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HAPPINESS AND UNHAPPINESS IN THE CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE OF A GROUP OF WOMEN STUDENTS.

W.D. Wall:

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I. - INTRODUCTORY.

From Hall¹ onwards, many writers have spoken of adolescence as a period of storm and stress and, although more or less adequate justice has been done to the heightened responsiveness to joyous stimuli shewn by many in the 'teens, the tacit assumption is apparent in the writings of many authorities that adolescence is a period of emotional difficulty and unhappiness. Hollingworth² emphasises the other view when she writes that for the most part adolescents may be seen going about their business like ordinary folk. So too Benedict and Mead suggest that the emotional tensions of the period are the product not so much of causes arising from within as of the environmental circumstances in which the developing child finds itself.³

Much of the data which we have of a qualitative sort consists in case studies of boys and girls who are abnormal in some way - delinquent, neurotic, or specially gifted verbally. There are a number of American studies based upon comparatively large samples of representative groups⁴ but the social, economic and educational differences are such that these are no more than suggestive for English youth. Material derived from English student groups by means of questionnaires has been published by

- 1. Adolescence. Vols. I. & II. - passim. (New York 1916)
- 2. The Psychology of the Adolescent. p. (London).
- 3. Benedict "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning." Psychiatry Vol. I. May '38.
Mead "Coming of Age in Samoa" (New York 1938) esp. p. 5, 40,
"Growing up in New Guinea" (Penguin) p.111 pp. 197-206.
- 4. for example, those summarized by Hollingworth (op.cit.), Arlitt.
(Adolescent Psychology, Allen & Unwin, 1937) or by Cole (Psychology of Adolescence, Allen & Unwin 1936).

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Valentine,¹ and by Wheeler² who also included in her survey the reminiscences of adolescence of adult workers attending W.E.A. classes. The present writer has elsewhere published a similar study of young adolescent workers.³ Special topics have been dealt with by Phillips⁴ and Vernon.⁵ So far as the writer is aware, no study of the present kind has been published in England.

The present investigation is an attempt to gain a broad view - as adolescents themselves see it - of the change in the impact of the psychological environment which takes place between late childhood and the early 'teens and to assess something of the direction and degree of its effects. In such a study, idiosyncrasies of temperament and peculiarities of experience are likely to be of such importance that a questionnaire, even consisting of a large number of more or less controlled response questions scarcely seems the best method of approach. The personal interview has the disadvantage of being cumbersome and prohibitive where a large sample is required and the resistances aroused even by the most discreet personal questioning may well invalidate much of the data.⁶

Accordingly for the present purpose, a group was chosen as homogeneous as possible in sex, age, education and social background: and, in the hope of retaining something of the spontaneity of the interview as well as the advantage of anonymity given by the questionnaire, a very loosely framed series of questions was used. The group consisted of 109 women education students in the University two year training course and 19 women students in the one year post graduate course for the Diploma in Education. In the case of the two year students, most of the schedules (described below) were distributed by colleagues of the writer/ to two successive first year groups before they had proceeded very far in their course in psychology and certainly before the topic of adolescence

- 1 'Adolescence and Some Problems of Youth Training.' B.J.Ed.P. Vol.XIII Pt.II.1943, p.58
- 2 'The Adventure of Youth' Univ.of Lond.Press,1945
- 3 'The Adolescent Child' Ch.IV. (pending publication.)
- 4 The Education of the Emotions, Allen & Unwin 1937.
'The Development of Social & Political Sentiments in Women' B.J.Ed.P. Vol.V.Pt.III.1935.
- 5 "Characteristic Motivation in the Activities of SchoolGirls." B.J.P. Vol. XXIX Pt.3. 1934.
- 6 Frank ("Prospective Methods for the Study of Personality" Journ.of Psych.Vol.I.Oct.1939) points out that "When we ask an individual to tell what he believes or feels or to indicate in which categories he belongs, this social pressure to conform to the group norm operates to bias what he has to say and presses him to fit himself into the categories of the inventory or questionnaire offered for self diagnosis." This remark is echoed by Blos (The Adolescent Personality, Appleton Century 1941.) who regards uncoerced and undefined situations such as creative writing or interview as superior to questionnaires or tests. It was with such considerations in view that the method of the present enquiry was devised.
- 7 I should here like to thank Mrs N.M.Barnett and Miss M. Brearley for their co-operation in this research.

had been dealt with. The 19 Diploma students completed their schedules at home and returned them to me by post. All the schedules distributed were returned completed and the sample, therefore, does not suffer from uncontrolled selection. On the schedules themselves and while they were being distributed, it was emphasised that all replies should be as frank and full as possible and that they would be treated as absolutely confidential and anonymous.

