

ADOLESCENT BOYS
OF EAST LONDON

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LONDON

ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL

APPENDIX 3

DIARY INSTRUCTIONS AND SAMPLE DIARY

The boys in the general sample were asked whether they would be willing, if asked, (a) to keep a week's diary, (b) to come to the Institute of Community Studies for further interviewing. Three-quarters said 'Yes' to each question and all but a handful of these said 'Yes' to both. We grouped the boys who were willing to do a diary into one-year age-groups and then selected seven at random from each group. Of the forty-two picked in this way, thirty finally did write diaries for the same week in July 1964. Later, to get more diaries from boys still at school, we selected another six boys and asked them to do a week's diary for us in October 1964: five agreed.

The rest of this Appendix reproduces the instructions that were given to the diarists and a sample diary.

NOTES ON KEEPING DIARIES

You will remember that you were interviewed recently in the survey we are doing about growing up in Bethnal Green. We are now going to try to get diaries to fill out the information we got from the interviews. The idea is for people to write detailed diaries of next week - that is starting on Sunday, 12 July and going on to Saturday, 18 July. We have picked some of the people interviewed, and you are one of them - we hope that you will be willing to do one of these diaries for us.

How to fill in the diary

Enclosed are a number of sheets of ruled paper. We would like you, at the end of each day, to write up that day's diary on these

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sheets. You should start on Sunday, putting 'Sunday' at the top; then you should put the time you got up, on the left-hand side, and go on through the day, putting the time at the side and what you did opposite it. The beginning would look like this:

Sunday

9.00 a.m. Got up and went downstairs to breakfast. Read the *News of the World* and had an argument with my sister about the picture - 'Girl with Green Eyes' - that was on at the Ritz last week.

9.40 a.m. Went round to call on Fred, my mate who lives round the corner . . .

And so on. You should go right through the day like this, ending up with the time you went to bed. Then the next day (Monday) would start at the time you got up and go right through the day. And so on throughout the week.

What we want to know

The main thing is to put in plenty of detail. We want to know what you do in as much detail as possible. We would particularly like to know about what you do at work - who you see and who you talk to as well as the actual work. And about the evenings and week-ends. Please say where you went, who with, what you did, how long you stayed in each place. Mention any contacts with girls and say something about them. If you go out with a crowd, tell us something about them - their ages, whether they are all boys or mixed, where they live and so on. We specially want something about your friends and when you see them, so please put in names (or initials) so we can see if you are spending a lot of time with the same people. *Remember that all the information will be treated as confidential; it will only be seen by us at the office and we shall only use it for the book. Your name will not be published, and nor will anyone else's name or anything else that would give away who you or they are.* We shall be quoting some extracts from the diaries in the book, but with names and other details changed. This means that you needn't worry about putting down the actual name of your

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friend, but if you would prefer to do so you can just put an initial instead.

Payment

We shall pay a fee of £2 after we get the completed diary, which should be posted to us on 20 July. Use the large enclosed envelope to post the diary to us – or bring it round, if you would prefer to. Don't bother to return unused sheets of paper. Will you please show on the enclosed sheet, posted in the small stamped envelope addressed to us, first whether you are going to do a diary at all, and secondly how you would like to be paid – by postal order through the post, or in cash by one of us calling at your home or by calling here. We would like you to post this off straight away, so that we shall know, before next week begins, how many are taking part.

Thank you for your help.

Peter Willmott

SAMPLE DIARY

Diary of 'Arthur Rose', aged 15
(Names and other details have been altered)

Sunday

I am staying at a caravan which is owned by my mate's parents.

6.50 a.m. Sunday morning, am awakened by the noise of a kettle boiling. It was Frank's (my mate's) dad making an early morning cup of tea. After having a cup of tea I went back to sleep again.

9.00 a.m. I was awoken with another cup of tea.

9.15 a.m. I decided to get up, washed and dressed.

9.30 a.m. Breakfast was on the table which consisted of egg, bacon, and tomatoes, bread and butter and another cup of tea. After breakfast went out to have a look at some people fishing in a nearby lake.

