.5	8 20.0	3.20 (1.30)
Blue-Collar*	6 6.7	20 22.2	20 22.2	25 27.8	19 21.1	3.34 (1.23)
Education	- -	4 9.8	26 63.4	7 17.1	4 9.8	3.27 (0.78)
Unemployed	1 2.0	13 25.5	10 19.6	20 39.2	7 13.7	3.37 (1.08)
All	10 4.5	51 22.8	61 27.2	64 28.6	38 17.0	3.31 (1.13)

CHI SQR = 0.0001   F = ns.
* includes those who have been employed but who were without work at the
  time of their interview.

Finally, a number of young people commented on the vocational advice they

had received both at school and at their local Careers Offices.   Two

typical criticisms made concerned the 'lack of attention' they had

received from people at their local Careers Office, and the 'old-fashioned'

nature of the advice they were given. For example, a number of women complained that the only advice they received was to study subjects such as typing, shorthand and office practice, with a view to eventually undertaking secretarial work - yet such jobs are becoming increasingly difficult to obtain due both to the introduction of word-processor technology, which is reducing the number of secretarial jobs, and to the increasing use of the contraceptive pill which is increasing the supply of experienced secretaries.

Moving on to an examination of those who participated in the study, at the time of their interview some 183 respondents (81.7%) were economically active and of these 98* (53.6%) were in full-time employment, 19 (10.4%) were undertaking government schemes, and 66 (36.1%) were unemployed. Table 5.7 shows how these figures were broken down by new town and sex.

Several points emerge from Table 5.7. No statistical differences were found to exist in the economic status of respondents broken down by new town. Youth unemployment was high in all three new towns, being highest amongst Washington respondents (41.5%) and lowest amongst Peterlee respondents (32.8%). Respondents from Cramlington were the most likely to be undertaking a government scheme (15.7%) but this probably reflects the fact that interviews were undertaken in Cramlington six months before those in Peterlee and Washington.

Significant differences were, however, found to exist in the economic status of males and females, with women being less likely to be unemployed than men. Thus, whilst 61% of women were employed and 33% were unemployed, the corresponding figures for men were 42% and 38%. In addition, men were more likely than women to be undertaking government schemes.

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* Includes three undertaking block-release.

Table 5.7: Economic Status of Respondents

Group Row %	Employed	Block Release	Government Scheme	Unemployed	Full-time Education
Peterlee	37	2	6	22	12
	55.2	3.0	9.0	32,8	–
Cramlington	26	–	8	17	15
	51.0	–	15.7	33.3	–
Washington	32	1	5	27	14
	49.2	1.5	7.7	41.5	–
Male	37	3	13	35	19
	42.0	3.4	14.8	39.8	–
Female	58	–	6	31*	22
	61.1	–	6.3	32.6	–
TOTAL	95	3	19	66	41
	51.9	1.6	10.4	36.1	–

STATISTICS   CHI SQR.

New Town   ns

Sex   0.0363

* includes 5 mothers/mothers to be.

Table 5.8 shows the occupational analysis of those young people who had, at one time or another, either been employed or undertaken a government scheme. It can be seen from there that respondents were undertaking a wide variety of occupations: this finding reflects the success of the developers in attracting a wide variety of industry to their new towns.

It is also evident that the occupational roles of men and women have not altered since the designation of the three new towns. Thus, women tended to be employed in hairdressing, retailing, and clerical jobs and men in labouring, building, and engineering trades. In Peterlee and Washington a sizeable number of women were employed in the clothing industry.

Table 5.8: Occupational Analysis of Respondents

	Peterlee	Cramlington	Washington
Males			
Agriculture and Gardening	4	2	4
Coal Mining	1	1	2
Engineering	4	1	2
Building Trades	6	7	5
Distribution and Retail	2	2	7
Clerical and Secretarial	3	-	-
Professional (AB)	3	2	2
Factory Work	4	1	1
Labourers	5	1	3
Other Schemes	-	2	5
Others	4	1	1
Females			
Clerical and Secretarial	6	5	9
Sales, Retail and Distribution	8	3	10
Clothing Trades	6	-	4
Other Factory Work	2	2	1
Professional (AB)	5	8	10
Hairdressing	4	2	-
Cooks, Waitresses, etc.	3	2	-
Painting and Decorating	-	3	-
Other Schemes	-	5	4

N.B.   Table includes government schemes and those unemployed at the
        time of their interview.

Only seven men and twenty-two women were employed in professional and managerial positions. However, this finding probably reflects the fact that men intent upon entering the professions are more likely than women to enter institutions of higher education. The professional jobs being undertaken by men include computer programming, management training, and draughtsmen's work, and by women nursing, nursery nursing, banking, and management training.

Another point which should be mentioned here concerns the decline in the number of males undertaking craft apprenticeships. Males leaving school had tended historically to enter craft apprenticeships, mainly in building, mining, and engineering, but the economic recession of recent years has vastly reduced their numbers. Thus of the 88 economically-active males interviewed only twenty-two (exactly a quarter) were undertaking craft apprenticeships. Of these, three were in mining, eight were in the building and construction industries, three were electricians, and there were eight others.

Of the 119 young people in full-time employment or undertaking government schemes only 63 (52.9%) were employed in their own new town and an additional 15 (12.6%) were working for employers with firms located within five kilometres of their homes. At the other extreme, 17 (14.3%) were travelling eleven or more kilometres to work and five (4.2%) were living and working outside their own new towns. Table 5.9 shows how these young people broke down according to new town and sex.

Given the small number involved it would perhaps be a little rash to

draw any firm conclusions from the data presented in Table 5.9.
However, it is apparent that the number of young people commuting to
work outside Cramlington is particularly high, with almost 30%
travelling eleven or more kilometres each day, and only 37% working in
the new town itself.   In contrast, more than 50% of the employed
respondents in Peterlee and Washington were employed by firms located
within their new towns.   To a very large extent these figures support
the view obtained from the 1981 Census that Cramlington is far more
of a commuter town than are both Peterlee and Washington.   Women

Table 5.9:   Work Place of Young Employees*

Group Row %	New Town	1-5 KMS	6-10 KMS	11+ KMS	Live Elsewhere
Peterlee	28	10	3	6	3
	56.0	20.0	6.0	12.0	6.0
Cramlington	10	3	6	8	-
	37.0	11.1	22.2	29.4	-
Washington	25	2	10	3	2
	59.5	4.8	23.8	7.1	4.8
Male	23	10	9	7	2
	45.1	19.6	17.6	13.8	3.9
Female	40	5	10	10	3
	58.8	7.4	14.7	14.7	4.4
TOTAL	63	15	19	17	5
	52.9	12.6	16.0	14.3	4.2

STATISTICS	CHI SQR
New Town	0.0292
Sex	ns

* Includes two made redundant shortly before their interview.

from all three new towns were more likely than men to be employed in
their own new town, although the differences were not found to be
statistically significant.

When the educational qualifications of young people were examined it was
discovered that those in white-collar occupations were less likely to
have one or more 'O' level GCE passes than those in education and
significantly more likely to have one or more GCE 'O' levels than those
in blue-collar occupations and those who were unemployed. It seems
somewhat strange that unemployed respondents were marginally more likely
to have one or more GCE 'O' level passes than those engaged in blue-
collar occupations, but these differences were not great and the sample
of unemployed young people included a number who had either dropped
out of their 'A' level courses or were studying part-time at college.
Taken together, however, these findings, summarized in Table 5.10, show
how important it is for young people to have some form of qualification
if they are to obtain a permanent job in the present recession.

Table 5.10:   Numbers of GCE 'O' Levels by Economic Status*

Group Row %	None	1-3	4-6	7plus
White-Collar	6 15.0	8 20.0	15 37.5	11 27.5
Blue-Collar	65 72.2	19 21.1	4 4.4	2 2.2
Education	4 9.8	11 26.8	9 22.0	17 41.5
Unemployed	33 64.7	9 17.6	4 7.8	5 9.8

CHI SQR = 0.0000

* Table includes 11 individuals unemployed
  at the time of their interview who have
  been classified according to their previous
  job.

When respondents were asked how satisfied or dissatisfied they were with
their jobs the overwhelming majority (76.5%) replied that they were

satisfied or very satisfied and only 16% said that they were not

satisfied.   This is a very unusual finding and one which contradicts

that of Carter (1962:103) who in his study, undertaken in Sheffield

in the late 1950s, discovered that for many, '... children, work had

no strong appeal, and ... was simply accepted as something which had

to be done'.   Carter's study was, however, carried out in a period

of full employment, very different to that which exists today in the

three new towns, and the high degree of job satisfaction reported by

respondents in this study may well reflect the current economic

situation, perhaps indicating that young people in regular employment

were simply pleased that they had jobs at a time in which many of their

friends were out of work.   Some supporting evidence for this belief

came from the replies to the question, 'How long do you intend to

remain in your present job?'.   When replies to this question were

analysed it was evident that, although 44% of respondents were

intending to remain in their present jobs for as long as possible, job

dissatisfaction was far more widespread than replies to the simple

attitude question had suggested.   Thus, as Table 5.11 shows, over

one-fifth of respondents intended to leave their present jobs 'as soon

as possible' and an additional 14% intended to leave within 12 months.

Further, although a clear correlation was found to exist between

job satisfaction and the length of time which respondents intended to

remain in their present jobs, the correlation was nowhere near as

strong as it perhaps should have been.   Thus ten out of the nineteen

respondents who said that they intended to leave their present job

'as soon as possible' were satisfied with their job, as were five of

the eleven who intended to leave their present job within the following

twelve months.

Table 5.11: Intention to Remain in Present Job by Job Satisfaction

When Leaving	All Col. %	Satisfied	Uncertain	Not Satisfied
A.S.A.P.*	19 22.0	10	-	9
1-12 months	12 14.0	5	2	5
1-6 years	17 19.8	16	1	-
Never	38 44.2	35	2	1

* A.S.A.P. = As soon as possible.

Moreover, some young people were concerned about the effects of the present recession on both the type of work they were undertaking and the conditions of their employment. Thus many respondents believed that wages were being kept deliberately low because, in the words of one respondent, '...there are lots of (unemployed) young people who are willing to do your job for a lot less'. A related criticism was that employers were increasingly expecting their employees to work long and anti-social hours.

Another discovery was that some young people were undertaking jobs for which they were grossly over-qualified. For example, several women in the sample with seven or more GCE 'O' levels were employed as machinists. The experience of K.P. from Peterlee is worth quoting here. She was intending to go on to university and was studying three GCE 'A' levels at school when she was offered a job in a bank. She decided to leave school and accept the offer of a job, although she bitterly regretted that her decision would mean that she would not now be able to go to university.

Finally, a number of women said that they felt that employers were becoming increasingly reluctant to offer professional and managerial jobs to women in case they left after a few years to start a family. The experience of A.C. from Cramlington is a case in point. Although she possessed several GCE 'O' level passes, she was working as a check-out girl in a large department store in Eldon Square shopping centre in Newcastle. Her ambition was to work as a sales representative, and in consequence she had applied for a large number of such jobs. She had been unsuccessful though in obtaining such a position, although she knew of a number of young men with similar qualifications who had been successful.

Young people were also asked how satisfied or dissatisfied they were with both the cost and distance involved in travelling to and from work. Given the relatively high proportion of commuters living in Cramlington there is a case for believing that young people from the town would be more dissatisfied than respondents from the other two new towns. However, somewhat surprisingly, no significant differences were found to exist in the attitudes of respondents towards the distance involved in having to travel to work, with only a minority (17% overall) saying that they were dissatisfied. Young people from Washington were the least satisfied with the cost involved in travelling to work - a somewhat unusual finding given the low cost of public transport in Washington relative to both Peterlee and Cramlington. This point is illustrated in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12: Attitudes Towards the Cost of Travelling to Work

New Town Row %	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Not Satisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Mean (Std. Dev.)
Peterlee	21	13	1	8	4	2.17
	44.7	27.7	2.1	17.0	8.5	(1.39)
Cramlington	15	4	4	7	5	2.51
	42.9	11.4	11.4	20.0	14.3	(1.56)
Washington	6	13	4	5 ·	9	2.95
	16.2	35.1	10.8	13.5	24.3	(1.47)
Total	42	30	9	20	18	2.51
	35.3	25.2	7.6	16.8	15.1	(1.49)

CHI SQR = 0.03   ANOVA = 0.06

Unemployment and Youth Training

It would be a mistake to believe that there is a group of permanently
unemployed young people, for many have enjoyed periods of employment
and/or youth training in the time between leaving school and becoming
unemployed, whilst many writers (e.g. Casson, 1979) have noted that
young people in their first years after leaving school have a tendency
to wander from job to job before settling down to a permanent job.
Thus the findings recorded in Table 5.7 that at the time of interview
more than 35% of young people participating in the study were unemployed,
ignores the fact that far more of the young people interviewed had at
one time or another experienced periods of unemployment.   It can,
however, be said that there is a group of young people which is
particularly susceptible to unemployment, this group being - as was
shown in Table 5.10 - those with few and/or poor qualifications.

As was mentioned earlier, the main provision made for unemployed young
people are the various forms of youth training schemes, the two main

ones being Youth Opportunities (Y.O.P.s) and Work Experience on Employers' Premises (W.E.E.P.), which were replaced by the unified Youth Training Scheme (Y.T.S.) in October 1983. Of the 224 young people interviewed, 114 - just over one-half - had at one time or another undertaken a government scheme. Table 5.13 below illustrates the major characteristics of this group: from this it can be seen clearly that just over 50% of respondents had undertaken government training schemes of some form. No significant differences were found to exist when these numbers were broken down by sex and new town, although respondents from Washington were marginally more likely to have undertaken a government scheme than those from Peterlee or Cramlington.

Table 5.13: <u>Characteristics of Those Undertaking Government Schemes</u>

Group	Group Size	Numbers on Schemes	%	CHI SQR
Peterlee	79	35	44.3	
Cramlington	66	31	47.0	
Washington	79	48	60.8	0.09
Male	107	54	50.5	
Female	117	60	51.3	ns
No GCE 'O' levels	108	77	67.5	0.0000
White-collar	40	17	42.5	
Blue-collar	90	60	66.7	
Unemployed	51	36	70.6	0.0000
TOTAL	224	114	50.9	

Overall, two-thirds of those who had undertaken a government scheme had no GCE 'O' levels compared with only 28.2% (30) of those who had not undertaken a scheme. Finally, 66.7% of the unemployed and 71% of

those engaged in blue-collar employment had undertaken a government scheme, compared with only 43% of those undertaking a white-collar job.

The analysis clearly shows the important role which youth training is now playing in the three new towns under study, particularly for those young people with few qualifications and only manual skills.

Respondents were also asked how satisfied or dissatisfied they were with training opportunities in their new towns, and overall, as Table 5.14 shows, a majority - 55.3% (60) - were satisfied and 36.0% (41) were dissatisfied.

Table 5.14:   Attitudes Towards Training Opportunities

Group	Count	Percent
Very satisfied	3	2.6
Satisfied	60	52.6
Uncertain	10	8.8
Not satisfied	37	32.5
Very dissatisfied	4	3.5
	114	100.0

Apart from revealing that the attitudes of respondents towards training opportunities in the three new towns are rather mixed, Table 5.14 says little about the attitudes of respondents towards specific aspects of youth training.   It was, however, possible to build up a more detailed picture of these attitudes and grievances from the comments young people made at the time of their interviews.

A general criticism of the various youth training schemes was that employers were abusing the schemes, using them as forms of cheap labour and giving their trainees a minimum of training.   The

experiences of S.P., L.C., S.C., and C.W. are not atypical. All four complained that they were given only a minimum amount of training and that their Y.O.Ps schemes were simply not what they had been led to expect. S.P. from Peterlee and C.W. from Washington had both undertaken Y.O.Ps schemes which offered clerical and office work training. After an initial introductory spell 'working in the office', both found themselves working full-time on the factory floor - S.P. doing simple assembly work and C.W. sweeping the shop floor. C.W. was so disillusioned with his scheme that he left after a few weeks and has been unemployed ever since. Both L.C. and S.C. are young women from Cramlington who undertook community placements. S.C. found herself helping to redecorate flats for senior citizens. She received almost no training, and felt that the senior citizens didn't really want her to redecorate their homes. L.C., in contrast, found that she spent most of her time doing simple menial tasks such as washing-up, although she expected to help teach Vietnamese boat people English. She remarked:-

> What use is there in this when you don't
> speak the (English) language properly
> yourself?

An allied criticism of the youth training scheme voiced by some, but by no means all, young people concerned the low rates of pay which they were paid whilst undertaking their government schemes - barely £25.00 per week. It was felt that this was simply too little, given that other young people working full-time were receiving up to £100 a week *for doing the same work.* Some young people though, most notably L.C. and S.C., felt that £25.00 would have been a fair wage had the training been up to scratch.

More serious criticisms were about blatant abuses of the youth training

scheme by employers.   The following case of L.P. from Peterlee, is not

an isolated example.   L.P. was undertaking a Y.O.P.s placement with a

farmer near Peterlee for which he received only £25.00 a week.   The

farmer stipulated that he should work every Saturday and Sunday and

take two days off during the week, thus avoiding having to pay his

permanent farm hands overtime at weekends.

An altogether different set of criticisms of youth training were made

by both the unemployed and those in full-time employment.   The

unemployed felt that the youth training scheme was making it increasingly

difficult for them to find suitable employment.   B.P. from Peterlee

and K.W. from Washington fall into this category.   B.P. is twenty now

and he has had only seven weeks employment in the last three years.

He does not believe that any sane employer would employ an unqualified

person such as himself when he can obtain the services of a school

leaver under the youth training scheme.   B.P. believes that training

schemes are needed for people of his age.   K.W. is unemployed and is

living with her parents in Washington.   She obtained only poor GCE 'A'

level results when she took her examinations in 1983, and at the time

of her interview was undertaking a TEC part-time course at a college in

Durham.   K.W. was looking for work as a laboratory technician, but

felt that potential employers were more likely to offer such jobs to

young people who had left school at 16 with good GCE 'O' level results

and whom they themselves could train under the youth training scheme.

Interestingly, Audrey Segal, writing in *The Guardian* (17 April 1984),

mentions that several young people with good 'A' level results have

written to her complaining that they have been unable to obtain

employment for precisely the same reason.

Young people in full-time work felt that the youth training scheme was

encouraging employers to keep wage rates lower than they would otherwise
be. A.P. from Peterlee is a case in point. He earns only £35.00
for a basic 40-hour week and has to work a considerable amount of
overtime, partly because he needs to make up his wages to a 'decent
level', and partly because he fears his employer will 'sack' him if
he does not.

Finally, a number of young people attending college courses complained
that people undertaking the same courses but funded by the Y.T.S. were
being paid £25.00 per week when they were being paid nothing at all.

Before leaving this section, it is perhaps worth examining the economic
status at the time of their interviews of those young people who had
at one time or another undertaken youth training. This information
is summarized in Table 5.15 from which it can be seen that when the
19 young people undertaking youth training at the time of their inter-
view are excluded, a majority (61.7%, 68 individuals) had found full-
time employment. However, almost 40% (36 individuals) had not, and
they were thus unemployed. This analysis would tend to suggest that
the various youth training schemes had met with only limited success
as regards reducing the level of youth unemployment.

Table 5.15: Present Economic Status of Youth Trainees

	Count	Percent	Adjusted Percent
White-collar	15	13.3	16.0
Blue-collar	43	38.1	45.7
Unemployed	36	31.9	38.3
Currently YOPs	19	16.8	

The effects, both psychological and otherwise, of unemployment on young people is not a major concern of this study, others have, however, studied this in detail (see Murray, 1978). But one point is perhaps worth stressing, and this is related to comments made by two 19 year old unmarried mothers, L.C. and S.C. from Cramlington. Both women felt that the high youth unemployment rate in the new town, combined with the lack of social capital (see Chapter 6), was helping to feed a baby boom, in which some young women were deciding to have babies in order to break the monotony brought about by unemployment. In the words of S.C.:-

> Half our class mates (now) have babies of their
> own, and even some of the lads have got married.

It is not possible to test the truth or otherwise of this point by using the survey data which was obtained for this study. However, should there be some truth in the above assertion then a baby boom may well be occurring in Cramlington (and presumably in Peterlee and Washington also) which will have important repercussions on the future social development of the new town.

In conclusion it has been shown that although the developers have been successful in attracting a great deal of new industry to their new towns, youth unemployment has become a serious economic and social problem in all three. The jobs being undertaken by those young people in work reflects the diverse industrial base of their new towns, and the division of jobs between the two sexes was found to follow traditional lines. A minority of respondents had undertaken various forms of youth training schemes which were criticized for a number of ills.

The definition of 'community' has been the subject of some debate
among sociologists, Hillery (1955), for example, having identified
no fewer than ninety-four separate definitions of the term.
Implicit within most of these definitions is the concept of a fixed
geographical position or locality where 'community' is used almost
as a synonym for a place such as a town or village (Poplin, 1972:
9-13).   Other definitions, though, imply more than just a fixed
locality and extend the meaning of the word to cover social systems
consisting of groups of people living within fixed social, geographical,
and psychological boundaries (see Poplin, 1972:15).   Other writers,
in contrast, stress the concepts of 'we-ness' and 'belonging' in their
use of 'community' (Poplin, 1972:211.3).

Sociologists, in their studies of young people, have leaned heavily
on the latter two definitions of 'community'.   Robens and Cohen (1978),
for example, have looked at the meanings which young people, living on
a London housing estate, attached to concepts such as 'territory',
whilst other writers (Mungham and Pearson, ed., 1976; Brake, 1980)
have concentrated their attention on the rise of working-class youth
subcultures in Britain's inner-cities.   One such group identified by
Hebdige (1979:30-9) are the Rastifarians, a group of black working-
class youths, who have evolved their own street culture based upon their
own 'native' traditions, within the context of the wider social system
of London's inner-city.

This chapter, however, will have little to say about youth subcultures:
it will be concerned with the extent to which young people are involved
in local affairs, and are satisfied with their lives in their new towns

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and with the facilities specially provided for them. Two factors have determined this approach. Firstly, since the study is primarily interested in the attitudes of young people, it was considered to be inappropriate to study youth subcultures, and secondly, the methodological approach adopted has constrained the nature of the analysis which can be undertaken. Willis (1977:121-2) has drawn our attention to this problem in his study of youth subcultures in which he argued that whilst questionnaire surveys are very useful insofar as they are able to describe phenomena which have entered into the individual's conscious mind, they fall down insofar as they are unable to examine phenomena which exist only at the *group* or *collective* level of analysis. In particular, Willis argues that any study of youth subcultures must be firmly rooted within their own environments, and such studies are best undertaken by means of ethnographic methods of investigation.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into two sections: Section One sets the scene by examining the role which was envisaged for the new towns in providing a better and brighter environment for people to live in; Section Two examines the degree to which young people are involved in local affairs, and their attitudes towards their lives in the new towns.

Section One: The New Town Environment

The major concern of new town planners in the North East, after the need to improve the industrial infrastructure of the area, was undoubtedly the need to improve the housing stock of the area. This point was forcibly stated by C.W. Clarke, engineer and surveyor to the Easington Rural District Council, who describes (1946:63) a typical

colliery village as consisting:-

> ... of sordid rows of single and double storeyed
> colliery cottages with walls in random limestone
> rubble and slated roofs.... Front doors open
> straight onto black, dirty, unmade streets with
> possibly a concrete footpath edged by an open
> stone channel communicating with a gully at
> suitable distances.

A study of Easington Rural District undertaken in 1948 (Peterlee

Development Corporation, 1948; Rankin, 1949) confirmed Clarke's

impression of the area.   Overcrowding was found to be widespread, with

many families living in two-roomed and three-roomed cottages.   Sanitary

conditions were poor and only one-quarter (27.1%) had an indoor toilet

and one-half (51.2%) a separate bathroom.   Similarly, the Cramlington

Master Plan (1961:15) concluded that up to 1,000 houses within the

Comprehensive Development Area were in need of clearance between the

years 1957 and 1971, and an additional 645 houses were over-crowded.

Finally, the Washington Master Plan (1966:47) estimated that in the

mid-1960s 2,625 out of 6,750 dwellings within the boundaries of the new

town could be in need of replacement before the year 2,000.   In

addition, the master plans for all three new towns stressed the role

which they were to play in improving both the local environment and the

range of services available to the people.   Thus both Peterlee and

Cramlington were built upon green-field sites, and the Peterlee Master

Plan (Peterlee Development Corporation, 1952:21) stressed the role which

the new town was to play in providing shopping, recreational and related

facilities for people living within the whole of Easington Rural District.

The master plans for the three new towns also saw a need to provide such

facilities as libraries, public houses, dance halls, hospitals, churches,

welfare and maternity clinics, and so on.

The trouble with these approaches was that they were divorced from the ideas and values of the people for whom they were intended: the new towns were conceived by planners and architects whose life-styles, leisure pursuits, and values were totally different from those of the mining families for whom, in the main, they built.

Dennis, Harriques and Sloughter (1956), in a study based upon life in the West Riding colliery town of Ashton in the mid-1950s, have shown how life in the town was marked by a high degree of solidarity, based upon the pit as the principal source of employment; the terraced street, and the extended family. Miners who worked together would often live close to one another in the same terraced street, and their wives would be friendly with one another also. Women tended to marry men from their own neighbourhood, and newly-wed couples would often live in the same street as the women's parents.

Sex roles were strongly stereotyped. The male was invariably the wage earner whose social life was centred on the public house and working men's club, and whose principal leisure pursuits were likely to include rugby league, betting, and visiting the cinema. It was unusual for married women to go out to work and their lives tended to centre around the home. The roles of adolescents were also clearly defined with the 'lads' invariably becoming miners, and the 'lasses' helping their mothers with domestic chores until they themselves married and started their own families. The social life of young people tended to centre on the dance hall and the Saturday night dance, the main function of which, in the words of Dennis *et al.* (1956:26), 'appears to be that of bringing young people together in a manner which facilitates the approach of the two sexes '.