The form of the schedule was as follows:-

CONFIDENTIAL

Age: Yrs....Mths....Sex....

No one who knows you will read this and it will help if you will be as frank as you possibly can.

Please do not write your name anywhere on this sheet.

1. Were you on the whole happy during childhood ?
Yes. No. (Underline one.)

If you wish to add anything to your answer, please do so here:-

2. Which things, persons, events and so on in your childhood caused you unhappiness or happiness ?

3. Have you on the whole been happy since the age of twelve or thirteen ?
Yes. No. (Underline one.)

If you wish to add anything to your answer, please do so here:-

4. Which things, persons, events and so on have caused you happiness or unhappiness since the age of twelve or thirteen ?

After each question, ample space was left for replies and it was suggested that the reverse of the foolscap sheet on which the questionnaires were printed might also be used.

The average age of the group was 19 and the range 17+ to 24, though very few fell outside the limits of 18-20. All may therefore be regarded as late adolescent or young adult, near enough to the experiences of the 'teens to recollect them clearly, but sufficiently removed from them to have some degree of objectivity. All the writers are above the general average in innate intelligence and in powers of self-expression and, from the fulness and detail of most of the replies, I am convinced that the material is free at least from conscious suppression or sophistication. There remain, of course, the elements of unconscious sophistication, displacement of affect, unconscious meanings arising within emotionally toned situations, the rounding out of events, rationalisations, conventionalisations, and partial or complete amnesias of painful experiences. Such uncontrollable factors are present in any situation involving recall, except possibly that of deep analysis: but, as Phillips has suggested,¹ one of the "main benefits conferred by psycho-analysis may ultimately prove to have been the discovery of new categories of thought, which can later be made use of on the conscious level" and awareness of resistances, distortions and amnesias, so common now among the educated, almost certainly reduces their effect. So too - apart from certain complexes which are assumed² to be generally characteristic of most of us - idiosyncrasies of repression and displacement are likely to be scattered in a group such as this in a more or less random fashion, and while they may affect individuals, are likely to cancel out in a sample of the present size. Moreover, while we may accept as a fact that even in intelligently self-aware adults, unconscious processes have profound influence on conscious conduct, the control of behaviour depends at least as much upon consciously recognised factors in the environment and upon attitudes and feelings amenable to introspection.

1 Op.cit. p.33

2 Often on the scantiest of evidence, as shewn by Valentine
'The Psychology of Early Childhood' (Methuen 1942) Chapter XVII.

II - QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS.

(a) The General Emotional Set.

With these cautions in mind, we may proceed to a description of the results. The most striking quantitative fact which emerges is that, at both periods of life, the overwhelming majority rate themselves as being on the whole happy. Table I sets out the results derived from Questions 1 and 3.

TABLE I.
Percentages of the Group (128 Women) reporting themselves as Happy or Unhappy during Childhood and Adolescence.

Happy in Childhood & Adolescence	Happy in Childhood, Unhappy in Adolescence	Unhappy in Childhood, Happy in Adolescence	Unhappy during both periods
81.6	10.9	6.6	0.8

It will be noticed that there is a slight absolute increase (4.3 per cent) in the numbers of the unhappy after the age of 12 or 13, but this is not statistically significant. ($P = .199$)* We can therefore assume that for most girls of this type and background the 'teens are not a period of prolonged unhappiness or even a time at which unhappy experiences predominate. That this should be so, however, is not inconsistent with a profound difference in the balance of happy and unhappy experience. A necessarily inexact but useful indication of this may be obtained by counting the mentions of stimuli to happy or unhappy emotion made by the group when writing of their childhood and adolescence. Four hundred and sixteen incidents, situations, persons or things are mentioned by the group when writing of their childhood, and five hundred and eighty-one when the 'teens are dealt with. Table II shows how differently these mentions are distributed at the two periods of life.

TABLE II.
Distribution of mentions of Happy and Unhappy Stimuli in Childhood and Adolescence - 128 Women Students.

	Total No. of mentions	Percentage Happy	Percentage Unhappy	Significance of difference.
Childhood	416	68.4	31.6	$P \leq .01^*$
Adolescence	581	53.3	46.7	

* χ^2 calculated for these and the following tables by the usual method and P derived from the Table given by Fisher Statistical Methods for Research Workers (Oliver & Boyd, 1941) pp.110-11.