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10.00 a.m. Went with Frank to one of his mate's chalet to see if he was going swimming with four girls we met on Saturday night.

10.15 a.m. Met the girls at their caravan, got changed for swimming in the river.

3.00 p.m. We went back to the van for dinner. After dinner sat outside the van and went to sleep.

4.00 p.m. I was awakened by Frank's dad who was saying that another friend had broken a record by fishing a 4 lb. 4 oz. bream from the river; he had beaten the record by 2 ozs.

4.30 p.m. I suggested that we go and say Goodbye to the girls. When we arrived at their van the girls asked us to go for a walk; anyway two said that they were too tired. Jill, that is the name of the girl that I was with, said, 'Let's have a game of cards', which we did.

6.00 p.m. I said Goodbye to Jill but before I left I got her home address so I am able to write to her during the week.

7.30 p.m. We left the van at about 7.30 p.m. in my mate's dad's car. We arrived home at about 8.30 p.m. Had tea round Frank's house, then left for home, arrived home at 9.00 p.m. Sat writing diary, then went to bed at 11.45 p.m.

Monday

6.30 a.m. Was woken by Mum, got up and had a cup of tea, then got dressed.

7.00 a.m. Left home to go to work. Got on the bus with Frank at 7.15 a.m. (Frank is one of my mates at work).

7.25 a.m. Arrived in work, clocked myself in. Then I went round the café for a cup of tea.

7.30 a.m. Started work. I had to do drilling, and bolting trusses together (trusses are beams which go on roofs which help to support them).

10.30 a.m. Had just finished my tea break. (I had cheese rolls, and a cup of tea.) I then started work on some more trusses.

12.30 p.m. I washed my hands. I then went round to the café for

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my dinner. I had liver and two vegetables. After I had my dinner I went to the park at the back of the firm. I met some girls I know who work near where I work. We talked as we sat on the grass.

12.55 p.m. I said Goodbye to the girls and I went to work.

1.00 p.m. Started work on painting the trusses.

3.00 p.m. Had tea and started work.

5.00 p.m. Stopped for another cup of tea; started work at 5.15 p.m.

7.30 p.m. Finished work and went home with Frank.

8.00 p.m. Had to wait ages for a bus, but when I got in I had a wash, then had my tea.

8.30 p.m. After tea I got dressed, had a shave. I then went out. I went up the local youth club.

9.00 p.m. I done some modern dancing up the club.

9.15 p.m. My mate Jimmy came up the club.

10.30 p.m. When it was time to go home I was just going to say Goodbye to some girls I knew when a bottle came through the window. When we looked out we saw about 30 boys from another club hanging around outside the club. Then me and my mates went out to sort out the boys; there were about 30 of us. There wasn't a fight because when the boys saw all of us they ran. We stood and talked for awhile. I then decided to go home. When I got in I had a cup of tea and then went to bed about 11.30 p.m.

Tuesday

6.30 a.m. Got up, had a wash, got dressed, had my breakfast and went to work. I did the same as yesterday morning. In the afternoon I helped my mate Albert to make a Bar B.Q. spit for one of the governors. We got all the metal cut out and marked up.

7.30 p.m. I clocked out and got a bus home.

8.00 p.m. When I got in tea was ready; I had egg salad.

8.45 p.m. I decided to get washed and dressed and go swimming at the York Hall baths. As I got round the corner I saw a bus at

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the lights; I ran to the bus stop and caught the bus; when I got on it I saw Jimmy, my mate. We arrived ten minutes late, but we got in. When we got changed we did some diving on the diving-board. The time seemed to fly past. Then we went back to the club and had a drink of Pepsi and a game of darts.

10.30 p.m. We left the club and walked down the road to the bus stop where we talked until a bus came along. My mate Jimmy caught the bus, so I walked to the fish shop and bought some fish and chips. When I got home I made a cup of tea and went to bed about 11.30 p.m.

Wednesday

6.30 a.m. I was wakened by Mum with a cup of tea and some biscuits.

7.10 a.m. Was washed and dressed and had my breakfast.

7.15 a.m. Caught the bus with Frank.