A similar picture could, no doubt, have been constructed of life in the colliery villages of County Durham and Northumberland in the 1950s and early 1960s. A Washington councillor, for example, remarked to the present author that, 'homes were arranged four to the yard', and that 'everyone in the street was related to one another', whilst Clarke (1946:11) wrote of the colliery villages in Easington Rural District:

> The outstanding feature of the (mining) community...
> is the community spirit shown. In what other industry
> is the same "cameraderie" shown between the people, to
> the same extent as exists in the mining villages?
> Where else is shown the same sympathy in bereavement,
> assistance in necessity or rejoicing in good fortune
> between members of a community? *Any attempt to plan*
> *for such an area must seek to preserve this spirit,..*
> (My italics.)

The importance of the working men's club to the miners in the area is illustrated by the fact that at their designation as new towns Washington had six and Cramlington at least four. In addition, Washington had at least two and Cramlington at least one betting shop.

The new town planners, though, appear to have made almost no attempts at canvassing the views of the people in each area as to exactly what type of new town and related facilities they themselves wanted. It was *assumed* that the people wanted semi-detached houses and facilities such as libraries, theatres, parks, and open spaces. Moreover, implicit in many documents is the assumption that the traditional working-class culture was inferior and in need of change (see Hudson and Johnson, 1976:310). Clarke (1946) for example - although no doubt actuated by altruistic motives[*] - did not appear to consider the possibility that the terraced cottages he labelled slums may not have been viewed as such by the people who lived in them, and that, rather than building a new town, it might have been a better strategy to renovate and modernise the existing colliery

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[*] He subsequently became a priest. (Nicholson, 1978:34).

in Easington.   It is interesting that Dennis (1970) in his study

of nearby Sunderland, which borders Easington District, has shown how

highly satisfied people were with their own terraced cottages, scheduled

for demolition and slum clearance.   In particular, his respondents

stressed the community-spirit which existed in these rows, and their

proximity to work, usually the docks, relatives, who often lived in the

same or adjoining streets; and facilities such as shops, public houses,

and social clubs.   Dennis's work also suggested that many cottages

and terraced houses had been modernised with indoor toilets and baths

having been installed.   In a similar vein Allen (c.1982:12), in her

potted history of Frances Street in the Durham colliery village of

Hetton-le-Hole*, has shown how the terraced cottages were gradually

modernised after 1860 when they were built.

> The street originally consisted of twenty-seven
> houses. When first built they had no back yards.
> A lane with a rough surface of earth and ash
> separated the houses from the 'netties', or earth
> closets, which were emptied weekly by nightsoil
> men.   About 1909, yards were added, each with a
> coalhouse and netty, and enclosed by a high brick
> wall.
>
> At first, water had to be fetched from a standpipe
> shared by all the houses in the row, but by 1900
> most of the houses had a cold tap in the pantry.

In similar fashion the Reith Report (cmnd.6876, 1946:paras.205-6)

pointed to the evil of drinking to excess, and the need to encourage

people to spend less time in public houses and social clubs.   However,

such an approach neglected the wider social role played by the working

men's clubs in mining communities. Dennis *et al.* (1956:142-52), for

example, have listed the function undertaken by working men's clubs in

Ashton, and these include: providing venues for other clubs and

societies, concerts and theatrical performances; the loan of books; the

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* Francis Street has been rebuilt, brick by brick, at the Beamish Open
  Air Museum.

organisation of day trips; and the provision of cheap beer. A similar

picture of a typical Easington working men's club was given to the

author by a Peterlee councillor who added that in addition to this

social clubs acted as a sort of unofficial employment exchange.

In Chapter Two it was shown that the amount of space devoted to young

people in the master plans for six new towns and the Reith Report was

distinctly limited, giving the general impression that the new town

planners did not believe it part of their responsibilities to provide

facilities for 16-19 year olds. Thus it was shown that the Peterlee

Master Plan (Peterlee Development Corporation, 1952) is devoid of all

references to young people, whilst the Cramlington Master Plan

(Northumberland County Council, 1961:26) mentions them only in passing,

and the Washington Master Plan (llewelyn-Davies, 1966:82) devotes only

two paragraphs to the need to provide youth clubs and related facilities.

The Reith Report (cmnd. 6876, 1946: para.219-23) devotes only five

paragraphs to the needs of children and young people, and of these five,

two are concerned with the needs of children, two with the provision

of buildings and other facilities, and only one (para.221) specifically

with young people, viz:-

> For those who are older, provision must be made for
> voluntary activities complementary to their daily
> work in school or factory, and *no less important in*
> *moulding character.* Their needs are by no means
> uniform. To one it is for physical recreation;
> to another for a quiet place to read or study;
> a third demands a workshop in which to pursue some
> hobby; to a fourth the team activities of scouts,
> guides, brigades and cadet corps have a strong
> appeal... (My italics.)

From this reference it is evident that the Reith Report recognised that

there was a need to provide facilities for young people, but their needs

were taken for granted and the possibility of canvassing their views was

never suggested. Moreover, it is not clear exactly what the Reith

Report meant by the term 'moulding character', though the fact that

the quotation places stress on activities such as 'physical

recreation', 'a quiet place to read or study', 'a workshop', and

refers to 'uniformed organisations', suggests to some extent that the

report was devaluing more working-class pursuits such as football,

dancing, betting, and drinking. (See Morley, 1966).

The failure of the Reith Report and the three master plans to fully

discuss the needs of young people is undoubtedly a major shortcoming

of those studies, for young people have been amongst those most widely

affected by the changes brought about by the development of the new towns.

It has been shown how, in the old mining communities, the roles of

men and women were clearly set out almost from birth. Their lives

were very highly structured and lived within clearly defined limits:

the 'lads' would almost invariably become miners and their social lives

would be centred on the working men's club, whilst the 'lasses' were

destined to marry miners and become housewives with their own children,

living a life centred firmly around their families and terraced street.

Figure 6.1 shows, in much simplified form, the life cycles of the

typical man and woman in the old colliery villages of County Durham.

The new town environment is very different to that which existed in the

old mining communities, and people within it tend to live a more

private and personalized life based upon the nuclear family, which has,

to a large extent, replaced the extended family. The reasons for these

changes need not unduly detain us here, suffice it to say that, in much

simplified form, these changes have resulted from a combination of

factors. The ties of kith and kin have been weakened as a direct result

of people having moved into the new towns; the diversification of industry,

Figure 6.1:   The Male and Female Life Cycles
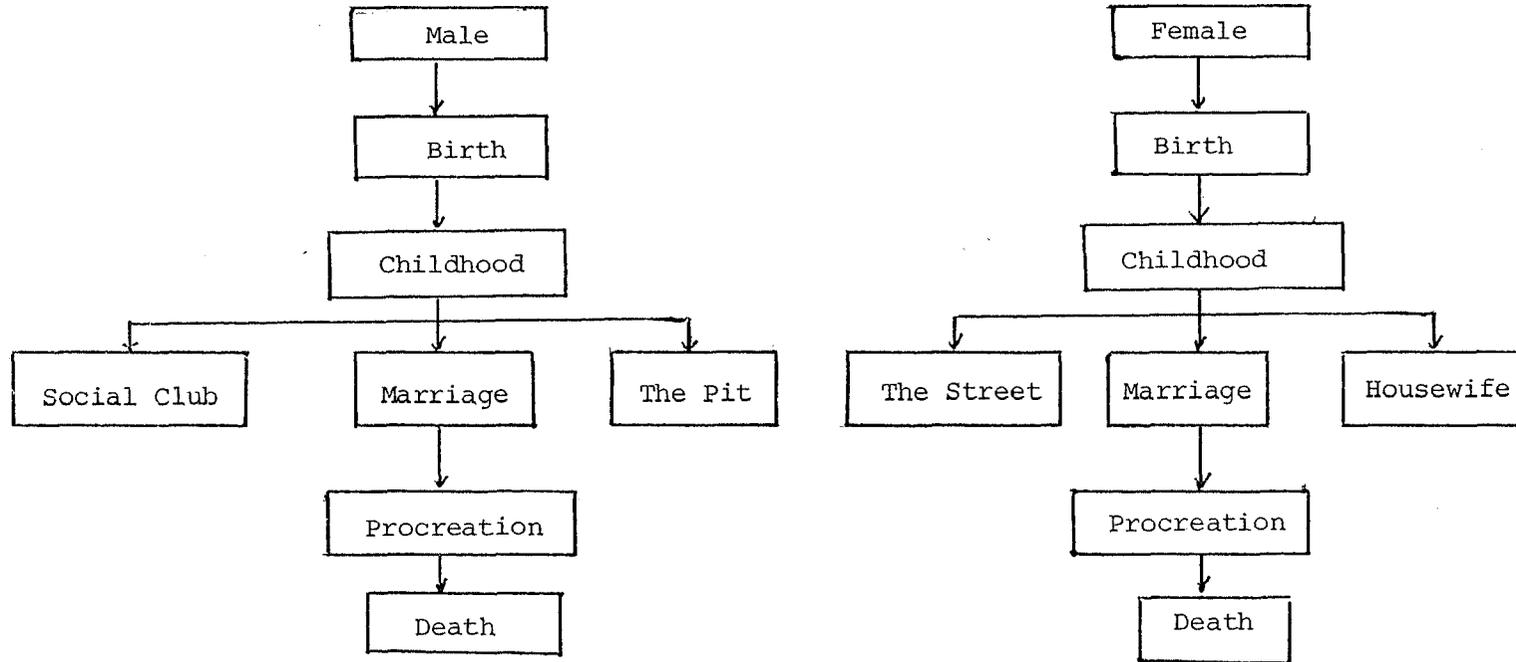
combined with the high level of commuting, means that neighbours are

now very unlikely to work at the same place, or to do the same kind of

work, and the increase in the numbers of women going out to work,

combined with the structural layout of the new housing estates, means

that married women simply do not have the opportunity to socialize

with their neighbours.   Moreover, in Chapter One it was shown that

the social structures of the three new towns are more broadly based

than are those of the districts in which they are situated, and in

particular they have greater proportions of managerial and professional

persons amongst their populations.   The life-styles of these more middle-

class people are different to those of working-class people.   In

particular they have tended to place greater emphasis on the value of

privacy, independence, and social advancement.   Their leisure pursuits

are also somewhat different and they are more likely to take an interest

in things such as the theatre and indoor sports, and to belong to

various clubs and societies.

Although many of these changes are to be welcomed, housing in the new

towns - despite the problems which exist in Peterlee - is far better than

it was in the old mining communities, and women especially have far more

opportunities than did their mothers and grandmothers.   However, these

changes have helped to produce a generation which, to a large extent,

simply does not know where it is going, and the lives of young people

have become much less structured and far more uncertain.   The 'lads'

are now very unlikely to become miners or to enter the same trades as

their fathers, and they are more likely to have to face periods of

unemployment.   The 'lasses' are more likely to think about embarking

upon a career, and they are much less likely to live close to their

mothers and relatives after marriage.   Moreover, the break in

the relationship which formally existed between the workplace and the local community has meant that young people have not the same opportunities for forming permanent friendships which their parents had, and this, combined with the influx of more middle-class young people, with their different life-styles, has widened and increased the demand for leisure facilities as young people seek to form relationships with people outside of both their neighbourhood and place of work.

Furthermore, the advent of universal education, combined with the growing influence of the mass media and commercialism have served to widen the horizons and expectations of young people who are, in consequence, not as likely to be satisfied with their leisure facilities as were their parents when they were young. The 'lasses' are not likely to be content spending most of their evenings at home (as their mothers and grandmothers did), and the 'lads' are likely to want to spend their spare time engaged in activities other than drinking and socializing in the 'pub' and local working man's club.

Finally, there is some evidence to suggest that the period of adolescence, defined in terms of the time between leaving school and getting married, has increased. Although it is difficult to reach any firm conclusions it is worth mentioning that when young people were asked what the ideal age was at which to marry, the mean replies worked out at 23.3 years for men and 23.1 for women. These ages seem to be a little high, bearing in mind a study undertaken by Morley (1966:5) which discovered that three-quarters of twenty year-old women living in Peterlee in 1966 were married. If the period of adolescence has increased this may have created additional demands for leisure and related facilities.

In conclusion, this section has shown that the town planners and architects who designed the three new towns did not canvass the views of the people for whom they were intended. In particular, the needs of young people were neglected in the master plans for all three new towns, although their lives have been shown to be far less structured and more uncertain than they were in the old mining communities. Bearing these factors in mind this chapter will go on to examine the extent to which young people are satisfied with their lives in their respective new towns. Firstly the attitudes of young people towards their new town environments will be examined by looking at their attitudes towards housing, shopping facilities, and public utilities. Finally, the degree to which young people are actively involved in local clubs and societies will be examined, together with their attitudes towards entertainments and other facilities provided for people of their age. In particular, the following analysis will lean heavily on the replies to nineteen attitude questions, which were contained within Section D of the questionnaire.

Section Two: Attitudes Towards the New Towns

Given the fact that the new town was built primarily to provide new and better housing for mining families (Clarke, 1946), it is rather ironic that Peterlee has a high proportion of poor and substandard housing (see Nicholson, 1978). Many of the houses in the town were based on inappropriate designs, with flat roofs, and they are not properly weather-proofed against the harsh climate of a town situated barely two kilometres from the North sea; whilst other houses have been under-mined and in consequence have suffered structural damage, and others were built from inferior building materials. It is not surprising that the survey discovered that respondents from Peterlee

were the most dissatisfied with their housing, as is shown in Table 6.1.   Whilst 70% and 55% of respondents in Cramlington and Washington said that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with housing in their new towns, the corresponding figure for Peterlee respondents was only 26%,   In contrast, 46% of Peterlee respondents said that they were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their new town's housing compared with only 20% in Washington and 4½% in Cramlington.

Table 6.1:   Attitudes Towards New Town Housing.

New Town Row %	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dis- Satisfied	Very Dissat- isfied
Peterlee	1	19	22	25	12
	1.3	24.1	27.8	31.5	15.2
Cramlington	7	45	11	3	0
	10.6	68.2	16.7	4.5	0.0
Washington	7	37	19	8	8
	8.9	46.8	24.1	10.1	10.1

CHI SQR. = 0.00

The following comment is typical of many of those made by young people in Peterlee:-

> The housing is substandard due to bad design
> and the use of poor materials.

Both Cramlington and Washington have some poor-quality housing also, mainly on the Hall Close and Mayfield estates in Cramlington, and in Blackfell and Sulgrave Villages in Washington, but the housing problem in these two new towns is nowhere as marked as it is in Peterlee. In both Cramlington and Washington, however, some concern was expressed about the planning and structural layout of housing estates.   The following comment was made by a Cramlington woman:-

The town resembles Toy Town with the houses
being packed too closely together.

Further analysis of this data suggested that young people living in

council houses were somewhat more dissatisfied with the conditions of

their houses than those living in owner-occupied accommodation, but

these differences were only statistically significant amongst young

people living in Peterlee.

No significant differences were found to exist regarding the attitudes

of young people towards both the price of housing and the local housing

office.   Replies suggested that few respondents had given these matters

much thought, for more than half of their replies fell into the

'uncertain' category regarding the price of housing and 62% (almost two-

thirds) regarding the local housing office.   A majority (63%) of

young people were satisfied with the rents of houses in their new towns

but further analysis revealed that those living in council and Development

Corporation housing were more dissatisfied with the levels of rents than

those living in owner-occupied accommodation.   Nearly 50% of council

and other tenants, but only 20% of owner-occupiers said that they were

either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the level of house rents.

It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that the Master Plan for

Peterlee (Peterlee Development Corporation, 1952) hoped that the new

town would become a major commercial centre, providing shopping and other

facilities of a medical, social, cultural, and recreational nature for

people living in the whole of Easington Rural District.   To this

purpose a major shopping centre was built in the new town.   However, as

Moyes, (1969:173) has pointed out, by the late 1960s it was proving

difficult to let out many of the shops to traders as the advent of the

motor car and more efficient public transport had made it a lot easier
for people to travel to the nearby Wearside and Teesside conurbations.
Today, (1984) large numbers of shops have closed down in Peterlee as
traders have found it increasingly difficult to make ends meet because
of the recession.   The situation in Washington is very different, for
Washington has one of the largest shopping centres - 'The Galleries' -
in the North East of England, which attracts many shoppers from
Sunderland and Newcastle.   In addition, each village in Washington has
a selection of shops, including a general store, post office and
newsagents.   Cramlington has a range of shopping facilities which
fall mid-way between those existing in Peterlee and Washington,and a
purpose-built indoor shopping arcade has been built in the town, although
its range of shops and other facilities are nowhere near as comprehensive
as those offered in 'The Galleries'.   The older : parts of Cramlington,
most notably around High Pit, also have their own miniature shopping
centres.   All three new towns are served by regular bus services
which link them to the rest of the region, but only Cramlington has a
railway station.   In addition, each new town has its own branch
libraries, social security offices, job centres, information centres,
health clinics, and maternity hospitals.

Analysis of the data showed that the attitudes of respondents in the
three new towns reflected these differences in the range and scope of
shopping facilities and public utilities available to them.   In all,
five questions were included in the questionnaire on the provision of
shopping facilities in the new towns.   These questions were concerned
with the extent to which respondents were satisfied or dissatisfied with
shopping facilities overall, the choice and cost of food in shops, and
the choice and cost of clothing in shops.

Differences were found to exist in replies to these questions not only

according to new town, but according to the respondent's sex also.

It is not surprising that respondents from Washington expressed the

highest level of satisfaction with their new town's shopping facilities.

This is illustrated in Table 6.2, from which it can be seen that

whereas 80% of respondents in Washington were either satisfied or very

satisfied with their new town's shopping facilities, the corresponding

figures for Peterlee and Cramlington were respectively 43% and 63%.

Table 6.2:   Overall Attitudes Towards Shops by New Town

New Town Row %	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
Peterlee	5	29	17	23	5
	6.3	36.7	21.5	29.1	6.3
Cramlington	11	31	6	15	3
	16.7	47.0	9.1	22.7	4.5
Washington	23	41	5	10	0
	29.1	51.9	6.3	12.7	0.0

CHI SQR.=0.00

The reason for the high popularity of shopping facilities in Washington

relative to the other two new towns is undoubtedly due to 'The Galleries'

Shopping Centre in Washington which, as was mentioned earlier, is one of

the best shopping centres in the North East of England.   Respondents

in Peterlee were the least satisfied of respondents with their shopping

facilities overall, this reflecting the fact that a large number of

shops in Peterlee have recently closed down: a point which was emphasised

by a number of respondents there.

No significant differences were found in the replies of respondents to

attitudes questions covering both the choice and cost of food in new

town shops, but significant differences were found regarding their

attitudes towards the choice and range of clothing available. Thus whilst 50% of respondents in Washington were satisfied or very satisfied with the choice of clothing available in their new town, the corresponding figures were only 25% in Peterlee and 15% in Cramlington. Table 6.3 illustrates this point, and perhaps suggests that there is a large demand for more clothing shops in both Peterlee and Cramlington which would offer the consumer a broader and more comprehensive range of clothing, including more up-to-date fashions.

Table 6.3: Attitudes Towards the Choice of Clothing in Shops.

New Town Row %	Very Satis-factory	Satis-factory	Uncertain	Dissat-isfied	Very Dissat-isfied
Peterlee	3	16	9	33	18
	3.8	20.3	11.4	41.8	22.8
Cramlington	0	10	5	37	14
	0.0	15.2	7.6	56.1	21.1
Washington	12	26	7	25	9
	15.2	32.9	8.9	31.6	11.4

CHI SQR.=0.00

Further analysis of the data showed that women in all three new towns were significantly less satisfied than men with shopping facilities. Table 6.4 reveals that whereas nearly 80% of men were satisfied with their new town's shopping facilities, only 48% of women were satisfied. Similarly, 42% of men but only 19% of women were satisfied with the choice of clothing available in shops in their new town. To a large extent this reflects differences in the roles of men and women, and highlights the conventionality of young people in the three new towns: women were more likely than men to be aware of the shortcomings of local shopping facilities because they were both more likely to help

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with the household shopping and more likely to want to buy the latest

fashion clothing.

Table 6.4: Differences in Attitudes Towards Shopping Facilities

Attitudes towards shops overall by sex.

Sex Row %	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
Male	26 24.3	57 53.3	12 11.2	10 9.3	2 1.9
Female	13 11.1	44 37.6	16 13.7	38 32.5	6 5.1

CHI SQR.=0.00

Attitudes towards the choice of clothing shops by sex

Sex Row %	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertin	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
Male	10 9.3	35 32.7	12 11.2	34 31.8	16 15.0
Female	5 4.3	17 14.5	9 7.7	61 52.1	25 21.4

CHI SQR.=0.00

Attitudes towards the local bus services were not found to vary

significantly between the three new towns with 65% of young people

saying that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with the services,

and less than 20% saying that they were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied.

Young people from Peterlee, however, were found to be somewhat more

dissatisfied with the frequency of the local bus service than those in

Cramlington and Washington, although the differences were not great.

Overall, 65% of young people were satisfied or very satisfied with the

frequency of the local bus service and fewer than a quarter (24.7%) were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. But a number of respondents did make specific complaints about local bus services: in particular, a number of respondents from Cramlington felt it to be unfair that bus fares there, where public transport is the responsibility of Northumberland County Council, are more expensive than in Tyne and Wear. Again, a number of women living on the Beacon Hill estate in Cramlington were concerned about the absence of late-night buses in their part of the town, which means that they have to walk nearly 300 metres along a poorly-lit footpath which crosses a playing field. Several respondents living in Washington and commuting to work outside the town were concerned about the lack of early morning buses: one man had to leave home at 6.00a.m. in order to start work in Sunderland at 8.00a.m.

In regard to the provision of other facilities, no statistical differences were found to exist in the attitudes of young people in the three new towns regarding the provision of public libraries, pre-school facilities, and the Social Security Office. Young people in Washington and Peterlee were somewhat less satisfied than those in Cramlington with the provision of health facilities in their new towns, but the differences were not very great. A number of Washington's young people expressed concern that their new town lacked a hospital. These points are illustrated in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: Attitudes Towards Public Utilities

Question Row %	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
T9	18.8	58.0	17.9	4.9	0.4
T10	9.4	36.6	45.5	7.1	1.3
T11	22.3	54.0	11.2	10.7	1.8
T24	3.1	33.5	43.3	11.6	8.5

T9   Public Library
T10   Pre-School facilities
T11   Health facilities
T24   Social Security Office.

Entertainment Facilities

In the discussion in Section One of this chapter it was shown that the needs and requirements of 16-19 year olds were neglected in the master plans for the three new towns but it should be stressed that the new town planners did recognise that the towns would have higher proportions of young children resident and for this reason each new town was well endowed with parks and open spaces and with facilities such as swings and roundabouts for young children to play on.   As will be shown later in this chapter, the most frequent complaint about the new towns respondents voiced was that there was a shortage of things for them to do.   Before examining the nature of these attitudes, however, it is necessary to show what entertainment facilities are available for young people to use in the three new towns.

Unfortunately it is difficult to produce an *exact* list of these facilities, although the Cramlington New Town group at County Hall,

Morpeth, do produce broadsheets listing most organisations operating

within the boundaries of their new town. Listed there are five

community centres for people of all ages, and one youth club, the

'Phoenix', attached to the local High School. Twenty-five other

youth organisations are also listed in addition to the Scouts and

Guides and a local football league, but only a minority of these accept

16-19 year olds as members. Similar lists are unfortunately not

available for the other two new towns, although some idea as to the

number of entertainment facilities available for young people to use

in the three new towns was obtained from the *Yellow Pages*. Table 6.6

shows the range of entertainment facilities listed in *Yellow Pages*,

broken down according to each new town. It should be stated, however,

that this list is by no means exhaustive, and ignores the fact that

young people are able to attend entertainments in the large towns and

cities which are close to the three new towns.

From Table 6.6. it can be seen that both Horden (which adjoins Peterlee)

and Washington have cinemas which show the latest film releases.

Cramlington lacks a cinema, although videos are sometimes shown in the

town's sports centre. Three youth clubs are listed serving Peterlee

and Horden, and two serve Washington. One of the Peterlee youth

clubs is located outside the main shopping precinct and offers a range

of services to the young unemployed. Both Peterlee and Cramlington

have well-equipped sports centres with indoor swimming pools.

'Concordia' in Cramlington is the largest sports centre of its kind

in Northumberland. Although Washington has a sports centre with its

own swimming pool, it is nowhere near so well equipped as those in

the other two new towns. At least one dance/disco is held in each

new town every week, usually in one of the youth clubs or community

centres. Finally, those young people aged eighteen or over are able

to use the public houses and various social clubs in the three new towns.

Table 6.6:   Entertainments Available in the Three New Towns

Facilities	Peterlee/ Horden+	Cramlington	Washington
Cinema	1	-	1
Youth Clubs	3	1	2
Scouts and Guides	*	*	*
Sports Clubs	*	*	*
Swimming Pools	1	1	1
Public Houses	8	2	24
Hotels	4	6	5
Social Clubs (inc. Working Men's)	14	6	17
Restaurants	2	4	3
Take-aways	3	2	11
Cafes	*	*	*
Libraries	1	1	2
Betting Shops	*	*	*
Dance halld and Discos	*	*	*

+   Horden adjoins Peterlee
*   Indicates number unknown.

Source: *Yellow Pages*

From Table 6.7 it can be seen that only a minority of young people (37%) were members of a club or society, with young people from Cramlington being marginally more likely to have joined a club or society than those from Peterlee or Washington.   Men were found to be significantly more likely to belong to a club or society than women, with some 43% of men but only 31% of women being a member of at least one club or society.