It will be seen that happy memories of childhood outweigh the unhappy by two to one, while in adolescence the preponderance of happy memories is only just achieved - and this with a group in no way abnormal but rather presenting a carefree, well-adjusted appearance to the casual eye. This variation of emphasis is too marked to be ascribed solely to the known tendency to forget unhappy and remember happy experiences. Within the limitations of a different approach it agrees with the results obtained by Watson¹ and Sailer² both of whom concur that the tendency is for most people to consider themselves more or less happy. Symonds³ in a research which concerned adolescents of both sexes and which is closer in content to the present one than either of the others, finds that of his group, two thirds of College and Graduate students consider themselves to fall in the category "contented at times and at other times discontented, life has both favourable and unfavourable features", though only 1½ per cent. rated themselves as "satisfied, comfortable" "cheerful, successful, optimistic", or "full of deep joy."

It is fair to conclude from these figures that, for the women of this group at all events, the adolescent years were more vexed with at least transitory causes of unhappiness, than was the immediately preceding period of late childhood and possibly, though this is more speculative, than any other since early nursery days.

(b) Age Incidence of Changes.

There are, too, indications that for some at least of these young women there were phases during the 'teens, when they were relatively more or less happy than at others. Attention was not specifically directed by the questions to this particular point and it is the more striking therefore that it is only in adolescence that these broad variations are mentioned. Fourteen girls state that for a year or two after the age of fourteen they were markedly less happy; three regarded fifteen as a change for the worse; nine mention sixteen; two seventeen; four eighteen and one nineteen. On the other hand, five say that they were happier from fourteen, two from fifteen, five from sixteen, one from seventeen, six from eighteen, and two from nineteen.

One cannot press too far the analysis of such figures, but they reveal a slight but not altogether significant preponderance ($P. = .09$) of those who find the years up to seventeen more subject to stress and of those who find the later 'teens a period of better adjustment. In the literature there are a number of collateral indications that the 'mid teens may be regarded as a climacteric for many though the precise age relationship is - as one would expect from its dependence upon factors of environment and of maturity - obscure.⁴

1. "Happiness among Adult Students of Education." Journ. Ed. Psych. V. XXI No.2 1930.
2. "Happiness Self-estimates of Young Men. Teachers College Contributions to Education No. 46/ Columbia Univ. 1931.
3. "Happiness as related to Problems and Interests" Journ. Ed. Psych. V.XXVIII No. 4, 1937.
4. Vide the summary of evidence on this point presented by the writer in "The Adolescent Child" Chap. IV.

(c) Changes in the Relative Importance of the Major Fields of Experience.

It is possible to push quantitative analysis a step further and to classify the mentions of incidents, persons, situations or things in certain fairly well defined categories roughly corresponding to fields of experience or aspects of the psychological environment in Childhood and adolescence. In no sense however can any of the categories which follow be considered as shut away from any of the others; they are all interrelated and adjustments made in one will affect adjustments in others: nevertheless it is legitimate to separate them for study.

The categories ultimately adopted were seven in number, defined as follows:-

- (i) Family Group. In this were recorded all references to parents, siblings, close relatives, family treats, family events and so on.
- (ii) School and University. This category included all experiences directly related to the educational situation-relationships with staff, educational success or failure, membership of school organisations, reactions against or in favour of school or university work, rules and so on, and social relationships (other than those connected primarily with evacuation) arising directly out of the school or university life.
- (iii) Physical Environment. Direct references to country or town life, experiences connected with holidays in the country or by the sea, and with evacuation in other than its personal relationships were classified under this head.
- (iv) Social relationships. All relationships to contemporaries, to adults other than members of the family or of school or university staff, social activities such as membership of clubs, guides, etc., dances or parties, allusions to personal physical appearance in its social reference, general mentions of difficulties experienced in relation to others and adjustments to members of the opposite sex are included here.
- (v) Games, sports, hobbies and interests, etc., Into this section fall all mentions of activities undertaken apparently primarily for their own sake rather than for academic reasons or for the opportunities for social intercourse which they afford. As well as games and sports, such things as music, creative activities like embroidery and making collections, reading and so on are included here.
- (vi) Personal Future. A small proportion of the group made specific mentions of vocational interests and ambitions when writing of their adolescence and such are included under this head.