7.25 a.m. Got in work. Started at 8.00, was finishing the governor's Bar B.Q. spit about 2.00 p.m. Then I started on another job; I had to cut up 120 pieces of 1" by $\frac{3}{8}$ " flat. I finished that about 6.00 p.m.

6.00 p.m. My mate wanted me to help him make a saucepan rack for his caravan, so I did. We finished at 7.15. I then sat down for 15 minutes.

7.30 p.m. I clocked out and went home.

8.00 p.m. I did not fancy any tea so I got washed and changed.

9.00 p.m. I decided to have a night in and so I just watched television. Then I had a cup of tea and a cheese sandwich and went to bed about 11 p.m.

Thursday

6.30 a.m. Was woken up by Mum with a cup of tea. After I had my tea I got up and got dressed and washed. I had egg and bacon for breakfast.

7.17 a.m. I was a bit late and had missed my usual bus, but a

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few minutes later another bus came along. I supposed Frank had caught the 7.15 bus.

7.29 a.m. Arrived in work just in time to clock in at 7.30.

7.30 a.m. I was not working with Albert. I was working with Gerry. We were making a balustrade. I had to cut up the bars.

10.17 a.m. Had tea break as usual.

10.30 a.m. Started work again.

12.30 p.m. Stopped for dinner, went to the café. After I had dinner I went to the park; sat in the park until 12.58. Gerry had the afternoon off because he had to go to the hospital about his eyes, because he kept getting headaches.

1.00 p.m. Started work.

1.30 p.m. I finished cutting up the bars then I drilled them with a $\frac{2}{32}$ " drill.

3.00 p.m. Had another cup of tea.

3.12 p.m. Started work again.

3.30 p.m. Had finished drilling, started on tapping with a $\frac{1}{4}$ " tap.

7.30 p.m. Finished work and went home with Frank on the bus.

8.00 p.m. Got home, had fish and chips for tea. I decided to get washed and dressed and go to the 'Beat Club'.

9.00 p.m. Arrived at the club. When I got in the club I saw a lot of my mates, so I went with them. We talked about the group. They said it was the worst group they had up there for a long time. I agreed with them.

9.45 p.m. One of my mates, Roger, said, 'let's go over the fair', so we went over the fair. When we got over there we saw some more of our mates and they tagged along with us. We stood on the side of the whip and listened to the records.

10.45 p.m. We all decided to go home.

11.00 p.m. Got in and had a cup of tea, then I went to bed at 11.45.

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Friday

6.30 a.m. Got up, got washed, dressed and had a cup of tea. Then I had my breakfast.

7.00 a.m. Left home to go to work. I had to go to a firm up in the City to work on a job. When I got to the place where I was to work, I saw Albert my mate.

8.00 a.m. Bill Burgess and Fred Worth arrived; they are fitters from our firm. Started work on maintaining a rolling machine.

11.15 a.m. Went to have our tea break in the café down the road.

1.00 p.m. Went to have dinner.

4.15 p.m. Had my tea break.

6.30 p.m. Packed up and went home; Bill gave me a lift home.

7.00 p.m. Had my tea, got washed and dressed and went up the club.

7.45 p.m. When I got up the club I went in the hall. I saw some of my mates; they were playing darts. After they had finished their game of darts we went and sat down and talked. One of the blokes on the staff was sitting with me and someone said something about boats, and the bloke on the staff started telling us how much it cost to insure a liner, and all about the *Queen Mary*. All her war record and how she was changed into a liner.

9.45 p.m. Frank arrived late, he had been to an A.E.U. meeting. I bought him a solo drink. Then we went into the dance hall to watch the girls dancing.

10.30 p.m. Left the club and made our way home.

10.45 p.m. When I got in had a cup of tea and went to bed at
11.30 p.m.

Saturday

6.30 a.m. Got up, got dressed and washed in some good clothes, put my old jeans in a bag, as well as my boots and shirt.

6.45 a.m. Had my breakfast, then I sat in the armchair and read a book.

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7.30 a.m. Left home to go to work. I am going on my holidays next week and I want the money.

8.00 a.m. Got in work, started work about 8.15. Starting making a bracket for a pipe which sprays water over the copper after it is treated with acid.