Table 6.7:   Membership of Clubs and Societies

Group	Sample Sixe	Member of Society*	Per Cent
Peterlee	79	28	35.4
Cramlington	66	28	42.4
Washington	79	26	32.9
Males	107	46	43.0
Females	117	36	30.8
Total	224	84	36.6

* Includes some respondents who were members of two or more clubs
   and societies.

In regard to the popularity of various clubs and societies, the

findings suggested that the major interests of young people did not

differ greatly between the three new towns.   Sizeable minorities of

young people in each new town were members of sports clubs.

In Cramlington ten (15.2%) young people were members of dance clubs,

whilst in Peterlee youth clubs were popular.   In all, fourteen young

people belonged to various social clubs, half of whom resided in

Peterlee.   The least popular societies were those of a religious

and political nature: the most popular clubs and societies amongst men

were in order - sports clubs, youth clubs, and social clubs, and

amongst women - dance clubs and sports clubs.   Table 6.8 illustrates

these points.

Table 6.8:   Membership of Various Clubs and Societies

Club or Society Total %	All	P'lee	Cram'ton	Wash'ton	Male	Female
Youth Clubs	15 6.7	8 10.1	4 6.1	3 3.8	11 10.3	4 3.4
Sports Clubs	38 17.0	10 12.7	13 19.7	15 19.0	26 24.3	12 10.3
Church Groups	5 2.2	2 2.5	1 1.5	2 2.5	2 1.9	3 2.6
Scouts/Guides	3 1.3	0 0.0	2 3.0	1 1.3	1 0.9	2 1.7
Dance/Disco	18 8.0	2 2.5	10 15.2	6 7.6	4 3.7	14 12.0
Political	2 0.9	1 1.3	0 0.0	1 1.3	1 0.9	1 0.9
Social Clubs*	14 6.3	7 8.9	3 4.5	4 5.1	10 9.3	4 3.4
Others	10 4.5	6 7.6	3 4.5	1 1.3	5 4.7	5 4.3
Total	224	79	66	79	107	117

* Includes Working Men's Clubs.

Given the above findings, it is tempting to suggest that there is a
lack of suitable things for young people to do in the three new towns,
and this conclusion is supported by the finding, shown in Table 6.9
overleaf, that a clear majority of young people were dissatisfied
with the entertainment facilities available for them to use. From
that table it can be seen clearly that overall 67% of respondents
said that they were either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with
entertainment facilities in their new towns, the actual figures
varying from 57% in Washington to 73% in Peterlee.

Table 6.9: Dissatisfaction with Entertainment Facilities

New Town Row %	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
Peterlee	1 1.3	13 16.7	7 8.9	41 51.9	17 21.5
Cramlington	3 4.5	8 12.1	31 12.1	16 47.0	16 24.2
Washington	2 2.5	16 20.3	16 20.3	35 44.3	10 12.7
Total	6 2.7	37 16.5	31 13.8	107 47.8	43 19.2

CHI SQR. = not significant

Moreover, 126 (or more than one-half) of the respondents (56.3%) said that there were insufficient things for 16-19 year olds to do in their new town. Analysis of the data revealed a number of common themes: many felt that other age groups were much better catered for than they were, for example, a number mentioned how happy they had been living in their new town during childhood, and attributed this to the existence of parks and open spaces. The following comments were typical of those expressed:-

> There are lots of things for kids to do, but
> there is little for 16-17 year olds.
>
>   (Male, Peterlee.)

> The town has lots of nice assets for children,
> with greenery and safe places for them to play.
> A venue is needed for bands, a night-club, and
> a bookshop.
>
>   (Female, Peterlee.)

> I do not believe there are enough facilities
> for youth in Cramlington. Educational
> facilities for under 13 year-olds are adequate
> but from the age of 13 to 19 there are no
> entertainments.
>
>   (Female, Cramlington.)

In similar fashion other young people mentioned the facilities, social clubs, betting shops, and public houses, which cater for older people and from which they are excluded.   One respondent remarked:-

> The town has not a lot to offer. It only has
> pubs, but these are no good if you're only
> sixteen.
>   (Female, Cramlington.)

Specific areas of complaint, apart from the general comment that 'there is nothing to do in the town', varied according to the new town and the facilities available for young people there.   For example, several respondents from Cramlington wanted to see a cinema opened in the town (see also *The Cramlington Orbit*, April 1984:2), and there was a general demand for the establishment of a youth centre.

Respondents from Washington tended to be more critical of their sports centre, which a number wanted to see expanded, with more indoor games such as badminton, five-a-side soccer, and squash being offered.   This no doubt contributed to the finding that respondents from Washington were far more dissatisfied with their sporting facilities than those from Peterlee and Cramlington.   Thus, whilst more than one-third (35.5%) of Washington respondents fell into the dissatisfied or very dissatisfied categories in the replies to their question, 'are you satisfied or dissatisfied with (your new town's) sports facilities?' only one-in-ten did so in Peterlee (10.1%) and Cramlington (9.1%). This point is illustrated in Table 6.10.

Nor were respondents from Cramlington devoid of criticisms of their sports centre, 'Concordia'.   Several said that the cost of entry was simply too high, which posed a particular problem for the young unemployed, whilst others said that young people and the unemployed

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were simply not welcome there.   In the words of one unemployed man:-

> 'Concordia' doesn't want you. It's only for
> the middle-class.

Table 6.10: <u>Attitudes Towards Sporting Facilities</u>

New Town Row %	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
Peterlee	22	40	9	5	3
	27.8	56.6	11.4	6.5	3.8
Cramlington	20	27	13	4	2
	30.3	40.9	19.7	6.1	3.0
Washington	4	31	16	24	4
	5.1	39.2	20.3	30.4	5.1

CHI SQR. = 0.00

Respondents from both Peterlee and Cramlington expressed some dissatisfaction with their local youth clubs.   In Peterlee there was a general complaint about youth clubs being closed at weekends, whilst in Cramlington the principal youth club, the 'Phoenix', is attached to the High School and there were complaints about it being closed at weekends and during the school holidays when, 'most people want to use it'.

Several young people from all three new towns complained about having to travel outside their towns in the evenings in order to attend functions and various entertainments elsewhere: they pointed out that this created additional expense which the unemployed in particular could not afford.   One male in Peterlee said:-

> This town is isolated and young prople have to
> travel twelve miles for a night out.

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A number of young people believed that a direct link existed between

the lack of entertainment facilities and the level of vandalism in

each new town.   Vandalism tended to be attributed to older children

aged 12-15, who were 'bored out of their minds'.   As the following

comments show, young people expressed some concern about this state

of affairs:-

> Generally the town (Peterlee) is alright, but
> there's not much to do, and this leads to
> vandalism and hooliganism.
>
> (Male, Peterlee.)

> There are few entertainment facilities and no
> proper youth club, so kids have to hang around
> the streets... The police should clamp down on
> them.
>
> (Female, Cramlington.)

> The town is bad, very bad with few recreational
> facilities in a setting of violence and
> vandalism.
>
> (Female, Washington.)

There is probably more than some truth in these assertions, and a

considerable amount of graffiti can be seen in each of the new towns,

mainly in the underpasses.   The extent of this problem in Cramlington

can also be gauged from an examination of recent newspaper articles.

The *Cramlington Orbit* for December 1983 contained articles on both

teenage glue-sniffing and vandalism, whilst the June 1984 edition

carried articles about young trees which had been uprooted by vandals,

and the poor state of bus shelters in the new town which had been

damaged by vandals.

Other respondents, mainly unemployed males, spoke of their own boredom

in the three new towns.   Having little money, and with a lack of things

to do, many are 'forced to hang around the streets,' with their friends,

but this practice often leads to conflict with older people and the police who ask them to 'move on'.   As one unemployed male said:-

> There's a lack of things to do in the new town.
> The police pick on you because you're forced to
> hang around the streets. 'Concordia' is alright
> if you've got the money.

> (Male, Cramlington.)

Another aspect of this difficulty concerns the problem of under-aged drinking. Several respondents have admitted to lying about their ages in order to use the local public houses: in the words of one woman:-

> Girls can always lie about their ages to get into
> pubs, but this only causes conflicts with the boys.

> (Female, Cramlington.)

Finally, when repondents were asked about their future intentions, a high proportion of young people - 30% each in Peterlee and Cramlington and 22% in Washington - replied that they were intending to leave their new towns within the following few years. Although individual motives differed - roughly half of these young people were hoping to go on to university or polytechnic - several gave as their reason their overall dissatisfaction with their life in their new town. A Cramlington woman, for example, said that she had been far happier living in the nearby town of Wallsend in County Tyne and Wear. In particular, she spoke of the town's 'better night-life', and the larger number of clubs and societies. In similar vein a Peterlee woman said that she intended to leave her new town, 'as soon as possible', and when asked what she specially disliked about the town replied, 'everything!'. To a large extent this finding reflects the wider horizons and expectations of young people, a subject which was touched upon in the introduction to this chapter, and suggests that many young people have failed to form any strong feelings of attachment to their new town.

It is difficult to know just what to make of these findings, although

it is certainly true that young people in the three new towns are

rather dissatisfied with the facilities which exist there for their

entertainment.   What is *not* clear is whether these young people are

any worse off than their parents were or than other young people living

in Britain today.   In the Introductory Chapter, reference was made to

the Master Plan for Warrington New Town which gave details of a study

carried out in that town prior to any new town development, (Austin-Smith,

1969:221-30) and which indicated that young people were dissatisfied

with entertainment facilities available for them to use.   In similar

fashion, a study undertaken for the BBC *Jimmy Young Programme* (1978:

Vol.II,16-19) concluded that only a minority of young people were

members of any clubs or societies.   This may well indicate that young

people generally in most towns, and in every age, feel bored and unwanted,

and indeed several councillors from the three new towns made precisely

this point to the author.   One Labour Councillor for instance remarked

that:-

>   Young people complain that all they have to do is
>   kick a ball around. But that was all I did when
>   I was that age.

Although there is probably more than a little truth in this assertion,

it should be stressed that owing to the advent of universal education and

the growing influence of the mass media, young people's horizons and

expectations are far wider today than they were even in the comparatively

recent past, and even though this councillor may only have had a ball to

'kick around' when he was young, he was not subject to the same

commercial pressures which entice young people today to want a lot more.

In conclusion, this chapter has looked at young people in their new town communities. The analysis has not been deeply sociological, and it has not attempted to examine youth subculture or to analyse the deeper meanings which young people attach to their activities. For example, earlier it was mentioned that fourteen women were members of dance and disco clubs, yet the study has not attempted to examine why these women were members of these clubs. Instead, this chapter has looked at the attitudes of young people towards their lives in their new towns. It has been shown that respondents from Peterlee were particularly dissatisfied with the state of the housing in the town, and that respondents from all three new towns were dissatisfied with the leisure and entertainment facilities which are available for them to use. To a large extent this approach has been adopted because of the constraints imposed on the study by the methodology, the analysis being based on the replies given by the respondents to a series of Likert attitude questions.
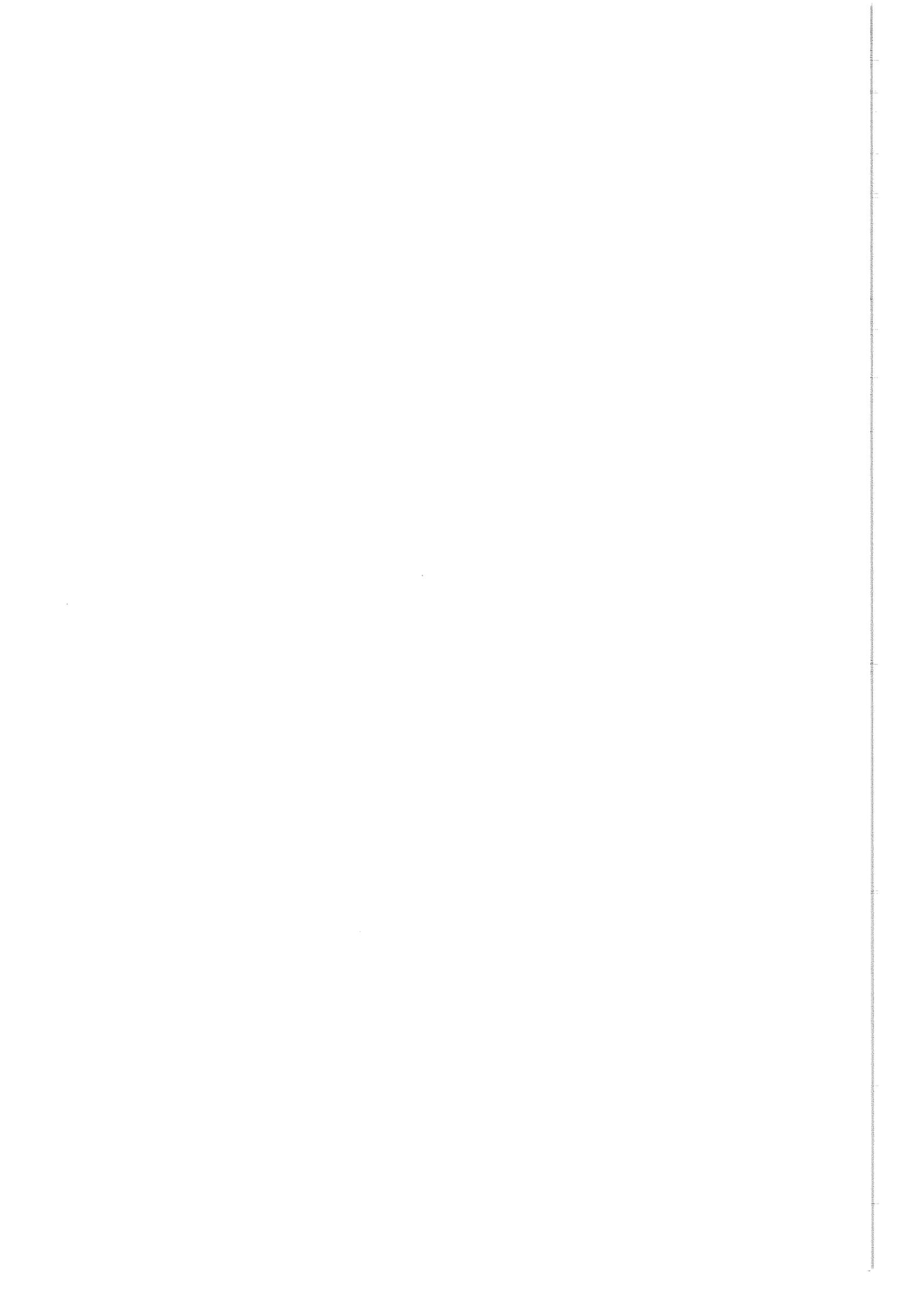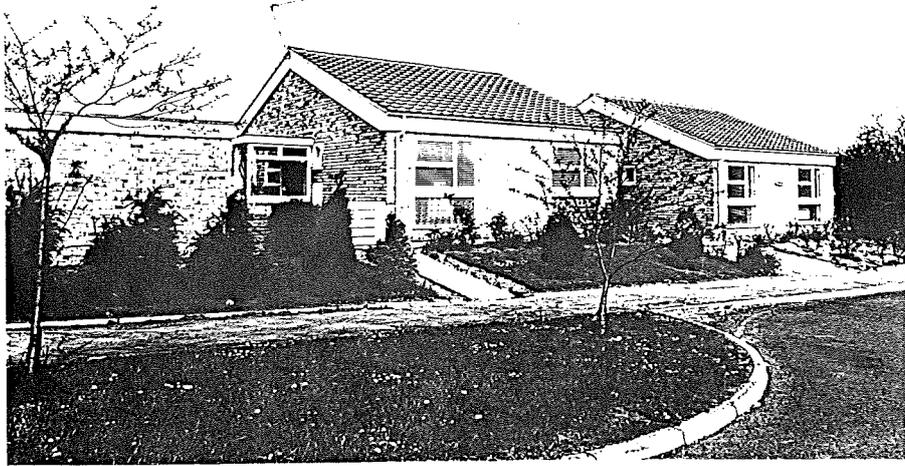
Plates 12 - 13: Modern Housing in Peterlee

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Plates 14 - 15: Green Fields

Peterlee (and Cramlington) were built upon *green-field* sites.
Many houses on the Sunny Blunts estate *(below)* were found to
contain both design and structural faults, and are now being
renovated.

Plates 16 - 17: Substandard Housing in Peterlee

Above: Smith Crescent: these houses have been affected by
subsidence.
Below: Houses built to inappropriate designs, with flat roofs.

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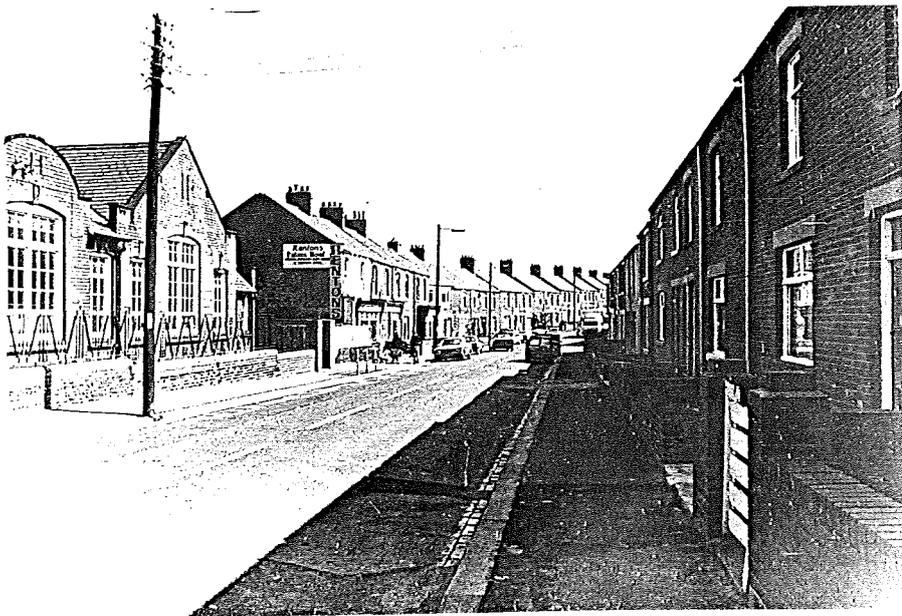
Plates 18 - 19: Old Properties

Above: Miners'cottages in Cramlington.
Below: Terraced houses in Columbia Village, Washington.
         Steel workers used to live here.
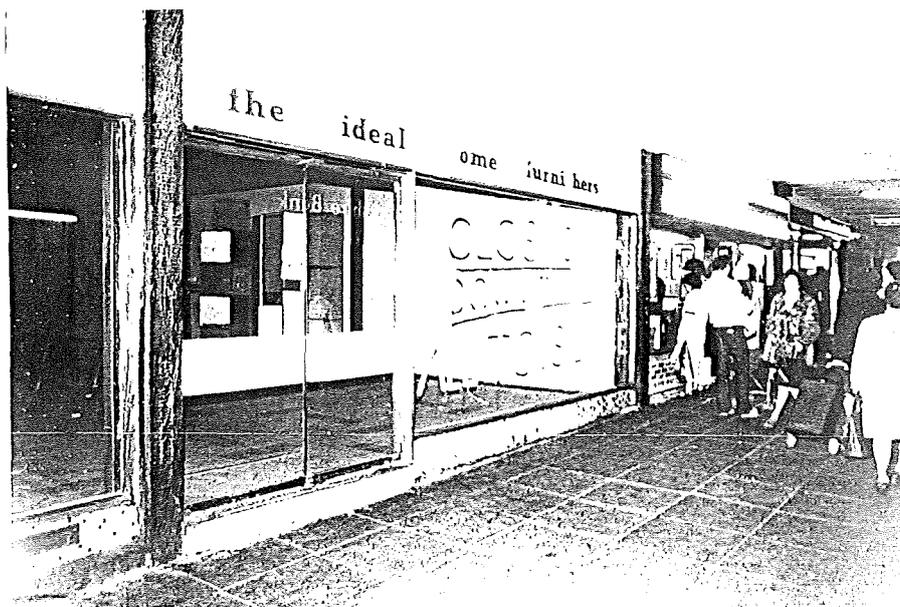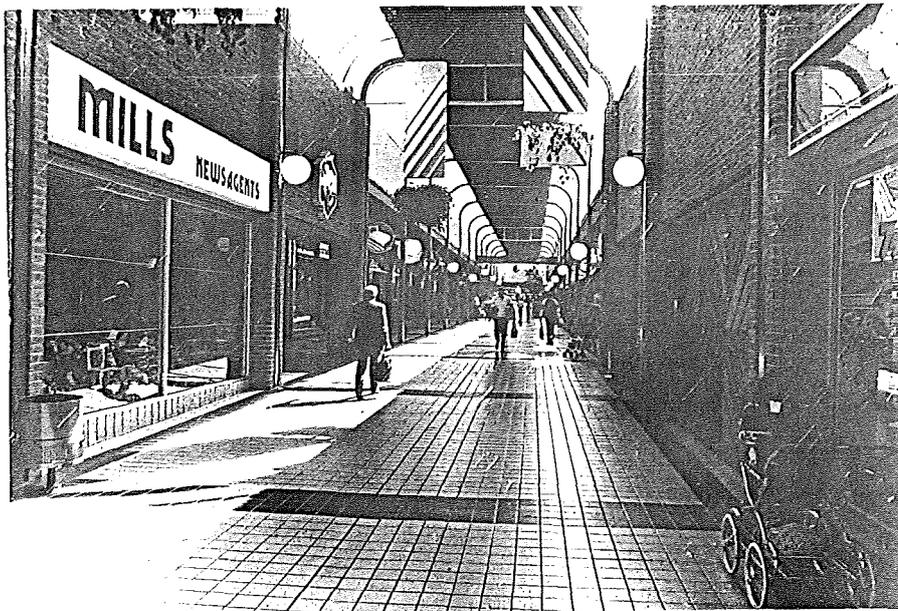
Plate 20 - 21: Shopping Facilities

Above: Cramlington (and Washington) have large indoor shopping
centres.

Below: In Peterlee many shops are closing down.
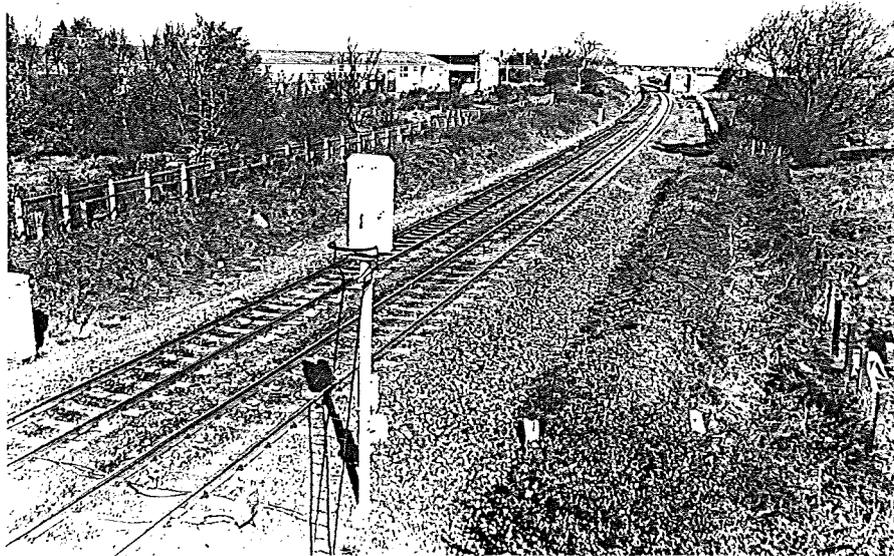
Plates 22 - 23: The Miners

Above: Washington 'F' Pit Industrial Museum.
Below: Miners have always been amongst the most radical trades
unionists. It was near here that miners derailed the
'Flying Scotsman' during the General Strike in 1926.
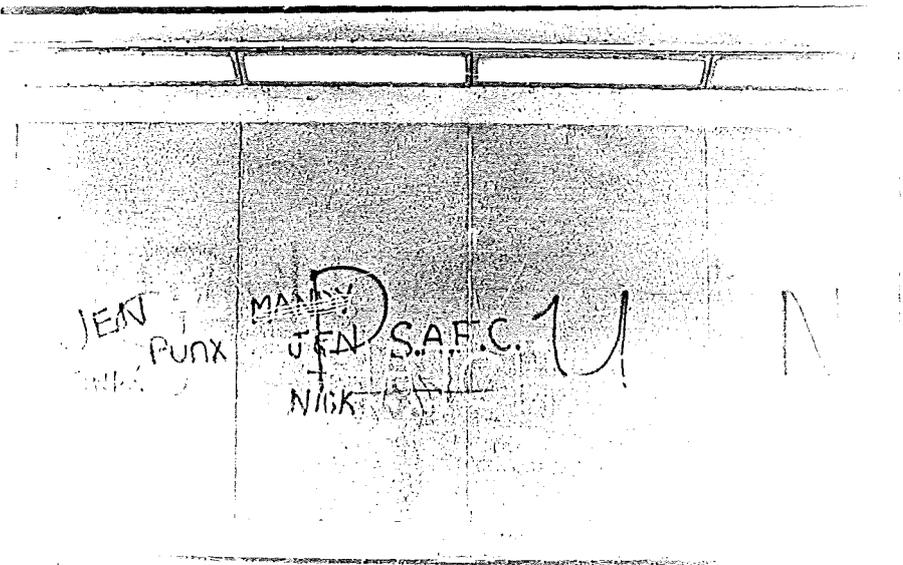
Plates 26 – 27: Graffiti

Graffiti can be seen in all three new towns.

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This chapter examines the political beliefs and attitudes of the young

people who took part in the study.   It is divided into three sections:

Section One sets the scene by placing the study within its national and

regional setting;   Section Two examines the young persons' understanding

of the political system;   Section Three looks at the party political

preferences of the young people.