- (vii) Miscellaneous. In some ways this is a highly significant category as will be seen when we come to discuss the qualitative results. Mainly it contains those references to emotional preoccupations not arising directly from the environment - religious or political conversion, instability of mood, general sense of well being, more or less groundless fears and so on.¹

The results of this analysis are shewn in Table III. In columns i and ii of this table are shewn the percentages of the group who made at least one mention of a topic falling within the particular category. In columns iii, iv, v and vi are shewn the percentages of mentions in childhood and in adolescence which fall into the happy and unhappy categories. The last two columns shew the degree of statistical significance which can be attached to the differences between columns i and ii, and between columns iii and iv as compared with columns v. and vi.

1. It will be seen that most of these categories are fairly well-defined though in some respects quite arbitrary. In practice very few of the statements made overlapped two or more categories and such have usually been scored in both, unless it was quite clear where the preponderating emotional emphasis lay. In a few there was some considerable doubt as to the correct category. Such cases have either been assigned to the Miscellaneous section or interpreted in the light of surrounding material. All the schedules have been analysed independently twice, once by my wife and once by myself. The ultimate differences in assignment were negligible.

TABLE III

The Relative importance of Various Fields of Experience in
Happiness and Unhappiness in Childhood and Adolescence

(128 Young Women.)

Field of Experience.	% of Group Mentioning.		Distribution of mentions.				Significance.*	
	Childhd.	Adscence	Childhood.		Adolescence.		Cols. i & ii	Cols. iii, iv, v. & vi.
			Happy	Unhappy	Happy	Unhappy		
	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi		
Family Group.	76.6	44.5	33.2	15.1	10.5	13.8	$P_{\#} > .01$	$P_{\#} > .01$
School and University.	46.9	65.6	11.1	6.0	12.4	10.0	$P_{\#} > .01$	Not significant.
Physical Environment.	11.7	26.6	3.6	0.7	3.4	3.8	$P_{\#} > .01$	$P_{\#} > .011$
Social Relationships.	39.1	54.7	8.9	6.2	11.5	11.7	$P = .013$	Not significant.
Games, Sports, Hobbies and Interests.	17.2	23.4	6.5	0.2	9.3	0.2	Not significant.	Not significant.
Personal future.	0.0	13.3	0.0	0.0	1.7	3.4	$P_{\#} > .01$	Not significant.
Miscellaneous.	7.8	27.4	5.1	3.4	4.5	3.8	$P_{\#} > .01$	Not significant.

* χ^2 Calculated from 2x2 tables entered with the raw numbers (of subjects Cols. i and ii - or of mentions made - cols. iii and vi.) Where necessary Yates' correction for continuity has been made.

Even bearing in mind the possibilities of sophistication in the data itself and in the method of analysis, the figures of columns i and ii shew a profound and far reaching change in the relative importance at the two periods of certain major fields of experience. Clearly indicated is the decline in the importance of the home and family at adolescence and an increase in responsiveness to wider social groupings at school, university and among friends and contemporaries.* In susceptibility to the physical environment too there is a marked and significant rise in the 'teens, though its interpretation in this data is made difficult because so many of the group were evacuated or otherwise directly affected by the abnormal conditions of war time. The Miscellaneous category too shews a considerable increase in adolescence and presents difficulties of interpretation. From the frequency of references in the later 'teens to fears of death, of violence, to religious conversion and to inexplicable moodiness etc., we may interpret it as indirect evidence of intensified emotionality and of increased introspectiveness. In only one category is the difference between the two periods not significantly marked. There is a slight absolute increase in the numbers who mention hobbies, games and sports as of importance in their 'teens, but, as we shall see later, the chief difference between the two periods of life in this respect is qualitative.

The figures of columns iii, iv, v, and vi. give a broad picture of how the change is felt. The general increase in the proportion of unhappy experiences mentioned, which, as has already been pointed out, marks the adolescent years of this group, is very unevenly distributed within the separate fields of experience, though in almost all there seems to be a relative increase in unhappiness. The most marked change occurs in the references to experiences within the Family Group which, in childhood preponderantly happy, are in adolescence preponderantly unhappy. So too the references to the Physical Environment shew a considerable relative increase in mentions of unhappiness during the 'teens. Of considerable interest too is the fact that Personal Relationships significantly more important to these girls in their 'teens than in their childhood, are not significantly more productive of unhappiness or happiness, but are in fact almost equipoised. A similar trend is noticeable in the references to School and University and in the Miscellaneous field. In contradistinction to these, Hobbies, Games and Sports etc., at both periods, are of importance and at both periods overwhelmingly productive of happiness. Other than the Family Group, the question of Personal Future is the only one to which there are noticeably more references as a cause of unhappiness than as a cause of happiness.