10.30 a.m. Had our usual tea break. Started work at 11.00.

6.30 p.m. Got home. When I asked Mum when tea would be ready, she said 'about 7.30'. So I said 'I won't be long. I am just going to pick up my coat from the menders' (as I have had my collar of my coat altered).

7.15 p.m. Got in and Mum was just cooking tea. After I had my tea I got washed and I went over the fair.

7.45 p.m. I met my mates and we walked round the fair. We went on a couple of things.

8.30 p.m. One of my mates Dave said 'let's all go up the "Beat Club".' When we got there we found that some girls we knew were there and we danced with them. The two groups were really good.

10.30 p.m. The club closed and me and my mates made our way home. We got outside the cinema. There we stopped and talked until 11.00. I then walked home as the buses had stopped running.

APPENDIX 4

CLASSIFYING BOYS INTO 'TYPES'

As Chapter IX explains, this analysis was done in two stages. In the first, a rather arbitrary method was used to assign each of the 246 boys in the sample to one of three categories. The second analysis, using a computer, had for technical reasons to be confined to the 177 boys at work;¹ its purpose was to provide a more systematic check on the grouping produced by the first method. The two stages are described in turn.

First analysis

After some preliminary analyses, 21 items were selected as indices. They are listed on pp. 212-3, together with the answers that we regarded as appropriate to each 'type'. The items included two questions which had been asked as an indication of what is thought to be a crucial difference between working and middle-class attitudes – the extent to which people are prepared to 'defer gratification' on the one hand or prefer to live for the present on the other. One question asked what the boys would do if they won some money, the expectation being that the 'middle-class' boys would be more likely than the others to say they would save. The second question posed two alternative 'views of life' to the boys and asked them which they favoured; one emphasized the importance of enjoying oneself in youth, the other the need to work hard. The expectation was that 'working-class' boys, and even more 'rebels', would be disposed to opt for the first statement, 'middle-class' boys for the second. As will be apparent from

¹ This analysis, like the 'correlation matrix' referred to in Chapters V, VI and VIII, had to be restricted to the boys at work because both analyses depended on having standardized information for each boy. Since the battery of information about work was not available for the sixty-nine still at school, we could include these boys only by dropping the data on work or by giving some sort of notional scores to them on these questions. We decided that it was better to confine the analyses to the majority at work than to adopt either of these unsatisfactory alternatives.

Classifying Boys into 'Types'

these examples and from the list of the responses by which boys were classified, on some questions we postulated that 'working-class' boys and 'rebels' would be alike, 'middle-class' boys different; these were the questions that particularly emphasized differences in social class behaviour or values. But on other questions we expected the 'working-class' and 'middle-class' boys to be like each other and unlike the 'rebels'; these were questions which emphasized the extent of rejection or rebellion.

First Analysis - Indices Used

Responses according to which boys were classified into different 'types'

| <i>Item</i> | <i>'Middle-class'</i> | <i>'Working-class'</i> | <i>'Rebel'</i> |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Opinion of lessons | 'Very' or 'quite' useful | 'Very' or 'quite' useful | 'Not much use', 'no use at all' or 'don't know' |
| 2. Opinion of teacher | Like 'all', 'most' or 'about half' | Like 'all', 'most' or 'about half' | Like 'few', 'none' or 'don't know' |
| 3. Opinion of reasonableness of rules | 'All', 'most' or 'about half' | 'All', 'most' or 'about half' | 'Few', 'none' or 'don't know' |
| 4. Occupational class | Non-manual | Skilled manual | Semi-skilled or unskilled |
| 5. Job satisfaction (general) | Satisfied | Satisfied | Dissatisfied or 'mixed' |
| 6. Job satisfaction (prospects) | Satisfied | Satisfied | Dissatisfied or 'mixed' |
| 7. Job prospects | Non-manual | Manual | Few |
| 8. Number of jobs | 1-4 | 1-4 | 5 or more |
| 9. In Bethnal Green evenings | 'Right outside it' | 'In and around it' or 'about half and half' | 'In and around it' or 'about half and half' |
| 10. In Bethnal Green weekends | 'Right outside it' | 'In and around it' or 'about half and half' | 'In and around it' or 'about half and half' |
| 11. Last visit to West End | Last 24 hours | Not in last 24 hours | Not in last 24 hours |
| 12. Local friend | Lives outside Bethnal Green | Lives inside Bethnal Green | Lives inside Bethnal Green |
| 13. Age expects to marry | 'Expect to marry after 24' | 'Expect to marry by 24' or already married | 'Don't expect to marry' or 'don't know' |
| 14. 'View of life' | 'Work hard' | 'Enjoy life' or 'mixed' | 'Enjoy life' |