Section One: Introduction

Politics in the North East of England is dominated by the Labour Party,

which has been the major political force in the area since the mid-1920s.

Restricting the analysis to the old administrative counties of Durham

and South East Northumberland, the area in which the three new towns

under study are situated, some idea as to the nature of the Labour Party

hegemony in the area can be obtained from an examination of county

council and general election results.   Bulmer (ed., Bulmer, 1978: 128-42)

has examined the political composition of Durham County Council from

1925 to 1974 when local government was reorganized.   His work shows

that the Labour Party controlled the County Council with an overwhelming

majority of seats throughout that period: thus in 1946, which was a

good year for the party, Labour held 105 of the 117 seats on the

council, and in 1967, which was a bad year for the party, Labour held

99 of the 106 seats.   Since the local government reorganization of

1974, Labour has maintained its grip on the County Council, holding

5j of the 72 seats in 1973, 41 in 1977, and 53 in 1981.

Figure 7.1 shows the level of support given to the Labour Larty in

the United Kingdom and County Durham at each general election from

1918 to 1983.   From this figure it can be clearly seen that support

for the party in County Durham has fluctuated at levels between 20 and 30 percentage points higher than those achieved in the United Kingdom as a whole, with its share of the popular vote in the county reaching a peak of 72.5% in 1966. Since 1966 support for Labour candidates has fallen consistently at each General Election, and in 1983 fell below the 50% level for the first time since 1931. Even in this election, however, the party obtained over 47% of the popular vote - greater than its share of the *national* vote in the General Elections of 1950, 1966, and 1974 which resulted in the formation of Labour governments, and on a par with the party's share of the national vote in the General Elections of 1945 and 1966, which brought in Labour governments with landslide majorities. There are two questions to be answered here: why has the Labour Party been so successful in County Durham when it has fared less well elsewhere in the United Kingdom, and why has support for the Labour Party in this area declined so rapidly in recent years?

In Chapter Two of this study it was shown that the Labour Party has had strong historic links with both the trades union movement and the working class, so that a substantial section of the working class has supported and voted for the party (Butler and Stokes, 1971; Forester, 1976). In County Durham a large proportion of the Labour vote has come from the miners and miners' union, which until recently formed the largest occupational group in the county. The mining union has been historically one of the most radical trades unions. It has sponsored many Labour M.P.s and its members have consistently voted for them. Social pressures to conform with one's workmates have always been strong amongst miners owing to the nature of the work place and the local communities in which they live (Dennis *et al.*, 1956).

Figure 7.1:   Percentage Labour Party Vote in County Durham and in the
              United Kingdom
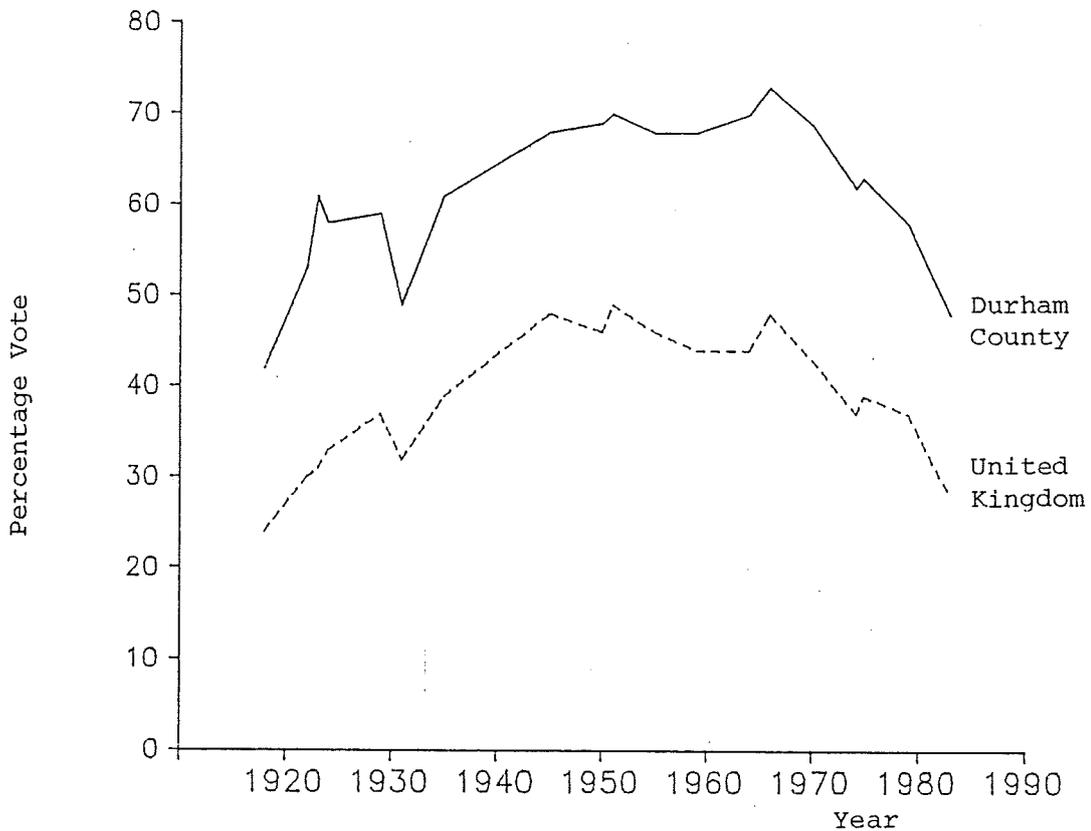
Source: Craig (1975)

Anti-union ideas and right-wing politics have found little support

amongst miners and their advocates have been frowned upon. The following

story told to the writer by a Peterlee Councillor and ex-miner gives

some idea as to the strength of social pressures to conform amongst

miners on the Durham coalfield.

On his first day as an apprentice miner at the pit, this man was

waiting with a group of other miners for the pit-cage to come to the

surface.   When it arrived one man got into it and the young

apprentice was told by another miner, not to get it, but wait for the

next cage.   Eventually the cage came and the miners got into it.

That evening the apprentice told his mother about the incident and was

firmly told to have nothing to do with the man because he had 'black-
legged' during the General Strike twenty years earlier.

Labour Party support, however, extends across a much wider spectrum
than just the pit alone, for it permeates the whole mining community.
Prior to the 1950s, the typical mining village consisted of row upon
row of terraced houses and single-storied cottages.   Writers from that
decade onwards (Wilmott and Young, 1957; Bulmer, ed., Bulmer, 1978;
Dennis *et al.*, 1956) have shown how closely integrated these working-
class communities were.   All the men in the village worked together
and shared in the same social activities outside the pit.   Their
wives knew one another also, they leaned upon one another in times
of need, and interacted together socially.   The society was male-
dominated and women tended to hold the same opinions as their husbands.
Children tended to spend their lives in the same village, the 'lads'
going down the pit, and the 'lasses' marrying miners.   It thus
follows that values and cultural norms were easily transmitted across
the generations, and deviant ideas and deviant forms of behaviour were
unlikely to gain recognition.

The prosperity of the village depended upon the success of the pit.
If the coal trade was enjoying a boom and the pit was in full
production the villagers prospered together.   If, on the other hand,
the local trade was in depression or the miners were on strike, the
villagers suffered together.   In such periods community ties were
strengthened as the villagers leaned upon one another for mutual
support.   In such mining villages the Labour Party, which with some just-
ification, claimed to represent the best interests of the miners and their

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families and which had forged strong links with the mining unions, was almost bound to become the dominant political force.

But since the 1960s, support for the Labour Party in Durham and South East Northumberland has fallen somewhat. Whilst in the 1966 General Election the party obtained almost three-quarters (73%) of the popular vote, this figure had fallen to 63% in October 1974, 58% in 1979, and 47% in 1983. To some extent the fall in Labour support must be viewed in a national context: it fell from 48% of the popular vote at the 1966 General Election to only 28% at the 1983 General Election. The national loss in Labour support may be ascribed to its failure when in office to right the country's ills, internal wranglings, and the adoption of unpopular policies such as nuclear disarmament, at a time when the Liberal Party, S.D.P. and other minor parties were increasing their share of the vote. However, in County Durham and South East Northumberland other factors are of importance.

The main reason for the decline of the Labour Party's share of the popular vote in County Durham is undoubtedly related to the gradual disintegration and disappearance of the traditional working-class mining community. On the one hand this is related to the decline in the absolute numbers of workers employed in the mining industry, and on the other hand to the effects of government policy which have helped to destroy many of the mining communities. Bulmer (ed., Bulmer, 1978: 150-65) has calculated that the absolute numbers employed in the mining industry in County Durham have fallen from 170,000 in 1923 to 100,900 in 1957 and to only 25,000 in 1975-6. This has led not only to a decline in the power and influence of the mining union, but more importantly to the

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disappearance of many colliery villages as miners and their families

were forced to move to nearby towns and villages in search of employment.

Moreover, government policies have actively encouraged this process

as public money has been channelled into Durham's new towns and the

county's municipal and county boroughs, and away from the old colliery

villages which have been starved of resources and left to decay (see

Nicholson, 1978; Hudson and Johnson, 1976: 16-25).

In the new urban centres ex-miners were likely to work in manufacturing

jobs.   Although employees in such industries were likely to support

the Labour Party, they have not been as loyal to the party in historical

terms as have the miners, and their trades unions have been less power-

ful and influential.   More importantly, the new housing estates into

which these people were moved have failed to reproduce the old working-

class community.   In one sense the structural layout of the homes with

their front and back gardens have contributed to this, but more important

has been the break in the relationship which formerly existed between

the work place and the local community.   The diverse range of industries

which now exists in the new urban centres, combined with the high level

of commuting (see Table 5.4) means that neighbours are now unlikely

to share the same job, and in consequence they are less likely to mix

socially.   Married women are more likely to have their own jobs

outside the home, so that they are both less likely to associate with

their neighbours and more likely to hold opinions contrary to those

of their husbands.

In such urban centres the social pressures to conform with the rest of

the community are much less marked than they were in the old colliery

villages.   In such a situation the ex-miners and their wives who

were brought up in the old mining communities, are likely to continue

to give their votes to the Labour Party, but their children are much
less likely to. The 'lads' are far less likely to enter their
fathers' occupation; their 'lasses' are more likely to marry a 'lad'
in a different trade; newly-wed couples are very unlikely to live
with or close to their parents. Add to this the growing influence
of universal education, commercialism, and the mass media, and it
becomes readily apparent that social values, attitudes, life styles,
and voting behaviour are much less likely to be transmitted across the
generations, and therefore the children of ex-miners are much less
likely than their parents to support the Labour Party.

In addition the Labour Party in this area has been the victim of its
own success. Bulmer (ed., Bulmer, 1978: 128-41) has shown in his
article on politics in County Durham how the area party has become
dominated by a few individuals. His analysis reveals that a majority
of the Labour members on Durham County Council in the period 1945-70
were either councillors returned unopposed or aldermen by the County
Council. Taking the 1970 County Council as an example, of its 93
Labour Party members, 26 were aldermen, 23 were councillors who had
been returned unopposed, and only 44 had been elected by the people.
Further analysis showed the long terms which these members had served
on the Council, the average length of service of the 26 Labour
aldermen elected in 1970 being 24 years, with individual terms of
service ranging from 18 to 33 years. Furthermore, prior to local
government reorganization in 1973 a number of individual towns and
urban districts in County Durham were dominated by single families,
and outsiders found it very difficult to become actively involved
in local politics.

The net effect of this was to give the Labour Party in Durham a rather stale and archaic look. Younger people tended to be put off by the complex and often boring nature of party and council meetings with their emphasis on rules of procedure and constitutional practices, whilst members secure in their future membership of the Council rarely attempted to attract new members. Thus the younger voter who was increasingly less likely to be a member of the miners or any other trades union - the organizations which had provided the main vehicles for the articulation of political ideas and demands became increasingly isolated from the Labour Party in the County.

There is a saying attributed to Lord Acton that:-

> Power tends to corrupt and absolute power
> corrupts absolutely.

Without wishing to defame the characters of any councillors or public officials in County Durham or Northumberland, the Poulson and T. Dan Smith affairs illustrate the extent to which some councillors in the areas abused their public positions for reasons of private gain.*   John Poulson was a Yorkshire architect who was convicted in 1972 of bribing a number of politicians and county councillors to award his various companies contracts to build houses and public building in a number of towns in the North of England.   One of Poulson's conspirators was T. Dan Smith (known as 'Mr. Newcastle' due to the work he undertook as a councillor in Newcastle), the head of the Peterlee Development Corporation.   T. Dan Smith used his position to obtain contracts both for his own public relations companies and for Poulson's architectural practices.   Other prominent people implicated in the Poulson Affair included Alderman Andrew Cunningham, the Labour Party chairperson of Durham

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* For references see Milne, 1976; Tomkinson and Gillard, 1980; Green, 1981.

County Council, the Yorkshire Labour M.P. Albert Roberts, the Conservative M.P. John Cordle, and the former Conservative Minister Reginald Maudling. The whole affair discredited the Labour Party in the North East of England and lost the party a great deal of support and goodwill.

The Three New Towns

After reading the above, it should not come as a surprise to the reader to learn that the Labour Party has in recent years faired less well in Peterlee and Cramlington New Towns than it has in the district in which they are situated, although in Washington Labour continues to enjoy its former high level of support. Table 7.1 illustrates these points.

From this Table it can be seen that on the Easington District Council the representation of 'Others' (mainly Liberals and Independents) increased from four seats in 1973 to seventeen seats in 1983, with the Liberals and Independents being particularly successful in Peterlee, where they gained a majority of the new town's eleven council seats in 1979. In Cramlington the rise in support for 'Others' has been even more spectacular. In 1973 'Others' held nineteen of Blyth Valley's fifty-eight seats, and of these four were in Cramlington. Since that date the number of seats they hold in Blyth Valley has slipped to fourteen of which eight are in Cramlington. In Washington Labour has not suffered the reversals in fortune it experienced in the other two new towns, and after the May election of 1984, in which the party received more than 68% of the popular vote, it held eleven of the new town's twelve seats on the Sunderland M.D.C.

Table 7.1:   Seats Gained by the Labour Party and by Others in
             District Elections (1973-83)

DATE	NEW TOWN		DISTRICT	
	Labour	Others	Labour	Others
PETERLEE				
1973	10	1	56	4
1976	6	5	45	15
1979	4	7	33	18
1983	4	7	34	17
CRAMLINGTON				
1973	7.	4	29	19
1976	10	1	23	20
1979	10	3	28	15
1983	5	8	33	14
WASHINGTON				
1973	6	–	56	22
1976	6	–	52	26
1979	6	–	53	25
1983	11	1	52	23

Sources: Council Offices of Easington, Blyth Valley, and
           Sunderland Districts.

The reasons for these trends in voting behaviour in Peterlee and

Cramlington should be readily apparent to the reader.   New town

development has created new communities which are very different

from the old colliery villages in the area.   Both new towns, and

Peterlee in particular, conspicuously lack the rows of old terraced

houses which can still be seen in colliery villages.   Only a small

proportion of the work force in the new towns are now employed in

mining and the heterogeneous industrial structure which now exists

in the new towns has effectively destroyed the link which formerly

existed between the local community and the work place (see Chapter

Five).   Moreover, as Table 1.3 shows a high proportion of the population
in these new towns are engaged in white-collar employment and, as was
shown in Chapter Two, such people are less likely to support the
Labour Party than are those engaged in blue-collar occupations.

That Labour has maintained its prominent position in Washington New
Town is not so surprising as might be thought for, as was shown in
Chapter One, the new town had at its designation a population which
was in excess of 20,000 persons.   These people were living in a number
of colliery villages and inter-war council estates.   When the new town
was developed in the late 1960s and 1970s these colliery villages and
council estates were renovated and integrated into the structural plan
of the new town which, as was shown earlier, was based on the concept
of eighteen self-contained village communities.   Thus the old
working-class communities were not destroyed when the new town was
developed, although community ties were weakened as a result of the
closing of the local pits.   In this situation the Labour Party was
able to maintain the support of its traditional voters in the new town.
It is interesting that support for Labour has fallen in Washington in
the two local government wards which have been most extensively
developed since the new town's designation, namely Washington South and
Washington West.

Before ending this discussion it should be mentioned that Cramlington
also has some old terraced properties around the old colliery villages
of Nelson and East Hartford in the West Cramlington and East Hartford
Ward and in Klondyke and East Cramlington in the East Cramlington Ward.
Significantly it is in these two wards where the level of support
given to Labour Party candidates is at its highest.

In an attempt to understand more fully the nature of the Labour Party vote in the three new towns a series of Persson's correlation tests, together with a regression analysis, were undertaken.   These tests examined the influence of twelve factors on the share of the popular vote given to Labour Party candidates in the fourteen local government wards which make up the three new towns at the district council elections of May 1983.   The results of the Pearson's correlation tests are shown in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2:   Factors Influencing the Labour Party Vote

FACTOR	PEARSON'S CORRELATION	SIGNIFICANCE
A. Demographic		
% Retired	0.665	0.005
% Population under five years old	-0.452	0.066
B Occupational		
% Manual Workers	0.649	0.006
% In manufacturing	ns	ns
% Commuting	ns	ns
% Unemployed (1981)	0.38	0.098
C Housing		
% Owner Occupiers	-0.416	0.070
% With no car	0.568	0.017
% Outdoor toilet	ns	ns
D Other		
% With Degrees	-0.423	0.066
% Scottish/Welsh/Irish	ns	ns
% Single Parents	ns	ns

Sources: 1983 local council election results;
           1981 census : Small Area Statistics.

From Table 7.2 it can be seen that of the twelve factors included in the analysis seven were found to be correlated with the proportionate share of the Labour Party vote at or beyond the 10% level of confidence, and of these, three - the percentage of manual workers, the percentage

of households without cars, and the percentage of retired people - were

very highly correlated. Of these three factors the first two relate

directly to social class and confirm the view that blue-collar workers,

who are less likely than white-collar workers to own their own cars,

have a strong tendency to support the Labour Party. More interesting

is the finding that the percentage share of the Labour vote is

directly related to the percentage of retired people living in each

ward: this finding adds weight to the suggestion made earlier that

Labour is losing the vote of younger people in the three new towns, and

confirms the view that the party's vote is holding up well in the older

parts of the three new towns where the bulk of retired people are

living.*

The six factors showing the highest correlation with the size of the

Labour vote in the fourteen local government wards were then entered

into a regression equation. It was discovered that the percentage of

manual workers and the percentage of retired people accounted for 67.9%

of the variance in the size of the Labour vote, and the full set of

six factors accounted for 74.4% of the variance.** To summarize at

this point the picture which emerges of the typical Labour voter in the

three new towns is one of an older manual worker living in a council

or new town house; he is unlikely to own a car and has few formal

qualifications. By contrast the typical non-Labour voter is likely

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* Pearson's correlation tests revealed that the percentage of retired people living in each was was correlated with neither the percentage of manual workers nor the proportion of households without cars.

** The other four factors were: the percentage of the population aged under five; the percentage of owner-occupiers; the percentage of households without cars; and the percentage of the population with university degrees and/or professional qualifications.

to be an educated young white-collar worker; he is likely to own

his own car and to be in the process of buying his own house.

To supplement the above analysis a series of unstructured interviews

were undertaken with a number of councillors in each of the three

new towns, in order to ascertain details about the ages and types

of people who were standing as councillors and to examine the relevance

of local issues and specifically local factors in explaining voting

behaviour in the new towns. Labour Party councillors in Peterlee

and Washington tended to be somewhat middle-aged and to have been

involved in local politics for a number of years. In Cramlington,

Labour Party councillors tended to be rather younger. In all three

new towns Labour Party councillors tended to be politically active

in the trades union movement.

The councillors were also asked about how involved young people were

in politics and party politics in the three new towns. Their

replies did not vary greatly: it was felt that young people were not

as interested in politics as their parents and grandparents had been

and the youth sections of the three local Labour Parties were rather

small. Only rarely were the views and ideas of the young actively

canvassed by both the local council and the local party organizations.

All the councillors interviewed expressed concern about this state

of affairs. When asked why young people were not interested in

politics, the replies cited included: the fall in the number of

young people entering the mining industry, whose trades union had

acted as a major channel for the articulation of political demands;

the growth of the mass media and mass entertainment; the 'archaic

and crazy' nature of party meetings, with their emphasis on the

constitution and rules of procedure; the lack of attention given to

politics in the school curriculum, of which more will be said later;
and the fact that they themselves were not actively canvassing the
support of young people.

When councillors in *all* political parties in Peterlee and Cramlington
were asked to say why Labour had suffered a decline in its level of
support in recent years, Peterlee councillors cited the poor state
of the new town's housing; and councillors in both towns cited the
rise in support for Independent, Liberal, and, more recently, S.D.P.
candidates, and the lingering effects of the Poulson and T. Dan Smith
affairs.

Since 1970 the Liberals and, more recently, the S.D.P. have built up
efficient political machines in both Peterlee and Cramlington and have
dramatically increased their share of the popular vote in council
elections.   Thus after the local elections of May 1983 the Alliance
Parties held eight of Cramlington's thirteen district council seats,
ten of Peterlee's twenty-one town council seats and five of Peterlee's
eleven district council seats.

Liberal Party candidates have tended to be somewhat younger than their
Labour counterparts and generally have a more dynamic image with voters.
Their style of political campaigning is based upon the principles of
community politics pioneered by Sir Trevor Jones, the Liberal Leader
on Liverpool City Council (where he is known as 'Jones-the-vote').
In particular, Liberal candidates aim to get themselves well known in
the local community in the periods between local elections.   This
gives them some insight into the nature of the problems which local
people are facing and they produce a broadsheet called *Focus*   which
is distributed free to many households.   By campaigning in this way

the Liberal Party and the Alliance have been successful in increasing their share of the vote, especially amongst younger voters.

No discussion about politics in Peterlee and Cramlington would be complete without mentioning the link between the housing issue and the Poulson and T. Dan Smith affair. T. Dan Smith was at one time the head of the Peterlee Development Corporation and he and Alderman Andrew Cunningham were well known Labour Party members in County Durham. Their association with Labour was to lose the party much support in Peterlee, the more so given the substandard nature of much of the housing in the town and T. Dan Smith's association with various construction firms. Whether the poor standard of housing in Peterlee had anything to do with T. Dan Smith's corruption is immaterial to the argument, for the fact is that voters in Peterlee associated the two together and this was to lose the Labour Party much goodwill in the new town. Indeed so strong are opinions held about housing in Peterlee that at least one local councillor, Mrs. Joan Maslin of the Sunny Blunt Housing Action Group, was elected on the strength of the issue.

In Cramlington, strangely enough, the Poulson and T. Dan Smith affair was to have even more important consequences for the Labour Party, because one of the main advocates of an enquiry into the state of the party was Eddie Milne, the former Labour Party M.P. for the Blyth constituency in which Cramlington is situated. In his book, Milne (1976) paints a picture of a local Labour Party organization in the Blyth constituency which was run by and in the interests of a tightly knit oligarchy of people who, secure in their elected positions, were insensitive to the interests and needs of the local people. In his campaign against corruption in the North East of

England, Milne was to make many enemies and in consequence he was deselected as Labour M.P. in 1973. This muck-slinging was to lose the party considerable goodwill and support in both Blyth and Cramlington and Eddie Milne who held the Blyth constituency as an Independent M.P. for seven months in 1974, split the local party and formed his own Independent Labour Party. Although Eddie Milne's Independent Labour Party achieved only limited success in the local council elections which it contested, the incident has radically altered the political make-up of what was once one of the safest Labour seats in Britain and it is now in 1984 a marginal Labour/SDP constituency.

To summarize at this point this section has examined the nature of the support given to the Labour Party in County Durham and South East Northumberland, and it has been shown that the 'secret' of the party's success has lain with its historic links with the mining union. The contraction of the mining industry in recent years, and the consequent reduction in the numbers employed in the industry, has coincided with a dramatic fall in the level of support given to the Labour Party, at a time in which the party has been discredited in the area due to the Poulson and T. Dan Smith affairs. Moreover, the extent of Labour's decline has been quite dramatic in both Peterlee and Cramlington New Towns since: only a small proportion of their male workers are miners; their social and industrial structures are more broadly balanced than are their districts; and the repercussions of the Poulson and T. Dan Smith affairs have been particularly marked in these new towns.

In the following section the young persons' understanding of the political process will be examined. It will be shown that although young people appear to have only a limited understanding of the

formal political system, as measured by various political knowledge

tests, analysis of their attitudes suggests that their understanding of

the political process may be far greater than such a simple approach

would suggest, in so far as young people appear to recognize their

objective position within the political system.

Section Two: Political Education and Political Literacy

Political literacy - or *political efficacy* as the American political

scientists Easton and Dennis (1967) call it - implies more than just

a simple understanding of the constitution and of the role and functions

of the major Parliamentary and governmental institutions, though

Crick and Porter (1978: 31-33) consider it to be essential that people

should have such knowledge if democratic government is to function

efficiently. Crick and Porter argue that in addition to having such

knowledge the politically literate must adopt attitudes of tolerance

and fairness, have the ability to reach a reasoned conclusion when

presented with conflicting arguments, and be willing to play an active

role in the political system. In short, to these two authors (1978:33):-

> A politically literate person will then know what
> the main political disputes are about; what beliefs
> the main contestants have of them; how they are likely
> to affect him; and he will have a predisposition to
> try to do something about it in a manner at once
> effective and respectful of the sincerity of others.

Easton and Dennis (1967) attempted to conceptualize political efficacy

in such a way as to make it empirically testable. They argued that

as a concept political efficacy has three general components: a

norm, which implies that members of a democratic society regard those

in authority as responsive to their needs and that members ought to

become involved in the political process; a set of dispositions, or

a feeling that one has an efficient role to play in the political system; and a form of behaviour that one should play an active role in the political process.