We may now turn to a closer and more qualitative examination of the broad categories of Table III. In considering what follows, however, it must be born in mind that the answers were spontaneous and directed only in the most general way: hence the frequencies cited are very different from (and certainly much lower than) those which would have been obtained had specific questions been put on the topics raised. The implication of this is that only if a particular experience was of marked importance in the emotional life of the period would it achieve mention.

* This has, of course, been observed and commented on before - for example by Valentine in the article cited.

Home and Family Life.

In Table IVa are shown the proportions of the group of 128 who mention various subdivisions of experience in Home and Family Life.

TABLE IV a.

Percentages of the Group referring to particular aspects of Home and Family Life.

	Home in general	Parents	Siblings	Toys, Treats, Holidays	Rela- tives	Freedom/ Restraint	Death Ill- ness.
<u>Childhood</u>							
Happiness.	18.8	25.4	17.2	33.6	7.8	0.8	0.0
Unhappiness.	3.9	14.8	10.2	0.0	3.9	0.0	5.5
<u>Adolescence.</u>							
Happiness.	9.4	12.5	3.9	5.5	3.9	3.9	0.8
Unhappiness.	7.8	18.0	2.3	0.0	2.3	13.3	12.5

We have already noted, in discussing Table III, that the 'teens are marked by a decline in the relative importance of the home and family. The figures of the present table throw light on a subtle redistribution of emotional emphasis within the family environment. The most striking single change is the marked increase in the numbers who mention coming into unhappy conflict with their parents in adolescence. If we add to these the number who mention their resentment of the restrictions put upon them at home, we find that nearly one third of this group of girls is in some degree critical of the home atmosphere.

Just how this operates is best illustrated by quotation. One girl describes her family situation in childhood in the following words: "Unhappiness. Parents disagreeing, misunderstanding each other. Clothes that made me feel self conscious. Being expected to give things up for a younger brother and sister who left me alone being so close in age, almost like twins." She found compensation in day dreams, school success, understanding aunts, and in "finding grown-ups to be fond of."

Not unexpectedly, she found social adjustments a difficulty in the 'teens and adds, "Home life does not improve. Nowhere to work - still quarrelling between the other four members - too much interference, too little freedom, clothes, money. Attempts that seem to be intended to keep me from many friendships that might have been. Home is a lonely place where I would rather not spend time except that there I have what belongs to me gathered together."

In such cases, friction in the 'teens seems inevitable and parental disagreements, ranging from mild bickering to prolonged and angry scenes

are fairly frequently mentioned.¹ But a happy, united ^{home} ~~house~~ may also become difficult in the 'teens. One girl, who says of her childhood that everything connected with her family and home gave her happiness, writes thus of her feelings later: "After the age of 14-15 I wanted to be free. My parents seemed to be too strict, although looking back I suppose it was necessary. I wanted to go out with boys and have nice clothes. I suppose I was silly and irresponsible, but I felt I was being unfairly treated, compared to other girls. I wanted to wear make-up - which of course was not allowed..... I hadn't much interest in home life. It is only during the last year that my real love and companionship with my parents has come back." Another girl the circumstances of whose childhood were happy, mentions the difficulties that arise over studying at home. Others speak of parents who "laugh at ideals and aspirations", who refuse to take their daughter's religious conversion seriously, who are over-ambitious and treat their children to "constant nagging lectures that I should take full advantage of the chances that I had had", or who "were not sufficiently interested to come to Speech Day when I had my School Certificate. It didn't matter how many Speech Days they attended after that." Sometimes the clash is less dramatic as in the case of the girl who writes "Unhappiness was caused at certain periods by my mother who, I felt, never understood me. She was an extremely good mother in many ways but we never seemed to get on together and I never had confidence in her to tell her anything of my doings."²

1. Among the very many studies, some biographical, others by questionnaire methods leading to quantitative results, there is a fair measure of agreement that homes which are antagonistic to the group - school, college or University - to which the youth belongs, which are interfering or clinging, given to chronic dissension, over-religious or narrowly moral are liable to provoke conflicts and delay adequate adjustments in their adolescent children.