Classifying Boys into 'Types'

| <i>Item</i> | <i>'Middle-class'</i> | <i>'Working-class'</i> | <i>'Rebel'</i> |
|----------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| 15. Father understands | 'Very well', 'fairly well' or 'quite well' | 'Very well', 'fairly well' or 'quite well' | 'Not too well' or 'not much at all' |
| 16. Mother understands | 'Very well', 'fairly well' or 'quite well' | 'Very well', 'fairly well' or 'quite well' | 'Not too well' or 'not much at all' |
| 17. 'Spend or save' £50 | Save 'half', 'all' or 'most' | Spend 'all' or 'most' | Spend 'all' or 'most' |
| 18. Job aspirations | 'Expect non-manual, choose non-manual' or 'expect manual, choose non-manual' | 'Expect manual, choose manual' or 'expect non-manual, choose manual' | Other answer |
| 19. Chance to 'enjoy life' | 'Yes' | 'Yes' | 'No', 'don't know' or 'mixed' |
| 20. Chance to 'get on' | 'Yes' | 'Yes' | 'No', 'don't know' or 'mixed' |
| 21. 'Mods and rockers' | Condemnation of fighting or 'It's exaggerated' | Condemnation of fighting or 'It's exaggerated' | Approval, acceptance or other answer |

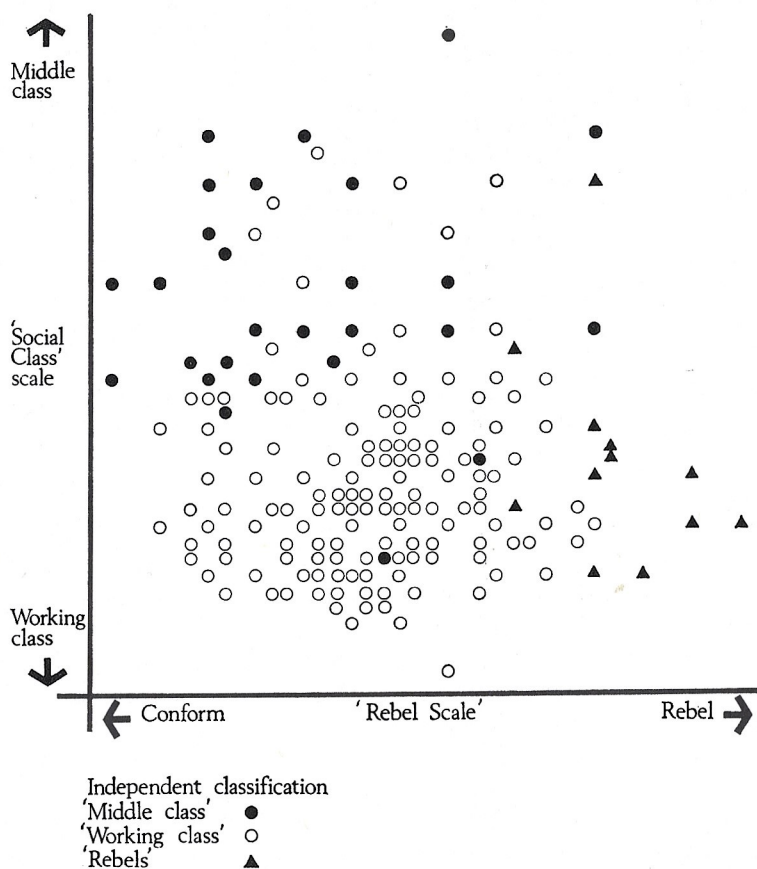
Each boy's set of answers was considered in turn. He was given a score of one point in the appropriate column each time his answer matched that indicated. For instance, a boy who had said, on the first item, that he thought 'most' of the lessons 'useful', would receive one point on the 'middle-class' scale and one point on the 'working-class'. If a particular item did not apply - items 4 to 8, for instance, did not apply to boys at school, nor 15 to a boy whose father had died - no score was recorded on that item.