In an attempt to examine the role of the schools in the three new towns in providing political education and fostering a sense of political efficacy the school prospectuses were examined. Of the nine examined only one made reference to providing basic political education and an examination of CSE and GCE 'O' level results for August 1983 revealed that no pupil had undertaken an examination in politics or British Constitution at this level, although ten young people, nine from Peterlee and one from Washington, had studied the subject to GCE 'A' level standard.

Interviews undertaken with young people from the three new towns give some idea of the extent to which the teaching of politics is neglected in the school curriculum. No respondent recalled having had any formal lesson in politics prior to their sixth forms, although several recalled having touched upon the subject in either general or social studies. One comment made by a woman from Peterlee is particularly interesting because she had obtained the best GCE 'O' level results of the 224 young people interviewed: the only piece of political knowledge she could recall having learnt at school was the name of her M.P. Thus it would appear that schools in all three new towns have manifestly neglected the teaching of politics and government, although it should be mentioned that young people from all three do have the opportunity of undertaking politics courses at the technical and tertiary colleges which serve them.

Young people were asked both how interested they were in politics and whether they belonged to any political organizations.   In all, only eighty-three respondents (37.1%) said that they were interested or very interested in politics, and only two were members of a political organization.   Moreover, interviews with councillors revealed that the youth sections of the major political parties in the three new towns were quite small.

To test their degree of political knowledge, respondents were asked a series of twenty-four political questions.   Of these ten, asked them to put a name to a photograph of a leading politician and twelve sought to discover how much young people knew about the political parties.   In addition, respondents were asked to name both their constituency M.P. and the Leader of the Opposition.   Table 7.3 overleaf summarizes the results of this work.

From this table it can be seen clearly that interest in politics varies according to sex, social class, and examination success. Thus whilst 45% of men expressed an interest in politics only 30% of women did so.   People of high social class (Groups AB) tended to be more interested than those of low social class (Groups DE), the proportions saying that they were interested in politics being 47.4% and 25.0% respectively.   Young people with high educational success were found to be far more interested in politics than those with low educational success - only 22% (182 respondents) with less than four GCE 'O' level passes said that they were interested in politics compared with 61% of those with four or more 'O' level passes.

The degree of political knowledge was found to correlate highly with the level of interest in politics, sex, social class, and examination

Table 7.3: Interest in Politics and Political Knowledge

Group Total %	Political interest	8+ photos	9+ questions
All	83 37.1	109 49.1	90 40.5
Interested	–	62 74.7	55 66.3
Not interested	–	47 33.8	35 25.2
Peterlee	28 35.9	41 52.6	32 41.0
Cramlington	29 43.9	27 40.9	28 42.4
Washington	26 32.9	41 52.6	30 38.5
Male	48 45.3	60 57.1	45 42.9
Female	35 29.9	49 41.9	45 38.5
Less than four GCEs	41 26.2	57 36.8	38 24.5
Four or more GCEs	41 61.2	52 77.6	52 77.6
– AB –	27 47.4	36 63.2	34 59.6
– C1 –	17 30.4	29 51.8	26 46.4
– C2 –	31 38.8	35 43.8	25 31.3
– DE –	7 25.0	8 29.6	4 14.8
Statistical significance			
Interest in politics (1)	–	0.000	0.000
New Town (2)	ns	ns	ns
Sex (1)	0.018	0.018	0.084
Social Class (1)	0.068	0.001	0.000
Number of GCEs (1)	0.000	0.000	0.000

(1)   TAU.
(2)   CHI SQR.

success. On both measures of political knowledge women were found to be significantly less knowledgeable about politics than men, and thus whilst 57% of men were able to correctly identify eight or more photographs of leading politicians only 42% of women were able to. Both social class and examination success were correlated very highly with respondents' degrees of political knowledge. Almost 60% of young people from upper white-collar backgrounds (ABs) were able to answer nine or more questions about the political parties correctly, but only 15% of those from lower blue-collar backgrounds (DEs) were able to do so. Similarly, whilst more than three-quarters (77.6%) of those young people with four or more GCE 'O' levels were able to correctly identify eight or more photographs of leading politicians, only 36.8% of those with less than four GCE 'O' levels were able to do so.

It is not surprising that interest in politics was also found to be very highly correlated with the degree of political knowledge the respondent had, and thus whilst 66.3% of those with an interest in politics were able to correctly answer nine or more questions about the political parties, only 25.2% of those without such an interest were able to do so.

In addition, respondents were asked in Section E of the questionnaire a series of twenty-four attitude questions designed to assess both their degree of political efficacy and their feelings of civic pride. This section of the questionnaire drew heavily for its input upon two principal studies, that of Easton and Dennis (1967) and that of Almond and Verba (1965). The questions derived from the work of Easton and Dennis were intended to examine political efficacy, and were designed to assess the extent to which young people believed: that politicians and public officials were responsive both to their needs and to the

needs of the population in general that they had an active role to play in the decision-making process; that they had a basic understanding of the political process; and that the government, legislature, political parties, and judiciary were efficient and fair institutions. Almond and Verba, in contrast, were interested in assessing how attached people felt to the political system and their nation state. This section therefore included questions on Britain's countryside, army and navy, films and music, and scientific achievements.

To test the degree to which these attitudes were inter-related with one another a series of Pearson's correlation tests and a factor analysis were undertaken. These tests revealed that attitudes towards the political system and the nation were highly correlated with one another. Thus it was discovered that those young people who felt that they were able to exert an influence on government policy also tended to believe that officials and politicians were responsive to their needs, and that the government, political parties, and judiciary were efficient and fair institutions.

Such young people were also found to have greater civil pride as measured by attitudes towards the countryside, music, the monarchy, etc. Further analysis found these attitudes to correlate highly with attitudes towards the police and the difficulties which young people experienced in finding suitable employment.

When replies to these attitude questions were broken down by sex, social class, and educational success, it was discovered that, although significant differences were found to exist in replies according to both sex and social class, educational success appeared to explain most of the variance in replies: such that those young

people with high educational success exhibited a higher degree of political efficacy than did those with low educational success.

With regard to the observed differences according to sex, it was discovered that women were more inclined than men to believe: that the government had little influence on their lives (P26); that politicians did not understand young people (P27), and that they themselves had little influence over politicians (P28). Women also tended to hold a more favourable view of the police than did men (N10 and N11).

The findings that educational success, as measured by CSE and GCE 'O' level results (see Chapter Four), correlated more highly with political efficacy than did social class is an interesting one and, in fact, on those occasions when significant differences in attitudes were found to exist according to social class, greater differences were found to exist according to examination success. Given the high correlation which was found to exist between social class and examination success (see Chapter Four), this may well indicate that whilst social class is exerting an influence on political efficacy, this is being modified considerably by the educational process. Before discussing in detail the correlations which were found to exist between examination success and political efficacy, it is worthwhile to indicate where the major attitude differences were found to exist according to social class. Working-class respondents were more likely than middle-class respondents to believe: that the government did not affect them much (P32); that it was a waste of time voting (P34); that the government (P37), and political parties (P38) did more harm than good, and that politicians did not understand young people (P   In addition, young people from working-class back-

grounds held a lower opinion of the police than did those from middle-class backgrounds.

The correlation between educational success and political efficacy can be best illustrated by examining replies to a number of attitude questions. Looking first at attitudes towards voting, Table 7.4 illustrates that young people of high educational attainment were more likely to disagree with the statement that 'voting is a waste of time' (P 34) than are those of low educational attainment. Thus, whilst 48.7% of those of low educational attainment disagreed with the statement, the corresponding figure for those of high educational attainment was 76.9%.

Table 7.4: 'Voting is a Waste of Time' by Educational Attainment

Educational Attainment Row %	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean (Std.Devn.)
Low	3	21	14	33	3	3.16
	4.1	28.4	18.9	44.6	4.1	(1.02)
Medium	3	15	11	27	15	3.51
	4.2	21.1	15.5	38.0	21.1	(1.17)
High	-	7	11	43	17	3.90
	0.0	9.0	14.1	55.1	21.8	(0.85)
Total	6	43	36	103	35	3.53
	2.7	19.3	16.1	42.2	15.2	(1.06)

TAU = 0.0000

The influence of educational success was also shown in replies in the attitude question, 'Governments do more harm than good' (P 37). Thus, as Table 7.5 shows, whilst 45.9% of low educational attainers agreed with the statement, only 25.6% of those of high educational attainment did so.

Table 7.5: 'Governments Do More Harm Than Good' by Educational Attainment.

Educational Attainment Row%	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean (Std.Devn.)
Low	8 10.8	26 35.1	25 33.8	13 17.6	2 2.7	2.66 (0.98)
Medium	4 5.6	18 25.4	33 44.5	16 22.5	– 0.0	2.86 (0.83)
High	3 3.8	17 21.8	26 33.3	32 41.0	– 0.0	3.12 (0.88)
Total	15 6.7	61 27.4	84 37.7	61 27.4	2 0.9	2.89 (0.92)

TAU = 0.0000

It would be a fruitless exercise to enter into a detailed discussion of the differences in replies to all of the attitude questions included in this particular attitude scale, so suffice it to say here that the foregoing analysis suggests that young people of high academic performance were both more politically literate and politically efficacious, and that they saw their country's institutions and national assets in a more favourable light than those of low academic performance. Further analysis of the data revealed that, in comparison with those of low academic ability, young people of high academic performance held more favourable opinions about the police (N10), the judiciary (N6), and 'our system of democracy' (N2); were more likely to value the vote (P 38) and to believe that the government (P37) and political parties (P38) were efficient organisations, and that politicians and public officials (P29) were responsive to the needs and opinions of the people.

It is possible to interpret these fingings in two contradictory ways. Firstly, by seeing them as a reflection of the extent to which young

people feel alienated from a society which is fundamentally equal and democratic, and secondly as an indication that young people recognize their position in a society which is unequal and non-democratic. To take an example, it was shown earlier (Table 7.4) that young people of low educational attainment were more likely than those of high educational attainment to agree with the statement that 'it is a waste of time voting in government elections'. If the former explanation of this attitude is accepted, it follows that society has probably failed to educate its less academically-minded members into realizing that by voting in elections the people are able to choose a government or local council, which will adopt policies suited to the needs of the majority of the population which voted for it. If, in contrast, the second explanation is accepted - that is that young people realize their position in a society which is fundamentally unequal - then it follows that their attitude towards the act of voting reflects a situation where voting is unlikely to effect any radical changes in policy. Indeed it is worthy of note at this point that when respondents were asked to name the political party they preferred, a number refused to answer the question on the grounds that all of the political parties were the same, an attitude summed up on the words of one old woman* 'they all promise you the top brick off the chimney but they never give it to you.'

To reach a final and definitive conclusion on which of these two opposing approaches offers the best explanation of the phenomenon is outside the scope of this study, and would involve an examination of the way in which power is distributed within British society. (See Saunders, 1980:23-33). A few general points can, however, be made in favour of

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* The writer's ex-landlady.

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the second approach.

The starting point of this discussion lies in the old mining communities which used to, and to some extent still do, exist on the Durham and South-East Northumberland coalfields. In the introduction to this chapter it was shown how strongly politicized these communities were: their closely-knit nature combined with the strong links which existed between community, work place, and mining union helped to produce a world-view which was distinctly class-based and in which there were two basic kinds of people - 'them', who were the bosses and employers and 'us', who were the workers. To some extent this world-view could be compared with a Marxist world-view, that is in so far as it saw society as being divided into two opposing camps. However, whilst Marxists believe that class conflicts could only be resolved through revolution, the mining communities held that class conflicts can be resolved through the parliamentary process.

The decline of the mining industry destroyed the old communities and in the new urban centres not only did support for the Labour Party decline but people also became more isolated from the political system as the mining union, which has acted as the channel for the articulation of political demands, became less powerful and influential. Earlier in this chapter it was shown that the Poulson and T. Dan Smith affairs gravely damaged the Labour Party's image with Durham voters. Moreover it made people cynical about politics, the more so as the Labour governments of the 1960s and 1970s had manifestly failed to cure the area's problems and halt the pit closure programme which was being pursued during the 1960s.

It has also been shown that the decline of the mining communities and the repercussions of the Poulson and T. Dan Smith affairs have had the greatest effects of voters in the three new towns. In addition, the bodies which took over the functions of the three new towns were remote and 'foreign'. The development corporations in Peterlee and Washington were not subject to democratic control by local people: they were QUANGOs whose members were appointed by the government, and as such they had no elected members. In Cramlington the situation was somewhat different, but even so the Cramlington Sub-Committee which controls the development of the new town has no elected members, its members being appointed by the Northumberland County Council, Blyth Valley District Council and the house builders Leech and Bell. Indeed, examination of the Reith Report (1946) and the Master Plans for the three new towns reveals not a single reference to the possibility of establishing town or parish councils in the three new towns or of having elected members on the development bodies. True, a town or parish council was established in Peterlee in the mid-1960s, but its powers are distinctly limited and control of the major local government functions lie - as in Cramlington and Washington - with the district and county councils.

Discussions with members of the town council in Peterlee suggested that district and county councillors were remote figures who were not responsive to the needs of the people in the new town and the same was also said of the members of the Development Corporation. In particular, town councillors stressed how difficult it had been to make the Development Corporation accept responsibility for the poor state of some of the new town's housing. Several Cramlington district councillors expressed the view that the new town was being increasingly starved of

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resources in the form of rate revenues to pay for the development

elsewhere in Blyth Valley and Northumberland, the rationale advanced

for such action being that the new town's swing towards the Alliance

was making it unattractive to the Labour Party politicians in control

at Morpeth and Blyth, who had little to lose from pursuing such policies.

The work of Bowles and Gintis (1976) is worthy of mention at this point.

They argue in their study of education in the United States that a

hidden curriculum exists in its schools which aims to produce a servile

workforce for industry which will work for relatively low wages and

accept unquestioningly the decisions of the managements of the firms

which will eventually employ them.   In this approach the basic organiza-

tion of the school with its hierarchy of headmaster, teacher, and pupil

is seen to mirror the basic structure of industrial firms, and various

disciplinary measures are employed to keep children in check.   The

brighter children are, however, subjected to less rigorous forms of

teaching and are encouraged to develop social relations which emphasize

autonomy, independence, and creativity (Hargreaves, 1982: 13-15).   In

extending this analysis to the political system it is tempting to draw

parallels with the world of politics and to suggest that not only does

such an educational system create a servile *workforce* but a politically

apathetic population also.

It is very difficult to apply such a model of education and its role in

the political system to the three new towns under study.   However

some writers for example Miliband (1969:   213-15) have argued that

schools in Britain do serve this function.   Thus Miliband (1969: 215)

writes:-

> such education ... instils in those subjected to it a
> submissive acceptance of the social order of which they
> were ... destined to form the base.

In Chapter Four it was shown that the educational system which has

developed in the three new towns is little different to that which exists

in the rest of England and Wales, so it is likely that Miliband's

analysis can be applied with equal force to their secondary schools.   In

an attempt to find such a hidden curriculum, the schools' prospectuses

were examined and a simple content analysis was undertaken.   The results

of this work can hardly be considered to be very conclusive but they are

certainly of interest.   All the school prospectuses discussed a number

of common topics, curricula content, pastoral care, sex and religious

education, and school rules and disciplinary measures.   Without wishing

to imply that *some* school rules are not necessary, the overall impression

gained from reading the prospectuses was that the schools are authoritarian

organizations.   Each school prospectus was found to devote from between

one third of a page to one and a half pages to school rules, with one

school detailing twelve and another fifteen rules governing many things

from school one-way systems to the throwing of snowballs.   Disciplinary

measures were listed and more than half the schools retained

corporal punishment.   Each school has a uniform which pupils are expected

to wear irrespective of whether they wish to.   It is almost as interesting

that no school prospectus mentioned the existence of either a school

council allowing pupils to express their views or a system of judicial

redress enabling pupils to lodge objections against improper treatment.

Whether these findings point to the existence of a hidden curriculum

in new town schools which serves the interests of an economic and/or

political elite by helping to produce both a servile workforce and a

politically-alienated population is difficult to say.   It is however

an area worthy of further study.

In Chapter Five it was shown that after leaving school many young people, and especially those of low educational attainment, experience periods of unemployment. Several writers (see Harrison, 1983: 125-35) have stressed the feelings of depression and helplessness which unemployment often brings: in particular, the long-term unemployed have been found to withdraw from many community activities and many come to believe that those in positions of authority simply do not care about their plight. It seems reasonable to assume that such experiences are likely to make young people less politically efficacious and indeed some evidence for this view was found from replies to the attitude question, 'young people find it far more difficult than do older people to find the right kind of work', (P25). Replies to this were found to correlate highly with educational attainment, unemployment, and the replies to the attitude questions 'politicians don't understand young people' (P27) and 'governments usually do more harm than good'. (P32).

Finally, it was shown in Chapter Six that many young people in the three new towns complained that there were insufficient things for them to do there. It was also mentioned that some young people said that in consequence they were forced to 'hang around the streets in the evenings', a practice which tended to cause conflicts with the police who asked them to 'move on'. Such a situation has given the police a bad image in the eyes of many young people and has no doubt contributed to the finding that 83 (37.2%) respondents either 'disliked' or 'strongly disliked' the 'attitudes of the police towards young people' (P27) and to their beliefs about 'our democracy' (N2) and 'our system of justice' (N6).

To conclude this section, it has been shown that young people of low

educational attainment, as measured by their success and CSE and GCE 'O'

levels, are less politically efficacious than those of high educational

attainment.   It has been found that in comparison with high educational

attainers low academic performers are more likely to believe that the

government is an inefficient body, and that politicians and public

officials are unresponsive to the needs of the people.   Such young

people were also found to adopt more hostile attitudes to the police and

the judiciary, and to undervalue the act of voting.   Two explanations

have been advanced for this phenomenon: on the one hand it may

indicate that low academic performers have been only weakly integrated

into a political system which is fundamentally equal, but on the other

hand it may reflect the fact that young people know their position within

a society in which political power is very unequally distributed, in

which high educational attainers exhibit a higher degree of political

efficacy than do low educational attainers because they are likely to

wield greater economic and political power in their adult lives.

Neither of these approaches can be adequately tested within the terms

of references of this thesis.   However, some evidence has been

accumulated which suggests that people in the three new towns have less

political power than do people in the old mining villages; this follows

from the decline of the mining union, the undemocratic and unelected

nature of the development bodies in the three new towns, and the

remoteness of local government.   This section has also speculated on

the role which schools may be playing in the three new towns in helping

to produce a population which is politically apathetic.   It follows,

then, that although the evidence presented at the start of this section

suggested that young people of low academic ability have only a limited

understanding of the political system, their knowledge may be far greater

than such a simple approach would suggest if it could be shown that

young people recognize their position within a political system which

is fundamentally unequal.

Section Three: Young People and Party Preferences

In the introduction to this Chapter it was shown that the Labour Party

has been the predominant political party in Durham and South East

Northumberland since the mid-1920s but that in recent years its support

has waned somewhat, its share of the popular vote having fallen

considerably in two of the three new towns under discussion. The fall in

support for the Labour Party has been attributed to the decline of the

traditional working-class community following on from the contraction

of the mining industry. This analysis of voting behaviour can be

described as 'class-based' in so far as it sees the voter as identifying

with a particular class and through that with a particular political

party. This relationship is shown in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2: The Relationship Between the Voter, Class and Party

$$\boxed{\text{VOTER}} \longrightarrow \boxed{\text{CLASS}} \longrightarrow \boxed{\text{PARTY}}$$
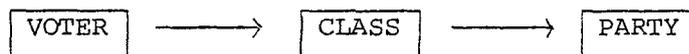
Butler and Stokes (1971: 108-24) have identified three separate models of

class-based voting through which individual voters view the party political

system. These are:-

1. a class-conflict model in which the voter sees the interests of

   different classes as being fundamentally opposed to one another,

   and in which each political party is seen as governing in the

   interests of the class which support it to the detriment of the

   class which voted against it;

2. a simple representation model in which the interests of classes

are not seen as being opposed to each other and in which - although

each political party is seen as governing in the interests of a

particular class - its actions are not seen as jeopardizing the

interests of the class which voted against it; and

3. a partisanship model in which voting behaviour is seen as a

reflection of one's class background or class norm, irrespective

of class interests and other considerations.

There are, however, other models of voting behaviour, first amongst

which is the Consumer (Himmelweit *et al*., 1981) or Economic (Downs,

1957) model. This model sees each individual voter as holding a

bundle of attitudes towards contemporary political issues (economic

policy, immigration, defence, etc.) and as voting for the political

party whose policies on these individual issues most closely match

his or her attitudes. For example, a particular voter holding strong

pacifist views might support the Labour Party because of its commitment

to unilateral nuclear disarmament. This relationship is shown in

Figure 7.3 below.

Figure 7.3: The Relationship Between Attitudes and Party Choice
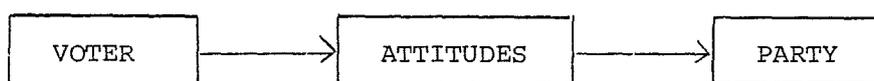
Nordlinger (1967), whose main interest lay in understanding why so many

working-class people supported the Conservative Party, has identified

yet another model of voting behaviour - the deference model*. Nordlinger

argues that Britain was essentially a hierarchical and conservative

society , in which people in authoritative positions were widely respe-

cted and treated with deference, and he believed that the success of

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* It has been estimated that in the mid 1960s up to one-third of the
  working-class supported the Conservative Party (Blondel, 1979: 56)

the Conservative Party was due to this deference. As a party it was associated with the country's major institutions, the Monarchy, the Church, the legal profession and big business. Its leaders tended to come from the old aristocratic families and to many people they had an aura about them of loyalty, dignity and efficiency as if - in a single phrase - they had 'been born to govern'. To Nordlinger the problem became not one of explaining why so *many* working-class people voted Conservative but why so *few* did so. His answer to this question lay in the existence of working-class subcultures which created a counter-ideology and gave support to the Labour Party. Clearly the old mining communities of Durham and South East Northumberland constituted such sub-cultures and their decline should, if Nordlinger is correct, have led to an increase in deference voting and a corresponding rise in support for the Conservative Party.

It should be stressed at this point that the above approaches are merely models, none of which can be said to offer a perfect explanation of voting behaviour. Nor can the individual models be said to be mutually exclusive: for example, both attitudes and social class may be found to exert an influence on party preferences, the relative strength of which depends upon a number of factors, one of the more important of which is the age of the individual voter. It is this particular point - the age of the individual voter - which is of prime importance to this study for, as has been shown in previous chapters, the young people under study are living in rapidly changing environments.

The new towns in which the young people live lack the cohesive social structures of the old mining communities within which many of their parents were brought up. The decline of the mining industry combined with mass unemployment has reduced the power and influence of the trades unions, and universal education and the mass media have widened young

people's horizons. The decline in Labour Party support in these new towns undoubtedly owes much to these changes which are taking place, and it seems reasonable to suppose that it is the younger people who have been most affected by them. Thus, for example, it could well be that class-related party support* is giving way to issue-related or deference party support. In the remaining pages of this chapter the major factors influencing party choice amongst young people in the three new towns will be examined.

Party Choice

When the young people were asked to rank the political parties (1,2,3,4) in the order which they preferred, 206 (92.3%) out of 223+ respondents expressed a party preference. A majority of the first preferences, 113 (54.9%) were for the Labour Party, 56 (27.2%) were for the Conservative Party, 25 (12.1%) were for the Liberal Party, 10 (4.9%) were for the S.D.P. and there were two Others. To obtain a more convenient classification, the two Alliance Parties were combined and the two Others were added to the abstainers and 'don't knows'. Table 7.6 shows how respondents broke down according to new town and sex.

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* The term 'party support' is used in preference to 'voting' because many respondents were aged under 18 and were in consequence too young to vote.

+ One interview was only half completed.

Table 7.6: Party by New Town and Sex

Group Row %	Labour	Alliance	Cons- ervative	Abstain/ Don't Know
Peterlee	39 55.7	14 20.0	17 24.3	8
Cramlington	34 52.3	14 21.5	17 26.2	1
Washington	40 58.0	7 10.1	22 31.9	10
Male	59 61.5	15 15.6	22 22.9	10
Female	54 50.0	20 18.5	34 31.5	9
All	113 55.2	35 17.2	56 27.2	19

CHI SQR. Town = not significant
          Sex = not significant

From Table 7.6 it can be seen that the Labour Party obtained more than

50% of first preferences in all three new towns. Support for the two

Alliance Parties in both Peterlee and Cramlington is perhaps a little

lower than would have been expected given their success in local

elections in both new towns in recent years. The Conservative Party

obtained the second highest proportion of first preferences in all three

new towns, its level of support being highest in Washington where the

Alliance is weakest. Overall, 19 (8.5%) respondents were classified as

Others, these being mainly abstainers and 'don't knows': it is interest-

ing that only one of these respondents came from Cramlington where

intereviews were undertaken during and immediately after the 1983 General

Election campaign. This finding strongly suggests that the publicity

given to the General Election was encouraging young people to make a

choice between the three alternatives. Men were more likely to support

the Labour Party and less likely to support the Conservative Party

than were women and this finding is in line with many other surveys

which show that women are more conservative than men.   (Blondel, 1979: 58).

The easiest way to find out why someone supports a particular political party is to ask them: when this was done, the replies given by the young people revealed a suprisingly high degree of sophistication and understanding of the differences which separate the major political parties in Britain today.   Table 7.7 overleaf shows that the replies given by young people give some support to all three models of voting behaviour which have been discussed.   This table classifies the replies according to a four-fold classification of class-related, issue-related, deference and other reasons.   However, the replies given to the questions by respondents did not fit nearly so neatly into this class-ification as the table suggests.   Thus, although supporting the same party as one's parents or spouse has been classified as *class-related* on the grounds that most of these respondents were expressing a cultural or class norm, this was not always the case.