(see for example Pressey L.C. - 'Some College Students and their Problems' - Ohio Univ. Press 1929, Blox - 'The Adolescent Personality' Appleton Century 1941. p.237 ff. Partridge - 'The Social Psychology of Adolescence' Prentice Hall 1939, pp.206-7 pp.197-9)

2. Elsewhere (Adolescent Child, Chapter II) the present writer has given some evidence of the causes of friction between parents and their adolescent children derived from groups of young workers. Partridge (op.cit. sup.) cites figures derived from the Lynds' Study of Middletown to shew that American adolescent girls report disagreement with their parents on the number of times they are allowed to go out; the time they get in at night; School progress; use of the family car; pocket money; boys or girls chosen as friends; going to unchaperoned parties; and the way they dress, home duties and Sunday observance, (pp.205-7). Allowing for differences of culture pattern, the picture is very much the same as in the present group and suggests that the bid for independence in the 'teens will be made, whatever the surrounding social conditions. Blox - (The Adolescent Personality pp.237 ff. Appleton Century 1941) points out that the situation is complicated, sometimes very markedly, by parental attitudes and by unresolved conflicts in the parents' own emotional life - "Parents are inclined to solve the child's problems in terms of their own particular experience and in terms of the highly individual meanings assumed by that experience in their own life course. In the reaction lies much of the proverbial misunderstanding between the generations." p.239.

Contd. foot of page 13.

Another feature of these records, is the decline in the 'teens of the numbers who mention their brothers or sisters. In childhood there are frequent mentions of happiness caused by devotion to an older brother or sister or to being one of a large family of children. Unhappiness seems to have been caused by such things as "being forced to take my brother (4½ years younger) with my own friends" which "gave me a dislike of him which has since become permanent." Another girl refers to the pleasure of going to a relative for a holiday "where I could relax from being the eldest of a family and be just whatever I liked." Yet another writes "My eldest sister was very good at housework and practical things, which she enjoyed. She also had certain privileges, being elder and I was jealous of all this. My brother (six years younger) had a great deal of attention being the 'only son and heir' and also having been very dangerously ill at an early age - so I felt on the whole unwanted." This same girl in her 'teens speaks of "getting to know my father better and also my brother after his return."

Another striking change is brought out by the Table IVa and perhaps affords the best evidence of the way in which home ceases to be all in all in the 'teens. Whereas toys, treats, holidays, Christmas, birthdays and the like are mentioned by one third of the group as a source of childhood happiness, only 5.5 per cent. of the group mention such things as of importance after the age of thirteen. Partly the restrictions which wartime placed upon holidays may account for some of this; but one cannot escape the conclusion that adolescent girls of this social and intellectual level find a less keen pleasure in family celebrations.

At both periods, with small proportions of the group, relatives play a part which is, on the whole, productive of happiness. Some mention visits to grandparents and aunts in the country, others the attention paid to them in their 'teens by bachelor uncles. Causing unhappiness is the presence of relatives in the home with its effect upon relationships between the parents.

There is, as one would expect, an increase in the numbers of those who experience sorrow through the death or serious illness of a parent or relative in the 'teens. The effect of such experiences is difficult to estimate but it may have some connection with the mentions of fear of dying which, in this group, occur only in the 'teens (see the later discussion of the Miscellaneous section.) In one case, the death of a father, while it caused sorrow at the time, lifted a weight from the mind of the girl and from then forth her school work rapidly improved.

School and University Life.

In discussing Table III, it was pointed out that for many girls, the wider world of school and, later, of the University tended to overshadow the home environment in importance in adolescence. Table IVb. sets out the proportions of those who mention various aspects of school and university life.

Footnote 2. (Contd. from page 12)

On the psycho-analytic interpretation of this phase c.f. Flügel - Psycho-analytic Study of the Family, p.174, pp.207-8.

As one would expect, most of these girls, being higher than average in general ability, enjoyed their childhood schooldays. Of the few who did not, most state that any unhappiness was transitory and usually caused by "worrying over little things at school - e.g. knitting lesson because I couldn't do it." or by "Arithmetic and Spelling" or occasionally by an unsympathetic teacher. With the 'teens come clashes with the restrictive discipline of school taking the form either of an anxious fear of doing wrong or of angry revolt. "School with its hundred and one rules", writes one girl with feeling, "I lived in perpetual fear of breaking one. There was a summer rule that unless it was actually raining when we set out from home, we were to come in panamas. One dinner time, urged by my mother, I put on my velour hat and when I arrived at school, I said that it was raining when I left home. However this was checked up from one of the prefects who came from my district and I received a disorder mark, which was really nothing at all but seemed the height of disgrace." Another girl reveals the angry protest of the developing personality when she writes of "the strict, petty rules of our school, never ceasing from the moment we got back, till we steamed out of the station on the train..... Until the age of fifteen, I was very happy at school and in fairness to the place I must say that my unhappiness was probably my own doing. I'm essentially an individual and hate conforming to unnecessary restrictions and being moulded on the same lines as 150 other girls." One girl reports that "about the age of fourteen I became very critical of school, but as the headmistress tried to make things better by suggestions, I soon got over it." Many speak of "having too much homework and not being able to get through it in reasonable time." "Homework was given which took us all hours to do and then often we were told it was badly done (the boys copied and had good marks). Only thing drilled into us was passing School Cert. and I had several illnesses. I was nearly top of the form, but did not enjoy school very much as tests were given us every day." A few mention the weight of responsibility in being a prefect or headgirl.