At the end we added up the scores. If a boy had a score two or more points higher on one 'type' than either of the others, he was classified accordingly. If the scores were the same on two 'types', or if there was a difference of only one point, we looked at the interview schedule in detail and made our own subjective assessment of the appropriate category. Twenty-one boys had equal scores in different 'types', and another thirty-five a difference of only one; seventeen of the latter were, after examination, assigned to a different 'type' from that on which they had scored most. In making our decision, we were particularly influenced by a boy's job and by his career aspirations.

The main disadvantages of this method were first, it was based

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DIAGRAM 'Rebelliousness' and 'Social Class' Scores showing types as independently assigned (177 boys at work)



on crude measurement, one that gave equal weight to each item on the scale; and secondly, it involved subjective and often somewhat arbitrary decisions over the boys who had borderline scores. Hence our attempt at a statistical check.

Second analysis

The second method used what is known as 'component analysis'. It set out to determine statistically a score for each boy on two

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scales – one of 'social class' and the other of 'rebelliousness'. With each scale, statistical analysis was used to find the weighted combination of the answers to the relevant questions which would account for most of the variability, and then produce a score for each boy. A wider range of information was drawn upon for this analysis than the first – there were sixteen items in the 'social class' scale and twenty-one in the 'rebelliousness' scale (four items were included in both scales). These are listed on p. 216. Using these items, scores on both scales were calculated for each of the 177 boys at work. The results are plotted on a graph (see p. 214), which also indicates the category to which each boy had been assigned by using the first method. The diagram shows that our 'rebels' had a higher 'rebelliousness' score than the others, and that most 'middle-class' boys had a higher 'class' score. The two analyses produced a few striking variations; the explanation for these is two-fold – the computer analysis drew upon more items and, instead of simply giving a score of one point for each item, it calculated weighted scores based upon the items which accounted for most of the variability. Despite the differences, there was a broad correspondence in the results. The diagram shows three fairly distinct clusters – in our terminology, 'middle-class', around the top left-hand sector of the graph; 'working-class' around the bottom left-hand; and 'rebel' around the bottom right-hand. The top right-hand sector is almost empty, indicating that few boys are both 'rebels' and 'middle-class' in outlook.

How many of each type?

The first analysis allocated each boy to one of the three categories, but the method left much to be desired. The second analysis provided a check, at least for the 177 boys at work, but could not indicate how to assign boys to categories. The main impression from the second analysis was that the proportions of 'middle-class' boys and 'rebels' might reasonably be regarded as somewhat larger than the first analysis had suggested. In the light of both analyses, our view was that the proportions were roughly as follows:

'Working-class' – about two-thirds or three-quarters.

'Middle-class' – about a fifth, possibly less.

'Rebels' – a tenth or less.

Classifying Boys into 'Types'

Second Analysis - Items used to Produce Weighted Scores

'Social class scale'

Type of school
Examinations
Age left school
Works East End
Works West End
Occupational class
Apprentice
Father's occupational class
In Bethnal Green in evenings
In Bethnal Green at week-ends
Last visit to West End
Friend lives outside East End
Friend met locally
Expects to marry late
'View of life' ('Work hard'
or 'enjoy life')
'Save' or 'spend' £50

'Rebelliousness scale'

Occupational class
Apprentice
Number of jobs
Evening classes attended
Size of group
What group does
Opinion of lessons
Opinion of teachers
Opinion of school rules
Satisfaction job, generally
Satisfaction job, prospects
Expects to marry
'View of life' ('Work hard'
or 'enjoy life')
Father understands
Mother understands
'Save' or 'spend' £50
Job aspirations
Chance to 'enjoy life'
Chance to 'get on'
Mods and Rockers