More than a quarter of Labour Party supporters saw the division between the two main political parties in class terms and an additional 16.5% supported the Labour Party because their parents or spouse did so. The following replies will serve to illustrate examples of class-related voting:-

1. Class-Conflict.

   Labour want to help the working-class. The Conservatives have
   Victorian values. They are capitalists without any feelings
   for the poor.   (Female, Cramlington)

   Labour are for working-class people. The Tories are for the rich.
                                                  (Male, Cramlington)

2. Representational.

   My family are strong working-class Labour Party fans.
                                                  (Female, Cramlington)

Table 7.7: Reasons Given for Supporting the Parties

Reason Total %	Labour	Alliance	Conservative
A. Class-related			
1. Class Conflict	17 14.8		
2. Representation	12 1o.4		
3. Parents/spouse/ cultural norm	19 16.5		4 17.5
B. Issue-related	22	8	11
4. Manifesto	19.1	23.5	20.8
5. Nuclear Weapons	14 12.2	2 2.5	1o 18.9
6. Economic Policy	8 7.o	1 2.9	3 5.7
7. Other Issue	1 o.9	1 2.9	1 1.9
C. Deference			9
8. Efficient/Resolute			17.o
9. Strong Leader			6 11.3
D. Other		2	
1o. Centre Party		2.5	
11. Negative	16 13.9	16 47.1	6 11.3
12. Mrs. Thatcher	7 6.1	3 8.8	
13. Other	13 11.3	4 11.8	8 15.1
Number	115	34	53

N.B. Some respondents gave two or more reasons for supporting a particular political party.

3. Cultural Norm.

   The Labour Party is for Northern people. The Conservatives
   are for Southern people.   (Female, Peterlee)

Nearly one-fifth of Labour Party supporters said that they supported

the party because of its manifesto, 12.2% gave as a reason its

commitment to nuclear disarmament, and 7% mentioned its economic

policies.

4. Manifesto.

   Labour are the only party who even attempt to look after those
   who need support, the elderly, the sick, and the unemployed.
                                             (Female, Washington)

5. Nuclear Weapons.

   I support Labour because I believe in banning the bomb and
   helping the needy.   (Male, Washington)

6. Economic Policy.

   Labour has the best policy on youth unemployment.
                                               (Male, Peterlee)

7. Other Issues.

   I don't like blood sports and am opposed to vivesection. The
   Labour Party will put an end to both.   (Female, Cramlington)

Finally, a number of Labour Party supporters said that they preferred

the Labour Party because it was the 'best of a bad bunch' or because

of their hostility towards Conservative policies or Mrs. Thatcher

herself. In the words of a woman from Peterlee:-

   Oh, I hate that woman (Mrs. Thatcher) so much!

No Conservative Party supporters specifically mentioned social class

as their reason for supporting that party although four respondents

said that they supported it because their parents did so. In contrast,

twenty-five respondents (47.2%) mentioned Conservative Party policies

and specific issues. The following replies will serve as examples of

those given:-

4. Manifesto.

> I agree totally with their policies on free enterprise and defence.
> (Male, Peterlee.)

Other respondents stressed the Conservative Party's commitment to maintaining Britain's nuclear deterrent and their replies often showed hostility towards Labour's defence policy, suggesting that Labour has lost some of its traditional support due to its commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament. Thus:-

> The Conservatives have the best defence policy. Labour would
> abolish the bomb.   (Male, Cramlington.)

> The Conservatives have the best policies, but Labour is O.K too
> and is for the working-class. Labour has a bad defence policy.
> (Male, Cramlington.)

Other Conservative Party supporters stressed their belief in Conservative economic policies, for examples:-

> I like their macro-economic policies, which are the only
> workable ones. Labour's policies on the EEC and unilateralism are
> wrong and its internal squabbling shows its incompetence.
> (Female, Cramlington.)

The replies of fifteen Conservative Party supporters suggested deference. These respondents stressed the image which the party had of being efficient, and capable, and of possessing a strong leader (Mrs. Thatcher) who was not afriad to take harsh and unpopular decisions (the 'Resolute Approach'), which contrasted with the image a number of them had of the Labour Party as being weak and divided. The following replies will serve as examples:-

8. Efficient and Resolute.

> They are a unified party and they don't argue amongst themselves.
> (Male, Peterlee.)

> They get on with trying to solve the country's problems without
> trying to please the trades union leaders. They have the real
> interests of the country at heart. They have the confidence to
> use harsh measures and are realistic in their aims.
> (Female, Washington.)

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9. Strong Leader.

> Mrs. Thatcher is doing a good job. You've got to go through the
> bad to get to the good.   (Female, Washington.)

No Alliance supporters fell into either the social class or deference

groups of supporters, although eleven stressed the policies which one

or both Alliance parties had to offer, for example:-

4. Manifesto.

> Their newsletter (*Focus*) is good and shows that they want to
> help the town.   (Female, Peterlee.)

> With more support and encouragement their policies could be put
> into practice and I believe that the general public would benefit
> greatly.   (Female, Cramlington.)

But, in general, Alliance supporters tended to stress either the 'centre'

position taken by their parties and/or their dislike of the two main

political parties, which a number labelled as 'extreme'.

For examples:-

11. Negative.

> They (the Liberals) have got their heads screwed on properly.
>   (Male, Cramlington.)

> I don't like the Tory Police Bill and Labour policy on the
> EEC and the bomb.   (Male, Cramlington.)

> The others have failed, so why not give the Liberals a chance?
>   (Female, Peterlee.)

> I am dissatisfied with the two main political parties. I feel
> that the Liberal Party has some good policies and ought to be
> given a chance. They can't make more of a mess than the
> Conservatives.   (Female, Washington.)

Abstainers and 'don't knows' are the last group of young people to

consider. In general they fell into two groups: those who were

disillusioned with party politics and felt that politicians were only

interested in themselves, and those who felt that they could not

understand politics and/or were simply not interested in the subject.

The following quotations are representative of these two groups.

They've done nothing for me so why should I vote for them?
                                              (Male, Washington)

    I don't understand most of their policies.(Female, Washington)

To summarise at this point, it has been shown that roughly one-

quarter of Labour Party supporters tend to see politics in class

terms with the Labour Party being seen as representing the working-

class and the Conservative Party the middle-class. However, more than

40% of their supporters stressed their support for either the Labour

Party manifesto or specific policies (mainly nuclear disarmament).

Conservative Party supporters were more likely than Labour Party

supporters to stress their belief in their party's policies. A number

of Conservative supporters displayed evidence of deference. Although

a number of Alliance supporters mentioned their belief in Alliance

policies, the majority stressed their dislike of the policies put

forward by the two main political parties and they can thus be labelled

'protest supporters'.

Profile of Party Supporters

To obtain some idea as to the relative importance of social class

and other societal influences on the support given to the various

political parties, a series of tables was generated using the S.P.S.S.

Table 7.8, over, shows the high correlation which was found to exist

between the respondent's political party and that of their parents.

From Table 7.8 it can be clearly seen that the overwhelming majority

of young people supported the same political party as their parents.

Thus, 77.0% of respondents whose parents voted Labour supported the

same party, 81.5% for those whose parents voted Conservative, and

73.7% for Alliance supporters. However, 60 respondents, more than

one-quarter of the total were unable to say which political party

was supported by one or both of their parents. Moreover, thirteen

of these 60 individuals have been classified as abstainers and

'don't knows', and it is interesting to note that whilst these people

represented only one-fifth of the total group of those young people

who did not know which political party their parents' supported, they

constituted 68% (or more than two-thirds) of the total group of

abstainers and 'don't knows'.

Table 7.8: Parents' Party Preferences by Party Choice

Parents' Preference Row %	Respondents' Preference			
	Labour	Alliance	Conservative	Abstain & Don't Know
Labour	77	7	12	4
	77.0	7.0	12.0	4.0
Alliance	3	14	2	-
	15.8	73.7	10.5	-
Conservative	2	2	22	1
	7.4	7.4	81.5	3.7
Mixed[+]	8	5	3	1
	47.1	29.4	17.6	5.9
Don't Know	23	7	17	13
	38.3	11.7	28.3	21.7

TAU = 0.0000 (by Party only)

[+] 'Mixed' refers to those respondents whose parents supported different
political parties.

Two measures of social class were employed in this study: objective

social class, as measured by the father's occupation, and subjective

or self-assigned class. Table 7.9 over shows how party preferences

broke down according to the occupational classification of the respond-

ent's father..

Table 7.9: Occupational Class by Party Choice

Occupational Class Row %	Labour	Alliance	Conservative	Abstain & Dont' Know
AB	17 34.7	10 20.4	22 44.9	2 3.9
C1	16 48.5	7 21.2	10 30.3	3 8.3
C2	62 66.0	16 17.0	16 17.0	12 11.3
DE	17 63.0	2 7.4	8 29.6	1 3.6

TAU = 0.000 (Party only)

From Table 7.9 it can be seen that support for the Labour Party is lowest amongst the two middle-class groups (AB and C1) and highest amongst the two working-class groups (C2 and DE). Thus, whilst Labour enjoyed the support of only 17 (34.7%) respondents from professional and managerial backgrounds, 62 (66.0%) respondents from skilled working-class backgrounds supported the party. In contrast, the Conservative Party achieved its highest share of support amongst those respondents from professional and managerial backgrounds (44.9%) and its lowest share amongst those from skilled working-class backgrounds (17.0%). The two Alliance Parties enjoyed the support of only 2 (7.4%) respondents from semi-skilled and unskilled working-class backgrounds, although their level of support rose to 17% of those from skilled working-class backgrounds and to just over 20% of those from the two middle-class groups. Thus, this analysis suggests that the occupational social class of the respondent's father is strongly related to party choice, although it does not appear to be as strong a factor as parental party choice.

Table 7.10, below, breaks down party choice according to the respondent's self-assigned or subjective social class.

Table 7.10: Self-assigned Social Class by Party Choice

Class Row %	Labour	Alliance	Conservative	Abstain & Other
Middle	26	9	18	2
	49.1	17.0	34.0	3.6
Working	64	17	20	10
	63.4	16.8	19.8	9.0
No Class	8	5	4	1
	47.1	29.4	23.5	5.6
Don't Know	15	4	14	6
	45.5	12.1	42.4	15.4

TAU = 0.02 (Social Class only)

From Table 7.10 it can be seen that a much weaker correlation was found to exist between subjective or self-assigned social class and party choice, but that, even so, the correlation which was found was in the expected direction in so far as the Conservative Party obtained a higher share of the middle-class preferences than did the Labour Party, and the Labour Party obtained a higher share of working-class preferences than did the Conservative Party. Thirty-nine respondents replied that they did not know what their social class was and of the thirty-three who expressed a positive preference, fourteen (42.4%) supported the Conservative Party. Although this figure is smaller than the proportion of preferences from this group given to Labour (45.5%), it is a larger proportion than the 34% of middle-class preferences given to the Conservatives. This may well suggest that Conservative respondents are more likely to come from households in which social class is rarely discussed, and this would be in line with the findings reported earlier that no Conservative Party respondents mentioned social class as their reason for supporting their party.

Table 7.11: Origin of Respondents' Families by Party Choice*

Origin Row %	Labour	Alliance	Conservative	Abstain & Don't Know
Native	29	1	8	5
	76.3	2.6	21.1	11.6
1-10 kms.	45	7	24	6
	59.2	9.2	31.6	7.3
More than 10 kms.	38	27	24	8
	42.7	30.3	27.0	8.2

* Expressed in terms of distance from the new town.

TAU = 0.0000 (by Party only).

The next topic to be considered is that of the party choices of respondents broken down by their origins. From Table 7.11 it can be seen clearly that a direct relationship exists between the origins of respondents' families and the political parties which they support. Such that support for the Labour Party was found to be highest amongst those respondents originating from families which had lived within the present boundaries of their new towns for several generations ('natives') and lowest amongst those respondents whose families originated from places more than ten kilometres away from their new towns; the exact opposite being true of Conservative and Alliance supporters. These results are perhaps only to have been expected, for as was shown earlier, the original inhabitants of both Cramlington and Washington were largely working-class and strongly pro-Lavour, whilst the newer inhabitants tended to be more middle-class and in consequence more Conservative in their political orientations. The high level of support given to the two Alliance Parties by young people whose families originated from places more than ten kilometres away from their new towns is more puzzling although as was shown earlier, Alliance support is concentrated in Peterlee and Cramlington which

attracted their new populations from a wider area than Washington did.

To conclude this part of the chapter, a correlation has been found to exist between both the origin and social class of respondents and the political party which they support. A far stronger correlation, however, has been found to exist between the party preferences of young people and those of their parents. This analysis strongly suggests that party choice and voting behaviour is largely a socio-logical phenomenon in which young people native to their new town, of working-class origin, and with parents who support the Labour Party, are themselves likely to be Labour Party supporters. Conversely, those young people from middle-class backgrounds who were born outside the new town and who have parents who do *not* support the Labour Party are far more likely to be Conservative or Alliance supporters. In the remainder of this chapter, the influence of issues and attitudes on the young people's party preferences will be examined.

Issues, Attitude and Party Choices

In an attempt to see whether or not issues were related to the party choices made by respondents, the young people were first asked to say which three of fourteen separate issues were most important to them personally. Table 7.12 overleaf, shows those issues which were mentioned by ten or more per cent of respondents. From this table it can be seen that there is almost complete agreement amongst respondents concerning what the major problems facing Britain today are. Eight out of ten respondents believed that unemployment was a major problem and an additional 44% mentioned law and order. Labour Party supporters were, however, more concerned than Alliance and Conservative supporters about the N.H.S. (mentioned by 50% of Labour Party supporters) and Alliance supporters were somewhat more

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concerned about defence and nuclear weapons (mentioned by more than 60% of them).

Table 7.12: Most Important Issues by Party

Issues Total %	All	Labour	Alliance	Conservative
Unemployment	166 82.2	91 81.3	32 91.4	43 79.6
Law and Order	90 44.6	48 42.9	17 48.6	25 46.2
National Health Service	87 43.1	58 51.8	10 28.6	19 35.2
Defence and Nuclear Weapons	72 35.8	34 30.4	22 52.9	16 29.6
Education	55 27.2	32 28.6	8 22.9	15 27.8
Inflation and Rising Prices	44 21.8	24 21.4	6 17.1	14 25.9
Housing and Accommodation	25 12.4	14 12.5	4 11.4	7 13.0
Training Opportunities	24 11.9	13 11.6	3 8.6	8 14.8

Inflation and rising prices were mentioned by only one-fifth of respondents, with Conservative Party supporters expressing most concern about them. A number of other matters were raised by respondents, ranging from race relations to blood sports, though the numbers were too small to discern any definite differences in the importance attached to those issues between supporters of the three party groupings.

The trouble with this approach to examining issues is that although it serves to demonstrate which issues are important to young people, it says nothing about how those young people would like the issues dealt

with. Thus it has been shown that supporters of all four political

parties agree that unemployment is the major problem facing Britain

today, yet those supporters may favour radically different ways of

dealing with it and, indeed, it has already been mentioned that a

number of Conservative Party supporters endorsed the present

government's basic approach to the problem based on the workings of

free market forces. Similarly, on the topic of defence and nuclear

weapons, a number of Labour Party supporters, fearful of the

possibility of a full-scale nuclear exchange, endorsed Labour's

policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament whilst Conservative Party

supporters stressed the deterrent value of nuclear weapons and the

importance of maintaining the balance of power.

The usual ways out of this problem is to examine the attitudes of

supporters of the political parties to a number of issues on which

the stances taken by the parties are known to differ. In Britain,

political scientists have long differentiated these attitudes in

terms of what they call the 'left-right' dimension*. Without getting

bogged down into the intricacies of the debate, this refers to a

psychological dimension (or continuum), which is concerned not only

with those issues of a strictly economic nature (relating mainly to

the distribution of income) but also to defence and nuclear weapons.

Thus a left-wing stance would imply in the British context a belief

that income and wealth should be equally distributed, that businessmen

and managers should be more accountable to the people for their

actions, and the abolition of nuclear weapons; whilst a right-wing

stance would imply exactly the opposite. On this dimension the Labour

Party is a left-wing party, the Conservative Party is a right-wing

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* Eysenck (1963) also identified a tough-tender minded dimension,
  and Brittain (1968) a liberal-authoritarian dimension.

party, and the two Alliance Parties occupy a central position between the two major political parties.

The first thing to be considered here is the extent to which young people perceive the ideological positions taken by the political parties on the left-right dimension. Table 7.13 shows the proportion of young people who placed the three political parties on the left, on the right, and in the centre.

Table 7.13: Perceived Ideological Placing of the Main Political Parties

Party Row %	Left	Centre	Right	None of these	Don't know
Labour	103	15	15	–	89
	46.4	6.8	6.8	–	40.1
Alliance	6	126	17	8	65
	2.7	56.8	7.7	3.6	29.3
Conserv- ative	27	11	97	2	85
	12.2	5.0	43.7	0.9	38.4

The figures presented in Table 7.13 appear to suggest that just under one half of respondents have a clear perception of the meaning of the terms 'left' and 'right' in a political context. There is, however, a problem here of knowing exactly how to interpret this finding for as Butler and Stokes (1971: 248) point out, political scientists commonly use the terms 'left' and 'right' but rarely bother to define them. Butler and Stokes argue that the man or woman in the street rarely thinks in such abstract ways, although he or she may be well aware of the differing policies offered by the various political parties and the same might be said of young people in the northern new towns. Some evidence that young people have a better understanding of the ideological positions taken by the political parties is shown in Table 7.14 which is a simple crosstabulation of respondents' first choice political parties by their second choice parties.

Table 7.14: First Choice Party by Second Choice Party

First Party Row %	Second Party			
	Labour	S.D.P.	Liberal	Conservative
Labour	–	19 17.8	58 54.2	30 28.0
S.D.P.	5 50.0	– –	5 50.0	– –
Liberal	6 25.0	12 50.00	– –	6 25.0
Conservative	16 29.6	9 16.7	29 53.7	–

When support for the two Alliance Parties is combined, it can be seen from Table 7.14 that the majority of respondents who expressed a second preference for a political party did so for an adjacent political party on the left-right dimension. Thus, whilst 38 (70.4%) of the 54 Conservatives gave their second preferences to one or other of the Alliance Parties only 16 (29.6%) gave them to the Labour Party, and similarly only 30 (28.0%) of the 97 Labour Party supporters gave their second preferences to the Conservative Party. It is interesting that Alliance supporters were not as consistent as Labour and Conservative Party supporters, and only 5 out of 10 S.D.P. supporters and 12 out of 24 Liberals gave their second preferences to their Alliance partners. Taken together, though, this analysis does suggest that the majority of young people do see the political parties as being differentiated on something akin to the left-right dimension in so far as young people who support the Labour and Conservative Parties which are located at opposite extremes of this political spectrum are very likely to give as their second preference a party which is located nearer to the centre than the other major party. Table 7.15 shows the numbers of consistent and inconsistent transfers.

Table 7.15: Numbers of Consistent Transfers by Party

Party Row %	Consistent	Inconsistent
Labour	77 72.0	30 28.0
Conservative	38 70.4	16 29.6
Liberal	12 50.0	12 50.0
S.D.P.	5 50.0	5 50.0
Total	132 67.7	63 32.3

It can be seen from Table 7.15 that just over two-thirds (67.7%) transferred their second preferences to an adjacent political party on the left-right dimension. It should, however, be stressed that one-third (32.3%) did *not* do so. This particular group is consequently of some interest and their mixed party preferences may result from the influence of cross pressures. For example, their parents who, as was shown earlier, appear to exercise an important influence on party choice, may support different political parties. Alternatively, some young people from working-class backgrounds may usually prefer the Labour Party but currently support the Conservative Party because of its manifesto or some specific policy issue (e.g. on immigration).

Attitudes

In an attempt to see whether or not attitudes were correlated with the political party preferences expressed by the young people, Section E of the questionnaire included a series of twenty-three attitude questions on contemporary political issues. When replies

to these 23 attitude questions were analysed by political party,

significant differences at or beyond the 5% level of confidence

were found to exist in replies to only ten questions. Of these,

six were related to strictly economic matters, three were related

to defence and nuclear weapons, and one related to attitudes towards

the legalization of 'soft' drugs. Table 7.16 overleaf shows the mean

scores obtained by supporters of the three political parties on each

one of these questions. It can be seen from that table that nine of

these ten attitude questions relate directly to the left-right

dimension, the exception being question P21 on the legalization of

'soft' drugs. On eight of the remaining nine questions it can be

seen that Labour Party supporters took a more left-wing stance than

did Conservative Party supporters, although on three questions Alliance

supporters adopted a more extreme stance than one or other of the

other two groups of supporters. Replies to question P6 were somewhat

unusual in so far as it was found that Conservative Party supporters

were more likley than were Labour Party supporters to disagree with

the statement that 'Government interference in industry should be

reduced'. However, a simple frequency count of responses revealed

that slightly less than half of the replies to this question fell

into the 'uncertain' category, which strongly suggests that this is a

subject upon which the attitudes of young people are not yet fully

formed*. For that reason, this question will be excluded from any

further analysis.

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* Nationalization was a major issue in the area during the 1940s when
  the debate about the public ownership of the mines was taking place,
  but the issue has now lost much of its earlier appeal.

Table 7.16: Mean Scores Obtained by Party Supporters on Ten Attitude Questions

Attitude Question	Labour	Alliance	Conservative	Significance
N9 The Royal Family	2.50	1.80	1.95	.0000
P6 Government interference in industry should be reduced	2.72	2.57	2.98	.0450
P8 Trades Unions have too much power	2.83	2.51	2.29	.0043
P12 Greater taxation of the rich and wealthy	2.35	2.20	2.84	.0038
P16 Reduced spending on Social Security	3.87	3.77	3.32	.0003
P20 High salaries for managers and businessmen	3.57	3.37	3.16	.0393
P5 Banning nuclear weapons from Britain	2.84	3.17	3.55	.0032
P13 Using force to recapture the Falkland Islands	2.78	2.46	2.14	.0012
P18 Siting cruise missiles in Britain	3.30	3.37	2.82	.0118
P21 Legalization of soft drugs	3.44	3.83	2.80	.0270

Looking in detail at the replies given by respondents to some of these questions, Table 7.17 shows the replies given to the attitude question 'Trades Unions have too much power'.

Table 7.17: 'Trades Unions Have Too Much Power' by Party

Party Row %	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Labour	10	37	32	30	4
	8.8	32.7	28.3	26.5	3.5
Alliance	6	13	9	6	1
	17.1	37.1	25.7	17.1	2.9
Conservative	11	26	12	6	1
	19.6	46.4	21.4	10.7	1.8

TAU = 0.0004

From Table 7.17 it can be seen that Labour Party supporters are less likely to endorse the statement that 'Trades Unions have too much power' than are Conservative Party supporters, although the differences are not greatly marked: thus, whilst 66.1% of Conservative supporters agreed with the statement and 12.5% disagreed, these figures compared with 41.6% of Labour Party supporters who agreed and 30.1% who disagreed.

The attitudes of the respondents towards nuclear weapons showed a similar ambiguity. It can be seen from Table 7.18 overleaf that whilst (39.0%) of Labour Party supporters agreed with the statement that nuclear weapons should be banned from Britain, 45 (39.8%) disagreed, these figures comparing with 9 (16.1%) Conservative supporters who agreed with the statement and 35 (60.7%) who disagreed.

A series of Pearson's correlation tests were then undertaken on the eight questions upon which significant differences were found to exist by political party. From Table 7.20 (p.243) it can be seen

that all these questions were highly correlated with one another except for question P8 on the powers of trades unions. This question did, however, correlate with both questions, P16 on social security payments (P=0.001) and P13 on the Falklands War (P=0.01).

Table 7.18: 'Banning Nuclear Weapons from Britain' by Party

Party Row %	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Labour	29	15	24	35	10
	25.7	13.3	21.2	31.0	8.8
Alliance	4	6	10	10	5
	11.4	17.1	28.6	28.6	14.3
Conservative	5	4	13	23	11
	8.9	7.1	23.2	41.1	19.6

Using the replies given to these attitude questions, a Likart Scale was constructed on which a low score indicates a left-wing stance and a high score a right-wing stance. Table 7.19 shows how the scores broke down according to the political party supported.

Table 7.19: Mean Scores on the Left-Right Continuum by Party*

Party	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number
Labour	44.8%	14.2	113
Alliance	50.3%	12.0	35
Conservative	58.7%	11.7	56
Total+	49.4%	14.2	223

F = 0.0000

* Scores have been converted to percentages for ease of comparisons.
+ Includes 'don't knows' and Others.

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Table 7.20: Pearson Correlation Coefficients

		P8	P12	P16	P20	P5	P13	P18
N9	The Royal Family	-0.0129	-0.1139+	0.1162+	0.2479**	-0.2527**	0.2875**	0.2134**
P8	Trades Unions have too much power		-0.0172	0.2345**	0.0343	-0.0544	0.2031*	0.1012
P12	Greater taxation of the rich and wealthy			-0.1191+	-0.2363**	0.1886*	-0.0067	-0.1869*
P16	Reduced spending on Social Security				0.2023*	-0.1714*	0.1125+	0.2036
P20	High salaries for managers and businessmen					-0.1757*	0.1245+	0.2372**
P5	Banning nuclear weapons from Britain						-0.3678**	-0.6215**
P13	Using force to recapture the Falkland Islands							0.3781
P18	Siting cruise missiles in Britain							

Key

+   Significance less than 0.05

*   Significance less than 0.01

**   Significance less than 0.001

The data contained within Table 7.19 appears at first sight to add

weight to the view that attitudes are strongly related to the party

preferences expressed by the young people in so far as the mean scores

obtained by respondents on the Likart Scale follow the expected

pattern: Labour Party respondents have the lowest and most left-wing

mean score (44.8%) and Conservative Party supporters have the

highest and most right-wing mean score (58.7%), with Alliance

supporters falling somewhere in between. Moreover, this result could

only have occurred fewer than once in every 10,000 occasions by pure

chance.