TABLE IVb.

Percentages of the Group referring to particular Aspects of School and University Life.

	School and University in general	Staff	Academic Study	Discipline	Examinations
<u>Childhood.</u>					
Happiness.	28.2	3.1	4.7	0.0	0.0
Unhappiness.	7.8	5.5	1.6	0.0	0.8
<u>Adolescence.</u>					
Happiness.	35.9	4.7	10.2	0.0	0.0
Unhappiness.	10.9	6.2	10.9	4.7	9.4

References to life at the University are happy on the whole. "I have been very happy here" writes one girl "where I have been much freer in many ways than at home where the whole neighborhood censured one's actions since my family kept themselves very much apart and where few of the young people are educated or interested in education." "Being at University" says another "and being away from home has given me what I wanted - freedom of expression and emotions. I have enjoyed the feeling of responsibility and independence and the feeling of increased power of attraction and popularity, especially with the opposite sex." There are some who find leaving home and making friends at the University difficult - "As I do not make friends easily, loneliness is a present cause of unhappiness." "Coming to University has been a mixed experience - interesting work, but difficult socially." A number mention the love of their academic studies as a compensation and a refuge "Very great love of my main subject overcame any unhappiness which I might ever have experienced temporarily - I seemed as though I could just escape from the world while I was working at it." Others find that even at University, pressure of work cramps their activities. "I am not satisfied with the present arrangement of work. Many interests have been lost through lack of time to follow them up. I think there is great danger of losing interest in many subjects which might have caused great pleasure." A few mention, specifically, valuable friendships with school or University staff which compensate for difficulties at home or in adjusting to contemporaries.

Physical Environment.

References to the physical environment are few in childhood (10% of the group) and all, save one, refer to the delight of moving to or being brought up in the country. "I lived in the country and had plenty of interesting places to play in such as an old summer house, fields and some undergrowth in which we could hide." Change of family residence is mentioned in the 'teens. "From living in town, we moved to the verge of the country to which we all belonged and loved. For four years I lived in the depths of the country and this gave me great experience and pleasure and I learned to become country minded." The principal factor in the 'teens is the change of environment brought about by evacuation and the exigencies of war. For most who mention it, it seems to have been at the best a mixed experience and on the whole unhappy (16.4% of the group mention unhappy experiences connected with evacuation and only 5.5% mention happy experiences.) "The first year of evacuation," writes one girl "I was not happy till the end. I had seven different billets mainly with old people some of them over 80 years. Finally I was put in with my sister in a good billet and was happy." For some few however it was a wholly delightful experience: "I lived in a hostel for eight months and was very happy there. There were six of us who were usually together in the evenings, differing in race, religion and in many other ways. We had discussion on many topics, usually religion, and I

enjoyed them very much.*1

A small proportion (5.5%) refer specifically to a new delight in Nature arising in the 'teens. "Happiness caused by being in the country - especially hilly country" writes one; and another speaks of holidays on her grandfather's farm which brought great happiness - "the peace, quietness, lonely walks, and the countryside itself."

This figure is strikingly lower than that obtained in questionnaire surveys. Among his women students, Valentine finds that two thirds report an increased interest in nature in the 'teens, while Wheeler records that 57% of her women students and 62% of her women workers report similarly. In my own rather younger groups of working girls the figure is 40%. This very striking difference cannot be attributed solely to the fact of a specific question on the point being put in the questionnaire surveys and not in the present one. It suggests rather that whereas an increased interest in nature is a feature of the 'teens, the number of adolescent girls of the type under discussion to whom nature is a major source of emotional stimulus is comparatively small. This is, I think, a very significant point, not merely in speaking of this one aspect, but in any general consideration of the social, intellectual and emotional changes of the 'teens. We know a good deal about the changes in direction of interests and pre-occupations during the adolescent years but we know little enough of the hierarchy of importance of the various emotional fields in the lives of individuals.