However, these findings are hardly conclusive. Looking again at

Table 7.19, it can be seen that the standard deviations are quite

large and overlap considerably. Using these standard deviations and

assuming a normal distribution it can be shown that approximately

28 (out of 56) Conservative Party supporters obtained scores located

within one standard deviation of the Labour Party mean score, and

that about 40 Labour Party supporters (roughly one-third) obtained

scores located within one standard deviation of the Conservative

Party mean score. Almost all Alliance supporters obtained scores

within one standard deviation of one or other of the two main parties.

Thus it can be concluded that as many as 104 (46.4%) respondents

obtained scores on the Likart Scale which could easily have placed

them within *any one* of the three party groupings. This analysis

does not, however, rule out the importance of issues in explaining

party choice amongst respondents, for more than half of the

respondents (about 109) obtained scores on the Likart Scale sufficient

to differentiate them according to party preference. Moreover, this

analysis does not rule out the possibility that one specific issue

may figure so predominantly in the minds of some young people that

it overrides all other issues and induces them to support a

a particular political party when their attitudes towards other issues are at variance to the policies put forward on those issues by that party. Table 7.7, for example, shows how a minority of respondents (26) stressed the importance of the nuclear weapons issue in determining their party preferences.

Again, although a correlation between attitudes and party preferences may be shown to exist, it does not prove causality: at least three explanations can be put forward to account for it. The first is that the consumer model of voting behaviour is correct and people do indeed support the political party whose policies have the closest match with their own attitudes. The second explanation is that party preferences are largely determined by other factors (social class, parental influence, etc.) and that party leaders then mould the attitudes of respondents such that they come to support their party's policies (see Himmelweit *et al*, 1981:15). The final explanation is that both party preferences and attitudes are related to a third unknown factor. For example, it was shown earlier that the party preferences expressed by young people are strongly correlated with those of their parents: given the strong socialization influence of the parents it is tempting to suggest that they are the third 'unknown' factor moulding both the attitudes and party preferences of young people. Unfortunately, given the limitations imposed by the research methodology it is not possible to say which of these attitude models offers the best explanation of the relationship between attitudes and party choice.

In conclusion, some evidence has been found to support all three models of political behaviour. A high correlation has been found to exist between both social class and the attitudes which respondents hold, and the political parties which they support, whilst some

evidence for the deference model was discerned in the comments made

by the respondents.   However, the high correlation which was found to

exist between the voting behaviour of parents and the party preferences

expressed by the young people suggests that the correlations which

were found to exist by social class and attitudes may well result from

the socializing influences of the parents, although it is impossible

within the limits imposed by the methodology to say so with certainty.

In the old mining communities which existed within the area until a

generation ago, it is likely that the forces which induced young

people to choose their political parties would have been strengthened

as they entered adulthood.   The mining union, combined with the

closely-knit local communities, would have had a marked influence on

both the party preferences and attitudes of these people, but the decline

in the numbers engaged in mining combined with the more heterogeneous

nature of these new town communities has changed all this.   In such a

situation it is more likely that the young people will stray from

their early party loyalties and exhibit forms of voting behaviour

more varied than those of their parents.   What *is* evident from this

study is that amongst the young people themselves there is little

evidence to suggest that such changes have as yet taken place.   Another

study of the same young people in ten to fifteen years time would,

one feels, yield very interesting results.

The conclusion has three main areas of concern: the contribution which this study has made to knowledge; an evaluation of the methodological approach used to undertake the study; and suggestions for further research.

Section One: Contribution to Knowledge

This study has been mainly descriptive in the sense that it has relied predominantly upon social survey data. It has not sought to promulgate any new 'grand theories'. It has sought to describe the new town environments within which the young people are living, and to discover their attitudes towards them.

In Chapter One the new town environments in which the young people were living were described. It was shown that the new towns were planned environments intended in the main to house miners and ex-miners and their families. It emerged that prior to the designation of the new towns, many mining families were living in substandard housing and the region was in a state of economic decline following the contraction of its staple industries - coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding and heavy engineering. The hope was that by building new towns the region would be able to go some way towards overcoming its problems both by constructing new houses and by attracting new industry which would provide jobs for the people who had moved into the new towns.

The limitations and shortcomings of these planned environments have been indicated throughout this thesis. Much new and improved housing has been built in the new towns but then so has some inferior and poor quality housing - especially in Peterlee and the Blackfell and Sulgrave villages in Washington. New amenities, shops, leisure centres, churches and related facilities have been built in the new

towns, but in Peterlee some shops have proved to be unprofitable and
have closed down and many of the leisure facilities provided were not
of a kind which people wanted. New industry has been attracted to the
three new towns, but its character is not markedly different from that
which now exists in the rest of the region, and unemployment is a
serious problem in each of them.

Young people and their special needs were largely ignored by the new
town planners. In Chapter Two, it was shown that the Peterlee Master
Plan is devoid of reference to them, the Cramlington Master Plan
mentions them only in passing, and the Washington Master Plan devoted
only two paragraphs to their needs*. It is against this background
that this study of the needs and attitudes of young people in the
three new towns must be viewed.

In Chapter Four it was shown that the new town developers were given
no control or influence over educational provision in their respective
new towns. As in the rest of Great Britain, control of education rests
with the individual local education authorities. When the subjects
taken by fifth formers attending new town schools were examined, they
were found to be basically the same as those taken by pupils attending
schools in the rest of England. Thus, the majority of CSE and GCE
'O' level passes obtained by pupils attending new town schools were in
traditional subjects such as English language, mathematics, history,
geography etc., and only a small minority were in subjects of a
vocational or social skills nature. Moreover, even though it was
hoped that the new towns would help to iron out inequalities in
society by improving the range of opportunities available to the poor,
significant differences were found to exist in the educational

* See Chapter Two for references.

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qualifications obtained by the different social classes, such that the young people from middle-class backgrounds and small families tended to be more successful academically than those from working-class backgrounds and large families.

Chapter Five demonstrated that although the new town developers have succeeded in attracting new industry to their new towns, unemployment and youth unemployment in particular is a serious problem in each of them. A substantial proportion of 1983 school-leavers were found to be undertaking youth training schemes, and those young people of low educational attainment - mainly from working-class backgrounds - were found to be more prone to unemployment than were those of higher educational attainment.

In Chapter Six the attitudes of young people towards their lives in their new towns were examined, and again the shortcomings of planning were highlighted. It was found that respondents from Peterlee - and with some justification - were particularly dissatisfied with their new town housing, and respondents from all three new towns were dissatisfied with the entertainment facilities which had been provided for them.

Chapter Seven built on the work of the rest of the thesis in that the political attitudes of young people were examined and attempts made to link them to the new town environments in which they were living. It was shown that the old colliery villages were closely-knit communities in which there existed a high degree of comradeship based upon: the pit, where most of the men were employed; the terraced street; and the extended family. The mining communities were Labour Party strongholds and the miners' union acted as a channel for the articulation of political demands. In contrast, it was shown, that

the new town environment is very different. The nuclear family has replaced the extended family, and people tend to live more isolated and private lives. The social structures of the new towns are more broadly-based than were the old mining communities, few of their males are miners, and they have greater proportions of middle-class families.

When the attitudes of young people towards the political system were examined, those of low educational attainment were found to be apathetic about politics and it was suggested that this apathy may result from the new town environment in which they are living, in which people tend to live more personalized lives, and the absence of a strong trade union, alienating young people from the political system. It was also suggested that this process was being intensified by: local schools which neglect the teaching of politics, have authoritarian structures, and deny children any say in their running; the high level of youth unemployment, which is making young people feel unwanted; and the powerful positions occupied by the two development corporations and the Cramlington Sub-Committee, which are unelected bodies with considerable control over local affairs.

The party political preferences of the young people were also examined in Chapter Seven, where it was shown that support for the Labour Party has fallen considerably in recent years in two of the three new towns under discussion, although that party has maintained its predominant position in the districts in which they are located. Attempts were made to apply three models of political behaviour to the young people under study - the class, attitudes, and deference models. Working on the assumption that in the old colliery villages voting was essentially a class phenomenon (in so far as miners and their families almost invariably supported the Labour Party), the Chapter

set out to test the theory that the attitude or deferential models of political behaviour would offer better explanation of the phenomenon in the new towns because of the decline in the numbers employed in mining and the absence of strong community ties. Evidence was found which supported the class-related model of political behaviour, especially amongst those young people who originated from families which had been living in the areas now covered by the new towns for several generations, but a correlation was also detected between attitudes and party choice and some evidence in support of the deference model was also found in the comments made by the young people. It was not possible within the limits of the methodology of this study to decide between these conflicting models, as a strong correlation was also found between the party preferences of young people and their parents, which could also explain the other correlations which were found between social class, attitudes and party choice.

Section Two: Evaluation of the Methodology

At the start of this study it was decided to make use of a highly structured questionnaire which was administered orally to the young people taking part. There were advantages and disadvantages in adopting this approach. Firstly, by using such a questionnaire it was possible at comparatively low cost to amass a great deal of information of a purely factual and descriptive nature. Such data included information about the respondents' family backgrounds, examination results and educational and employment histories. Secondly, since the questionnaire included various attitude questions it was possible to compare the attitudes of different groups of young people: for example, it was possible to compare the attitudes of respondents from each new town towards matters such as housing

and shopping facilities.

However, the approach did have a number of limitations. Firstly, since only a single questionnaire was employed it was only possible to obtain a picture of the individual respondents at a particular point in time. It was not possible to show how respondents and the attitudes which they held varied over time: for example, it was not possible to show how their attitudes and behaviour had changed as a result of long-term unemployment. Secondly, the questionnaire was unable to provide any background information on the environments and individual histories of the three new towns. This is important because, as was mentioned in Chapter One, questionnaire survey data must be related to the environment in which it was collected so that meaningful inferences can be drawn. Thus the finding - reported in Chapter Seven - that more than one-half of the respondents supported the Labour Party, would be meaningless without background knowledge of the political history of the area under study. For this reason resort had to be made to an examination of source material of a documentary nature, and throughout this study reference has been made to census data, school prospectuses, government reports, the new town master plans, and other published material. In addition, interviews were undertaken with local councillors from each of the three new towns who, due to their age and experience, were able to illuminate a number of important facets of the history and development of their towns.

Finally, not all sociological phenomena can be studied by means of survey questionnaire methods of investigations. They cannot study phenomena of which the individuals taking part in the study have no knowledge. It would, for example, have been pointless to ask respondents questions about the motives of the new town planners.

Further, as Cicourel (1964) points out, questionnaires impose a definition of the phenomenon under study onto the individuals being studied. Their use does not make it possible for the researcher to obtain a picture of the world as it is seen through the eyes of the people under study, and they are unable to examine the deeper meanings which people attach to their actions and the motivations which lie behind their attitudes. Thus, in Chapter Six, it was mentioned that fourteen women were members of dance and disco clubs. Yet this finding tells us nothing about why they are members of these clubs. One may be a member because she enjoys dancing, another may be 'looking for a fella', and another may enjoy the company of her friends. Moreover, as Willis (1977: 121-3) argues, questionnaire surveys cannot be used to study phenomena of a *group* or *collective* nature. Mass hysteria, for example, is a group phenomenon which usually affects many individuals at the same time. A theory which attempts to explain it must be grounded, *not* in the individuals of which the group is composed but in terms of the group itself and the interactions which occur between its members.

To overcome these limitations upon using questionnaire research methods many youth sociologists prefer to use more ethnographic methods of investigation which enables them to obtain a picture of the world as it is seen from young people's points of view. Patrick (1971), for example, actually became a member of a Glasgow street gang in order to collect data for his study, whilst Willis (1977), of whom more will be said later, based his study of working-class boys on a variety of research techniques ranging from unstructured interviews through to participant observation, and Robins and Cohen (1978) used various observational research techniques to study children and young people living on a London housing estate.

Before concluding this section, it should be mentioned that an element of ethnographic research was used to collect some data for this thesis. The questionnaire included a number of open-ended questions, and ten to twelve follow-up interviews of a less structured nature were undertaken.

Section Three: Suggestions for Future Research

Two major avenues for future research work can be identified. On the one hand any future study could be more theoretical in nature, and on the other hand greater use could be made of ethnographic research methods.

Firstly, the study lacks a strong theoretical basis and any future research could be more strongly grounded in theory. For example, in Chapter Four and Five it was shown that young people from working-class backgrounds and large families tended to be less successful academically and more prone to unemployment than were those from middle-class backgrounds and small families. No attempt was made to explain why this was so, or to test a theoretical model which might explain it. Tyler (1977) and Willis (1977) have turned their attention to this problem in a wider British context. Tyler (1977) has examined the relevance of a number of theoretical models of both a biological (genetic) and sociological (cultural deprivation) nature, which attempt to explain why children from middle-class backgrounds tend to be more academically successful than those from working-class backgrounds; whilst Willis (1977), using a Marxist framework of analysis, argued that boys from working-class backgrounds are at an educational disadvantage in so far as their culture undervalues the importance of learning and academic attainment whilst promoting characteristics of aggression and masculinity.

Secondly, as was hinted in the previous section, future research work

in this area would be greatly improved if it were more ethnographic

in orientation. Chapter Five, for instance, looked at the major

characteristics of those young people who were unemployed. A theme

which could have been examined here in far greater detail using

ethnographic techniques of investigation would be the psychological

effects of unemployment on young people. Harrison (1983: 125-35),

for instance, in his study of poverty in the London Borough of Hackney,

has shown how many unemployed young people become bored and depressed

and generally just give up hope of ever obtaining a full-time job.

In particular Chapter Six, which looked at young people in their

local communities, would have been greatly improved had more ethno-

graphic methods of investigation been employed. Cohen (1972) and

Clarke *et al* (Hall and Jefferson, Eds. 1976: 9-74) have examined the

rise of working-class youth subcultures in Britain's inner cities

since the end of the last war. Cohen (1972) in particular argues

that the disintegration of working-class communities as a result of

urban redevelopment created the conditions in which working-class

youth subcultures arose, as young people banded together for mutual

help and support and as the extended family and local communities

which had integrated them into the wider working-class community

ceased to exist. Clarke *et al* (Hall and Jefferson, Eds. 1976: 9-74)

extended Cohen's analysis by showing the influence which the mass

media, the dominant (bourgeois) ideology, and the specific position

which these young people held in the class structure, had in

explaining the rise of different youth subcultures (such as the 'Teds',

'Mods' and 'Punks') each with their own specific styles. 'Skinheads',

for example, whose world-view emphasizes the more nationalist, racist,

masculine and aggressive aspects of working-class cultures, are shown

to originate from mainly lower working-class families. Their style
of dress and short cut hair represents a very stereotyped image
working-class men.

The social structures of the three new towns differ fundamentally
from those of Britain's inner cities, in so far as they have higher
proportions of middle-class people and much lower proportions of
black and coloured people. An ethnographic approach could be
employed in an attempt to see if any youth subcultures have arisen
in the three new towns, which perhaps have their own *styles* which,
in contradiction to those existing in Britain's inner cities, would
perhaps emphasize more middle-class traits of social advancement and
independence.

To summarize at this point, this conclusion has highlighted the major
findings of the study. It has been argued that although the new towns
represented attempts at producing planned environments, the new town
developers appear to have had only limited success in creating a
better and more pleasant environment for young people. This conclusion,
however, was obtained from data obtained from a highly structured
questionnaire, which suffered a number of limitations in so far as
it provided only a broad 'snap-shot' of the individual young people
at a particular moment in time, imposed a world-view onto the young
people concerned and was unable to study phenomena of a *group* or
collective nature. In view of these limitations, it is tempting
to wonder as to just how valid the major findings of this study can be
said to be and to ask whether a more ethnographically based study
would have reached a different conclusion? This, though, is clearly a
question for further investigation.

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In Chapter One it was mentioned that this study made use of a highly

structured questionnaire schedule which was administered orally to

those young people taking part in the study.   Section One of this

appendix explains how this questionnaire schedule was constructed;

Section Two explains how the sample was chosen;   Section Three looks

at how and when the field-work was undertaken;   Section Four looks at

the analytical and statistical techniques which were used to analyse

the empirical material.

Section One: The Questionnaire

The questionnaire schedule drew for its inputs upon the major aims of the

study as described in Chapter One.   In designing the questionnaire

schedule, account was taken of other relevant studies which have been

undertaken relating to the new towns, young people, and other research

projects in related fields of study.   These sources are cited in the

sections which follow.

Finally, the relevance and wording of the questions contained within the

questionnaire schedule were tested in a series of pilot studies under-

taken amongst two groups of young people, one in a Washington youth

club and the other undertaking a youth training course in Sunderland.

The questionnaire was divided into five main sections, each one

examining an area of specific interest to the study.

Section A sought information about the separate biographies and personal

histories of the respondents.   Included in this section were questions

on the origins of the respondents' families and the occupational status

of their parents.

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Section B sought information about the respondents' educational history: schools attended; further and higher education courses undertaken; and examination results.

Section C asked a series of questions concerning the employment history of the respondents: type of employment; attendance on youth training and other job-creation schemes; and attitudes towards opportunities in the new towns.

Section D sought to ascertain how satisfied young people were with facilities in the new towns. The section included a series of twenty-eight Likert-type attitude questions, examining the attitudes of respondents towards matters as diverse as employment, training opportunities, the careers service, housing, and entertainment facilities. This section drew heavily for its content on a related study into Washington New Town undertaken by Lynch and Bruce (1982).

Also included here were questions on the future intentions of respondents: the ideal age to marry and to have children, and whether they intended to remain in their new towns.

Section E continued with questions on the political beliefs of the respondents. It was divided into four main sub-sections.

Sub-section One examined the respondents' level of interest in politics, party political preferences, their religious beliefs, and attendance at religious services.

Sub-section Two contained two series of Likert-type attitude questions on the political beliefs and attitudes of young people. The first set of attitude questions (Numbers 1-22) were intended to measure the

attitudes of young people towards contemporary political issues of

concern to people in Britain today. These questions drew heavily for

their content upon the works of Eysenck (1963) and Wilson (1973), who

were interested in understanding the nature of political attitudes,

and Himmelweit *et al.* (1981), who were interested in the extent to

which attitudes are related to voting behaviour. The second set of

attitude questions (Numbers 23-39) were intended to measure political

efficacy, defined simply as the extent to which young people believe

that the political system is responsive to their needs. These

questions drew heavily for their content upon the work of Easton and

Dennis (1967).

Sub-section Three examined the attitudes of young people towards life

in Britain today. Included here were questions on the attitudes of

young people towards the army, the police, music and Britain's

countryside. These questions drew heavily for their content upon

the work of Almond and Verba (1965) and the pilot work which was

undertaken in connection with this study.

Sub-section Four contained two separate scales intended to measure

the respondent's degree of political knowledge. The first scale

asked respondents to identify ten photographs of well-known politicians

and political party leaders. This scale being a modified version

of one employed by Young (1978: 13-14) in his study of young people.

The second political knowledge scale asked respondents twelve

questions about the political parties in Britain. This scale

resembled the one employed by Butler and Stokes (1971: 248-58) who

were particularly interested in the extent to which respondents were

able to associate the terms left and right with the relevant political

parties in Britain. Hence respondents were asked which political

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parties were on the left, on the right, and in the centre. In
addition, respondents were also asked to name the political parties
which were in control of their District and County Councils.

Section Two: The Sample

The generally accepted definition of a young person relates to young
people in their first few years after completing full-time compulsory
education (see Smith, 1968:19), the school leaving age being sixteen.
This definition of a young person was accepted when undertaking this
study, which was therefore concerned with young people in the three
new towns under study, born between the 1st September 1963 and the
31st August 1966 inclusive.

It was decided to attempt to undertake structured interviews with one
hundred young people from each of the three new towns. However,
given the high geographical mobility of the group under study,* and
the likelihood that a high proportion of young people sampled would
refuse to co-operate in the study, it was felt necessary to sample
more than one hundred people from each of the three new towns in order
to achieve as many of the one hundred interviews as was possible in
each town.

The sample was obtained in the following way:-

1.   In Cramlington a random sample of 460 names and addresses of
      16-19 year olds resident in the new town, together with details
      of their educational and employment histories were extracted
      from the Careers Offices in Cramlington and Blyth.   These names

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* Young people are probably one of the most highly geographically mobile
  groups in the population, as this is typically the age at which many
  people leave their parental home, e.g. to marry or cohabit, to obtain
  employment, or to enter higher education.

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were then arranged according to estate of residence and a final

random sample of 108 names was then extracted from the resulting

list, stratified according to estate.

2.   In Peterlee the electoral registers of 1979-85 were examined -

these record those young people reaching their eighteenth birthdays

during the lives of the registers.   A random sample of 125 names

and addresses of young people were then extracted from the lists,

stratified according to electoral ward.

3.   In Washington the electoral registers for 1979-85 were also used to

obtain the sample of 16-19 year olds.   However, given the need

to obtain a sufficiently large sample of names to draw meaningful

comparisons between the 'original' and 'new' populations of 16-19

year olds, it was decided to sample only five of the new town's

eighteen villages.   The decision as to which five villages to

sample was taken after examining the *Ward Profile Statistics* for

1981 produced by Sunderland Metropolitan District Council.   These

show the proportions of old and new housing stock in each of the

new town's eighteen villages built by private contractors, the

Local Authority, and the Development Corporation.   It was decided

to sample:-

a)   Oxclose and Blackfell, which are new villages constructed

entirely since the new town's designation.   Both contain a

balance of owner-occupied and Development Corporation rented

accommodation;

b)   Usworth, Washington, and Columbia villages are old villages

which had a substantial population at the new town's designation.

All three villages have been developed extensively since the

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mid-1960s and have a fair mixture of owner-occupied,

council rented, and Development Corporation rented

accommodation.

The choice of these five villages was also considered to be

appropriate given their geographical position within Washington

and the need to include within the final sample young people

who had attended all four of the town's comprehensive schools.

In all, 132 names and addresses were extracted from the

electoral register.

Obtaining the samples from two different sources poses problems in

drawing meaningful comparisons between young people in the three

new towns. The main problem here relates to the completeness of the

samples and this is a problem which occurs in using both Careers

Office records and the electoral register.

In Cramlington the Careers Office records are deficient for two main

reasons. Firstly, individual records are prepared when young people

are in their fourth forms at Cramlington High School, at which time

they are only fifteen years old. Given the high geographical

mobility of the group these records soon become out of date, and

although some individual records are amended, changes of address

are not always recorded. As a result of this some young people

cannot be traced. Secondly, the Careers Office does not hold the

records of those young people who were educated outside of the town

- most of whom are Roman Catholics attending St Benet Biscop High

School in Bedlington. However, the records of some of these young

people (mainly the unemployed) are transferred to the Cramlington

Careers Office when they leave school.

Even given these limitations upon using Careers Office records, it is undoubtedly true that the Careers Office has the most extensive and complete record of 16-19 year olds resident in Cramlington.

If anything, the electoral register is likely to be more incomplete than the Careers Office records, given the fact that it is probable that a certain percentage of young people are not registered to vote on their eighteenth birthday. This will occur because some householders, whose responsibility it is to complete the electoral registration form, are unlikely to read the instructions on the form correctly and will consequently fail to register their sixteen and seventeen year old children who will be eighteen during the life-time of the new register. Moreover, changes of address are not recorded so the electoral register will contain the names of some young people who have left the town and will not include the names of young people who moved into the town after the compilation of the register. Hence it is likely that the electoral register will be a more incomplete source of the names and addresses of young people than the Careers Office records. Some ideas as to the probable percentage of 16-19 year olds registered to vote was obtained from an examination of the Cramlington sample. Field-work was undertaken in Cramlington some six months before it was in the other two new towns and before the publication of the 1984-5 register. Of the 85 sampled who were old enough to vote, nine were *not* registered to vote on their eighteenth birthdays. To the extent that valid comparisons can be drawn between towns, this would suggest that approximately 90% of 16-19 year olds were included on the electoral registers used to obtain the sample of names in Peterlee and Washington. This was considered to be sufficiently large enough for obtaining the final sample, but even so,

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inferences drawn from respondents in Peterlee and Washington should be treated with some caution.

Section Three: Field-work

Field-work for the study was undertaken in Cramlington during the summer months on May, June and July 1983, and in Peterlee and Washington during the months of October, November and December 1983. The following procedure was adopted. A covering letter outlining the nature and aims of the study was sent to each young person sampled, suggesting a convenient time for an interview visit. Those respondents who consented to an interview were then visited at their homes where the structured interviews were undertaken. Unfortunately a number of respondents were unavailable for interview at home because they were wither working outside the town or attending a course of higher education at university or polytechnic. Where possible these people were sent questionnaire schedules through the post, together with a stamped addressed envelope for returning the completed form.

In all, structured interviews were achieved with 224* young people in all three new towns. Table A.1 illustrates how the response rates varied across the three new towns. From this table it can be seen that the overall response rate from the three new towns was only 61.3%, but this figure increases to 72.7% when those who were not available for interview, mainly as a result of having left the town, are excluded. In all, 59 (or 18.2%) of those sampled declined the invitation to participate in the study. On reflection, it was felt that the explanatory letter, which was sent to those sampled, was perhaps a little too daunting and that this had contributed to the high level of refusals. In addition, 25 (or 7.8%) of those sampled were not at home on the three occasions they were visited.

* Included nine who completed the questionnaire schedule by post.

Table A.1:   Sample Response Rates by New Town

New Town	Peterlee	Cramlington	Washington	Total
Number sampled	125	108	132	365
Completed	79	66	79	224
Not available*	24	14	19	57
Refused to help	17	22	20	59
Unable to locate	5	6	14	25
Response Rate (%)	64.7	61.1	59.8	61.3
Response Rate (%) (excl. Not Available)	78.2	70.2	69.9	72.7

* Of whom one was dead, one in Borstal, two errors on electoral
register, and 53 had left the town.

In Peterlee some 64.7% of the total sample were interviewed.
However, owing to the extensive rehousing policy which is being
undertaken by the Local Authority a substantial proportion of those
sampled could not be traced.   Given that Easington District Council,
which has taken over responsibility for Development Corporation Housing
is only rehousing those in council accommodation, the completed
interviews will be biased in favour of those young people living in
owner-occupied houses.

The Cramlington sample is particularly small, with only sixty-six
interviews having been achieved.   This represents a response rate of
only 61%, though this increases to 70% when those who were not available
for interview are excluded.

In Washington 79 young people were interviewed.   This represents a
response rate of 60% or 70% when those who were not available for
interview are excluded.   The response rate was particularly low in

Blackfell Village, where a substantial proportion of the population has been rehoused.

Section Four: Statistical Analysis

The resulting data obtained from the questionnaire study was punched onto punch-cards and prepared for computer analysis, the analysis being undertaken on Sunderland Polytechnic's Harris Pritchard S/125 Computer, using the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). The statistical tests which were undertaken were determined by the type of data being analysed.

Stevens (1944) has identified four variable types which are commonly used by social scientists, namely: the nominal, ordinal, interval, and ratio.   In nominal-level measurement each value represents a distinct category and the value is merely a label or name.   In ordinal-level measurement values are arranged in a rank order, such that if 'a' is greater than 'b' and 'b' is greater than 'c' then it follows that 'a' is greater than 'c', but ordinal-level measurements give no indication of the relative distances between the categories.   Interval-level measurements are an extension of ordinal-level variables except that the distances between categories are fixed and equal.   An example would be the Celsius temperature scale.   However, such scales are purely artificial constructions and although they make it possible to study differences they do not deal in proportionate magnitudes: thus it is incorrect to say that 20°C is twice as hot as 10°C.   Finally, ratio-level measurements make use of real numbers, and the distances between categories are fixed and proportionate.   Hence it is possible to say that a two-metre tall man is twice as tall as a one-metre tall boy (SPSS Manual, 1975: 4-5; Nachmias and Nachmias, 1976:54-8).

The importance of Stevens' classification is that the statistical
tests which it is permissible to use are determined by the variable
type used. Arranging Stevens' variables in order - nominal, ordinal,
interval, and ratio - it can be shown that a statistical test which
can be applied on a lower level variable can also be applied on a
higher level variable. Hence the mode and chi-square are the only
permitted statistical tests which can be performed upon nominal-level
variables, whilst any statistical test can be performed upon a ratio-
level variable.

Most variables which are commonly employed in questionnaire studies
are of an ordinal nature and this applies also to the questionnaire
used in this study. Unfortunately a very limited number of statisical
tests can normally be applied to ordinal-level variables, most notably
the median, gamma, and tau. However, given the more sophisticated
statistical tests which can be undertaken, many social scientists prefer
to use statistical tests which involve the calculation of the mean and
standard deviation (e.g. T-Tests and Factor Analysis), although -
strictly speaking - they are only permitted when the researcher is using
interval or ratio variables. Laboriz (1970) and Taylor (1983) have
undertaken a series of statistical tests on the validity of this approach
and concluded that it was generally acceptable, provided that the
ordinal variables used were not of a dichotomous or trichotomous nature.
In view of these findings, it was decided to utilize statistical tests
which involved the calculation of the mean and standard deviation when
dealing with ordinal-level variables in this study. It should be
stressed, however, that the results of these tests should be treated
with some caution.

Some idea as to the statistical tests and SPSS sub-programs which were
utilized in this study is given in Table A.2 overleaf.

Table A.2:   Statistical Tests and Sub-programs Utilized

Variable Type	S.P.S.S. Sub-Programs	Statistical Tests	Questionnaire Variables
Nominal	CROSSTABS FREQUENCIES	Mode, Chi-Square	Town, School, Political Knowledge Questions
Ordinal	CROSSTABS FREQUENCIES	Medium, Gamma, TAU Chi-Square	Examination results, Political Parties, Social Class, Status, Sex, All Binary Variables
Ordinal	CROSSTABS T-TEST PEARSONS CORR. FREQUENCIES BREAKDOWN	Mean and Standard Deviation	All attitude questions.
Interval	T-TEST BREAKDOWN PEARSONS CORR. FREQUENCIES	Mean and Standard Deviation	Likert attitude scales, composite examination scale.
Ratio	ALL SUB-PROGRAMS	All Statistics	Political knowledge scales

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APPENDIX B: SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table B.1: Traditional Subjects Undertaken at CSE & GCE 'O' Level

by 1983 School Leavers

	PETERLEE	CRAMLINGTON	WASHINGTON
English Language	482	335	881
English Literature	298	285	476
French	81	87	222
German	19	25	48
History	201	174	399
Religious Instruction	200	55	184
Geography	205	171	394
Mathematics	388	285	733
Additional Mathematics			16
Physcis	183	137	341
Chemistry	170	143	328
Biology	183	143	254
Science/General Science	19	4	158
Metalwork	73	35	62
Woodwork	68	62	100
G.E.D.	72	11	138
D.S. (Cookery)	119	74	300
D.S. (Needlework)	16	21	25
Art	103	75	290
Music	9	14	29
Latin	18		21
General Paper	14		

Source: Schools' Prospectuses.

Table B.2: <u>Social Skills Subjects Undertaken at CSE & GCE 'O'</u>

<u>Level by 1983 School Leavers</u>

	PETERLEE	CRAMLINGTON	WASHINGTON
French Studies			144
Local Studies			
Drama/Human Movement	24	27	73
Film Studies			64
European Studies			21
Child Development			99
Home Management	30		
English Language (oral)	247	213	232
German Studies			10
Design	26		81
Humanities	10		59
Sociology			5
Ceramics			7
Politics			
Geology	7		9
Arithmetic	81		8
Environmental Studies		24	
Social Studies	14	43	
Classical Studies			
Biological Science			
Rural Studies	40		
Human Biology	5		97

Source: Schools' Prospectuses.

Table B.3: Vocational Subjects Undertaken at CSE & GCE 'O' Level
by 1983 School Leavers

	PETERLEE	CRAMLINGTON	WASHINGTON
Commerce	45	106	42
Accounts	50		71
Typewriting	83	67	200
Shorthand			21
Office Practice			39
Electronics			14
Technology		35	64
Building Studies			12
Computer Studies	61	37	106
Economics	42		
Plastics		13	
Business Studies			
Applied Science			61

Source: Schools' Prospectuses.

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Table B.4: 'A' Level Subjects Undertaken by 1983 Sixth-Formers

Subject	PETERLEE	CRAMLINGTON	WASHINGTON
Art	10	1	27
Biology	18	10	32
Chemistry	8	6	33
Design	2		3
D.S. (Cokery)	3	1	6
Economics	18	11	15
English Literature	21	13	41
French	4	2	9
Geography	21	9	23
German	1	1	6
Politics/Government	9		1
History	22	9	16
Mathematics	15	13	49
Physics	7	14	35
Religious Studies	5	2	1
Geology	3		2
Latin	2		5
Music		2	1
G.E.D.		2	2
Electronics			3
Engineering Science			1
Further Maths			3
Sociology			14
D.S. (Needlework)			1

Source: Schools' Prospectuses.

Table B.5:   'A' Level Subjects Undertaken by Respondents

	A	B	C	D	E	'O'Pass	Failed	Being Studied	Total
Economics		1		2		1		2	6
Sociology					1			1	2
Law								1	1
Ceramics								2	2
Human Movement								1	1
Maths						3	1	10	14
Further Maths								1	1
Physics					1	3	1	8	13
Chemistry					2	2	1	3	8
Biology		1		2	1	2	3	2	11
Computer Studies				1					1
Geoology		1		1				1	3
Psychology								1	1
Cookery						1			1
Human Biology								1	1
English			1	3	1	2		9	16
French								3	3
German					1			1	2
Music					1			1	2
History			1	2	1		4	4	12
Geography				2	1		1		4
Religious Education								3	3
Art								6	6

Table B.6: <u>Numerical Values Assigned to CSE & GCE 'O' Level</u>

<u>Examination Passes</u>

Score	GCE 'O' Level Grade.	CSE Grade
9	A*	
8	B	
7	C	1
6		2
5	D	3
4	E	4
3		5
1	Fail	Uncertain

* RSA grades were counted as GCE 'O' level grade 'A' passes.

Table B.7: <u>Projected Numbers of 16-17 Year Olds in Each New Town</u>

	PETERLEE	CRAMLINGTON	WASHINGTON
1984	462	473	918
1985	420	493	929
1986	451	496	954
1987	489	559	1054
1988	437	542	1105
1989	378	554	1037
1990	375	544	984
1991	341	579	1083
1992	335	581	1043
1993	348	545	1065
1994	305	610	1056
1995	381	672	1156
1996	411	738	1183
1997	418	659	1143
Growth Rate	0%	2%	1.5%

Source: The 1981 Census.

Table B.8: Projected Numbers of 16-17 Year Olds Participating in Further Education in Each New Town

	PETERLEE	CRAMLINGTON	WASHINGTON
1984	111	161	303
1985	101	168	307
1986	108	169	315
1987	117	190	348
1988	105	184	365
1989	91	188	342
1990	90	185	325
1991	82	197	357
1992	80	198	344
1993	84	185	351
1994	73	207	348
1995	91	228	381
1996	99	251	390
1997	100	224	377
Growth Rate.	0%	2%	1.5%
A.P.R.*	0.24	0.34	0.33

*A.P.R. Age Participation Rate.

Source: The 1981 Census.

Table B.9: The Percentage Labour Party Vote in County Durham and the United Kingdom at General Elections from 1918 to 1983

Year	County Durham	Wansbeck/Blyth	United Kingdom
1918	41.7	43.1	24
1922	53.3	45.2	30
1923	60.7	56.8	31
1924	58.2	52.9	33
1929	59.2	54.5	37*
1931	48.5	41.8	32
1935	60.5	49.2	39
1945	67.9	60.0	48*
1950	69.2	74.6	46*
1951	69.5	73.7	49
1955	68.4	73.1	46
1959	68.0	74.6	44
1964	69.5	75.9	44*
1966	72.5	78.2	48*
1970	68.7	74.2	43
1974 (F) (Ind. Labour)	62.1	28.5 (39.0)	37*
1974 (Oct.) (Ind. Labour)	62.9	36.7 (36.6)	39*
1979 (Ind. Labour)	57.8	40.1 (28.8)	37
1983	47.6	39.5	28

* Denotes General Elections in which the Labour Party obtained a plurality of parliamentary seats.

Source: Craig (1975)

Table B.10: The Mean Labour Party Vote in the Parliamentary

Constituencies Containing the Three New Towns

New Town (Constituency)	Mean Vote	Minimum	Maximum
1. PETERLEE			
1918-45 (Seaham)	65.0*	43.7*	80.1
1950-70 (Easington)	80.3	79.1	81.4
1974-79 (Easington)	66.2	60.9	72.0
1983 (Easington)	58.4		
2. CRAMLINGTON			
1918-45 (Wansbeck)	51.3	41.8	60.0
1950-70 (Blyth)	74.2	68.9	78.2
1974-79 (Blyth)**	35.1 (69.9)	28.5 (67.5)	40.0 (73.3)
1983 (Blyth)	39.5		
3. WASHINGTON			
1918-45 (Chester-le-Street)	71.2	60.6	77.1
1950-70 (Chester-le-Street)	76.4	71.6	80.8
1974-79 (Chester-le-Street)	61.8	59.2	65.7
1983 (Houghton & Washington)	51.7		

* The Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald held Seaham in 1931 as a National Labour Party Candidate.

** Edward Milne held Blyth for seven months in 1974 as an Independent Labour M.P.. The combined Labour and Independent Labour vote is shown in brackets.

Source: Craig (1975); *The Times Guide to the House of Commons, 1979, 1983.*

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APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE

YOUNG PEOPLE   IN   THE   NORTH   EAST

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

PERSONAL BACKGROUND DATA

Please tick

1. If below 18 years of age have your parents/guardians agreed to you completing this form?   Yes ☐   No ☐

2. Surname: . . . .   Forenames: . . . .   Male ☐   Female ☐

3. Address: . . . .

	Day	Month	Year

4. Age: . . . .   5. Date of Birth:

6. Number of Brothers: . . .   7. Number of Sisters: . . . .

8. What is your Nationality? . . . .

9. Do you still live at home?   Yes ☐   No *(please state)* . . . .

10. Type of Accommodation:

    (i) Private Rented ☐   (ii) Council or Corporation ☐   (iii) Owner Occupier ☐

FAMILY BACKGROUND

1. How long has your family lived in this town: Years . . . .   Months. . . . . . .

2. Where did they come from: . . . .

3. For what reason did they come to the town?   Housing accommodation ☐   Transferred with firm ☐   Work reasons ☐   Other *(please specify)*

4. Father's occupation: . . . .   5. Mother's occupation: . . . .

6. Is your Father employed now?   7. Is your Mother employed now?

Father		Mother	
Employed	☐	Employed	☐
Retired	☐	Retired	☐
Unemployed	☐	Unemployed	☐
No Longer Alive	☐	No Longer Alive	☐
Don't Know	☐	Don't Know	☐

8. Have you any children?:   Yes ◯   No ◯   Age(s) ......   Sex(es) ......

9. Are you: Married ◯   Separated ◯

    Single ◯   Divorced ◯

10. Are you: Employed ◯   In full-time Education ◯

     Unemployed ◯   Part time Education ◯

     Government
     Scheme ◯

11. Full time earnings: £ . . . . . .   12.   Part-time earnings: £ . . . . . .

13. If unemployed, are you receiving: Unemployment Benefit ◯   Other allowances
                                                                  (Please specify)

     Sickness Benefit ◯

     Supplementary Benefit ◯   . . . .

                                . . . .

14. Approximate amount of Benefit: £ . . . .

SOCIAL LIFE

1. Do you spend most of your
    spare time at home or do
    you usually go out?   Mostly at home ◯   Half and half ◯

    Mostly out ◯

2. How many evenings a week
    do you go out for more
    than 2 hours?   . . . .

3. Who do you usually go out
    with?   With one boy ◯   Alone ◯

    With a group of
    boys ◯   With one girl ◯

    With a group of
    boys and girls ◯   With a group of
                       girls ◯

                       With adults ◯

4. Do you enjoy listening to
    'pop' music?   Yes, very much ◯   No, not very much ◯

    Yes, quite a bit ◯   No, I hate it ◯

    Not particularly ◯

5. Do you belong to any clubs
    or societies.   Youth Club ◯   Scouts/Guides ◯
    (Please tick the relevant boxes)   Sports Club ◯   Disco/Dance Club ◯

    Church Group ◯   Political Party ◯

    Others *Please specify*

    . . . .

    . . . .

    . . . .

EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

1.   Secondary School attended: . . . .

2.   Examination results:

(insert grades)

SUBJECT	C.S.E.	G.C.E.'O'	G.C.E.'A'	OTHER

3.   If you are still at school
      what subjects are you studying
      and at what levels?:

SUBJECT	C.S.E.	G.C.E.'O'	G.C.E.'A'	OTHER

4.   Further Education experience
      after 16:

              Yes ⬭   No ⬭

5.   Type of Institution:

              School   ⬭
              6th Form College   ⬭
              F.E. College   ⬭
              University   ⬭

6.   Length of course . . . .   7.   Kind of course . . . .

8.   To what qualifications does it lead?: . . . .

TRAINING

1. Apprenticeship: Yes ◯   No ◯   2. Kind of Apprenticeship:

. . . .

3. Kind of Employment: Private Company   ◯

                            Local Government   ◯

                            National Government   ◯

                            Nationalised   ◯

                            Other (please specify)   . . . .

4. Have you been involved in
   any Government employment
   scheme?   Work Experience   ◯   Community Industry   ◯

                        Springboard   ◯   Other (please specify)

                                                      . . . .

5. When: Date: . . . .   6. For how long? . . . .

7. Would you be interested in any
   opportunity for further training?   Yes ◯   No ◯

8. On what basis?   Full Time ◯   Day Release ◯   Short Course ◯

Please circle relevant number

		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Not Satisfied	Very Satisfied
9.	How satisfied are you with the present training opportunities in your town?	1	2	3	4
10.	How satisfied are you with Careers Advice at school?	1	2	3	4
11.	How satisfied are you with advice from the Careers Office?	1	2	3	4

SATISFACTION WITH YOUR TOWN AS A PLACE TO LIVE

Please circle the relevant number.

		Very satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Not satisfied	Very dissatisfied
1.	With town over all	1	2	3	4	5
2.	With shops in town over all . .	1	2	3	4	5
3.	With bus service	1	2	3	4	5
4.	With distance to travel to work	1	2	3	4	5
5.	With cost of travelling to work	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Are you satisfied with your job	1	2	3	4	5
7.	With sports facilities	1	2	3	4	5
8.	With public houses	1	2	3	4	5
9.	With public library	1	2	3	4	5
10.	With pre-school facilities . . .	1	2	3	4	5
11.	With health facilities	1	2	3	4	5
12.	With entertainment facilities. .	1	2	3	4	5
13.	With housing in town	1	2	3	4	5
14.	With price of housing	1	2	3	4	5
15.	With rents of housing	1	2	3	4	5
16.	With choice of food in shops . .	1	2	3	4	5
17.	With cost of food in shops . . .	1	2	3	4	5
18.	With choice of clothing in shops	1	2	3	4	5
19.	With cost of clothing in shops	1	2	3	4	5
20.	Length of time to get to work	1	2	3	4	5
21.	Housing office	1	2	3	4	5
22.	Job Centre	1	2	3	4	5
23.	Frequency of bus service	1	2	3	4	5
24.	Social Security office	1	2	3	4	5
25.	With careers advice in school. .	1	2	3	4	5
26.	With careers advice at office. .	1	2	3	4	5
27.	With help in finding courses . .	1	2	3	4	5
28.	With help in finding jobs . . .	1	2	3	4	5

FUTURE INTENTIONS

1. Do you intend to remain in the Town?   Yes ◯ No ◯   2. If leaving, when? . . . .

3. Do you intend to emigrate?   Yes ◯ No ◯   4. Where to? . . . .

5. What is the best age for a young person to get married?:   Age: . . . .

6. What is the best age for a young person to have children?:   Age: . . . .

7. How long do you intend to stay in your present job?: . . . .

8. How would you assess your town as a place for young people to live and grow up in?:

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

. . . .

POLITICS

1. Are you interested in Politics?   Very interested   ◯   Not at all   ◯
                                                                interested
                                        Fairly interested   ◯
                                                                Don't know   ◯
                                        Not very interested   ◯

2. Listed here are the main
    political parties in Britain
    today, please list them in
    the order which you prefer
    (1, 2, 3, 4, etc.)   Labour   ◯   Social Democrat   ◯

                                    Liberal   ◯   Other (please specify)

                                    Conservative   ◯   . . . .

3. Regarding the party, if any,
    of your first choice how strongly
    do you support it?   Very strongly   ◯   Not strongly   ◯

                          Strongly   ◯   Don't know   ◯

4. What are your reasons for supporting your first choice party: . . . .

    . . . .

VALUES AND BELIEFS

1. How, if at all, would you
    define your Social Class?   Upper class   ◯   Working class   ◯

                                 Middle class   ◯   No class   ◯

                                                      Don't know   ◯

2. Do you think that Social
    Class is important in
    Britain today?   Yes   ◯   No   ◯   Don't know   ◯

3. Into which religion, if any,
    were you christened,
    baptised or initiated?   None   ◯   Roman Catholic   ◯

                              Church of England   ◯   Other (please specify)

                                                            . . . .

4. Would you define yourself as
    a religious person?   Very strongly   ◯   Don't know   ◯
                           religious   (Agnostic)

                           Strongly religious   ◯   Non-religious   ◯
                                                        (Atheist)
                           Religious   ◯

5. How often do you attend
    a religious service?   Weekly or more   ◯   Occasionally   ◯
                            often

                            About once a   ◯   Rarely or   ◯
                            month   Never

ISSUES

12. Listed below are a number of Matters of Concern to people in Britain today.
    Please list the FIVE most important of these statements in order of preference.

    e.g.   Pensions   1
              Taxation   2
              etc.

    Law and Order   Defence and Nuclear Weapons

    The Health Service   Decline in Moral Standards

    Unemployment   The Falklands

    Inflation and Rising Prices   Housing and Accommodation

    Taxation   Lack of Social Amenities

    Training Opportunities   Trade Union Powers

    Education   Immigration and Race Relations

13. Are there any other matters of concern which you feel strongly about?

    If so, please list them below . . . .

    . . . .

    . . . .

POLITICAL VIEWS

Please indicate by circling appropriate
number on the right the extent to which
you agree or disagree with each of the
following:

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1.	Giving aid to the poorer nations	1	2	3	4	5
2.	The Sunday opening of shops	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Working mothers	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Sending coloured people home	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Banning nuclear weapons from Britain .	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Government interference in industry should be reduced	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Abortions should be freely available to all women	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Trade Unions have too much power . . .	1	2	3	4	5
9.	Equal job opportunities for coloured people	1	2	3	4	5
10.	Voluntary euthanasia (mercy killing) .	1	2	3	4	5
11.	Equal job opportunities for women and men	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Greater taxation of the rich and wealthy	1	2	3	4	5
13.	Using force to recapture the Falkland Islands	1	2	3	4	5
14.	Sex outside of marriage is wrong . . .	1	2	3	4	5
15.	The death penalty	1	2	3	4	5
16.	Reduced spending on Social Security .	1	2	3	4	5
17.	Vandals and hooligans should be dealth with more severely	1	2	3	4	5
18.	Siting cruise missiles in Britain . .	1	2	3	4	5
19.	Marriage is out of date	1	2	3	4	5
20.	High salaries for managers and businessmen	1	2	3	4	5

POLITICAL VIEWS (continued)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
21. Legalization of soft drugs. . .	1	2	3	4	5
22. Compulsory teaching of religion in schools	1	2	3	4	5
23. Women are discriminated against by many employers	1	2	3	4	5
24. Coloured people have a rotten deal when it comes to finding jobs	1	2	3	4	5
25. Young people find it far more difficult than do older people in finding the right kind of work.	1	2	3	4	5
26. The government has a major influence on my life	1	2	3	4	5
27. Politicians don't understand young people	1	2	3	4	5
28. Young people such as yourself have little influence over our leaders	1	2	3	4	5
29. In Britain politicians pay a lot more attention to what the people think	1	2	3	4	5
30. Britain has the best system of government in the world . .	1	2	3	4	5
31. Politicians and public officials don't care much about how people like me think	1	2	3	4	5
32. The government doesn't really affect me much	1	2	3	4	5
33. It makes no difference to me which political party is in power	1	2	3	4	5
34. It is a waste of time voting in government elections	1	2	3	4	5
35. Prosperity is just round the corner	1	2	3	4	5
36. Another world war is likely to occur within the next 40-50 years	1	2	3	4	5
37. Governments usually do more harm than good	1	2	3	4	5
38. Political parties do more harm than good	1	2	3	4	5
39. Often I can't understand what goes on in the government . . .	1	2	3	4	5

NATIONAL VIEWS

Please indicate the extent to which you like or dislike each of the following. Please circle (e.g. 4) the appropriate number on the right.

	Strongly Like	Like	Neutral	Dislike	Strongly Dislike
1. Britain's Countryside	1	2	3	4	5
2. Our system of democracy	1	2	3	4	5
3. Our Army and Navy	1	2	3	4	5
4. British enterprise and industry	1	2	3	4	5
5. British scientific achievements	1	2	3	4	5
6. Our system of Justice	1	2	3	4	5
7. The class structure	1	2	3	4	5

The pictures below are of well-known politicians. Please write the names under the
picture of those you recognise.

C.SMITH   A.BENN   S.WILLIAMS   R.JENKINS   N.KINNOCK   W.WHITELAW   M.FOOT   D.STEEL   E.HEATH.   M.THATCHER.

NATIONAL VIEWS (continued)

		Strongly Like	Like	Neutral	Dislike	Strongly Dislike
8.	British films, music, radio etc.	1	2	3	4	5
9.	The Royal Family	1	2	3	4	5
10.	Police attitudes towards young people	1	2	3	4	5
11.	Police attitudes towards coloured people	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Britain's castles and country estates	1	2	3	4	5

---

1. Who is your local M.P? . . . .

2. Who is the leader of the opposition? . . . .

3. Which Political Party do you associate with each of the following?

		Labour	Conservative	Liberal/ S.D.P.	None of these	Don't Know
a)	Is to the left	1	2	3	4	5
b)	Is supported by big business · · ·	1	2	3	4	5
c)	Is to the right	1	2	3	4	5
d)	Is supported by trade unions . . .	1	2	3	4	5
e)	Is in the centre	1	2	3	4	5
f)	Won the Darlington by-election . .	1	2	3	4	5
g)	Is currently in Government	1	2	3	4	5
h)	Is the main opposition party . . .	1	2	3	4	5
i)	Is led by the Queen	1	2	3	4	5
j)	Currently controls your District Council	1	2	3	4	5
k)	Currently controls your County Council	1	2	3	4	5
l)	Are the Alliance Parties	1	2	3	4	5

4. Which political party do you associate with:

   a) Your Father

   Labour ◯   Don't Know ◯

   Liberal/ ◯   Other ◯
   SDP

   Conservative ◯

   b) Your Mother

   Labour ◯   Don't Know ◯

   Liberal/ ◯   Other ◯
   SDP

   Conservative ◯

A. Are there any further comments you would like to make about the questionnaire?

   . . . .

   . . . .

   . . . .

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP AND CO-OPERATION.