- *1. M.D.Vernon ("A Study of Some Effects of Evacuation on Adolescent Girls." B.J.Ed.P. Vol.X. Pt.2. - 1940) studying a similar group under evacuation conditions found that opinion on the advantages and disadvantages was fairly evenly balanced with however a general slight preponderance of those mentioning difficulties. Rather more than a quarter spontaneously made remarks indicating home-sickness, and 42% mentioned missing friends and familiar companions.

Straker & Thouless ("Preliminary Results of the Cambridge Survey of Evacuated Children" B.J.Ed.P. Vol.X. Pt.2. - 1940) report a sharp rise after age 13 in the percentages of children unsatisfactorily adjusted in foster Parent-Child relationships.

Keir reporting on Central School children of both sexes aged 10-14+ ("Sex differences in Attitude towards Change of Environment among Evacuated Central School Children" B.J.Ed. P. Vol. XV. Pt.3. 1945) notes that the girls were more keenly aware of immediate relationships and shewed less thought for those at home than the boys, and that the girls' responses - especially those of the older girls - were more highly coloured emotionally than those of the boys. The subjects of the present study would have been between 12 and 14 in 1939-40, and evacuation for most would therefore have coincided with the early, somewhat difficult phase of the 'teens.

TABLE IVc.

Percentages of the Group of 128 Young Women referring to particular Aspects of Social Relationships.

	Friends	Loneliness	Social Contacts	Love Affairs	Social Aspects of the Self
<u>Childhood.</u>					
Happiness.	25.0	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.0
Unhappiness.	0.0	6.3	6.3	0.0	7.8
<u>Adolescence.</u>					
Happiness.	25.5	0.0	10.2	11.7	3.9
Unhappiness.	5.5	9.4	9.4	5.5	19.5

Social Relationships.

That this is so is strikingly borne out when we come to consider social relationships outside the family group. Upwards of two thirds of Valentine's¹, Wheeler's², and my own groups³ studied by questionnaire report increases in the 'teens in interest in social activities, group games, the opposite sex, and the formation of important friendships. Such data while it indicates the spread within groups of all types of interest in social relationships does not indicate the intensity or the feeling tone with which they are invested.

Table IVc. which presents the enumerative data from the present survey suggests that the change is more subtle than might at first be thought; but it does not by itself bring out the most striking of the differences which are qualitative rather than quantitative. For example, there are almost as many girls who mention the companions of their childhood as there are who mention the friendships of adolescence, but there is a great difference in the tone of the mentions at the two periods. Most of the references in childhood are in general terms - "the companionship of other children," "my best friend came to live next door," "numerous school friends". Moving to a new district and having to make new friends occurs several times as a cause of temporary unhappiness. Loneliness is complained of by a few, mostly only children whose longing for brothers and sisters is unsatisfied. The mentions made in the 'teens are much more highly charged emotionally, particularly those to friends. Friendship takes a more mature and devoted turn. One girl writes of the dazzling discovery of another personality - that of a girl to whom she had been indifferent: ^{previously} "I had a most extraordinary ^{desire} to know her well. This appeared to be mutual. We had great fun together and knew each other in a way which was more than friendly, consequently I

am more fond of her than I have ever been of anyone, even my parents, whom of course I do like. But as this friendship is very real, I do not think it right to write down any more about it. It is between her and myself." ¹ Such friendships are often fiercely possessive and the burning rods of jealousy are keenly felt. "Friends are predominant in both categories" (happiness and unhappiness) writes another girl, "because they played such an important part in my life. The main reason for their inclusion as a cause of unhappiness was due to the fact that very often friends for whom I felt an intense affection failed to return it in the same degree. From 14-18, I was extremely possessive and wanted one friend who would centre all their affections on me - I was very jealous of anyone else for whom they shewed any affection and would make myself utterly miserable by imagining they did not return my fondness or that they liked other people more than myself.... This applies only to female friends. With regard to males any happiness or unhappiness has been much less pronounced and has been largely caused by the relative certainty or instability of my own feelings."

Compared with the importance of friendships in the 'teens, heterosexual relationships achieve fewer mentions. Some of this may be ascribed to a natural reticence but more, probably, to the age and social background of these girls and their comparatively sheltered life prior to coming to the mixed society of the university. Some mention transitory happiness or unhappiness in boy-girl affairs in the early 'teens: "from the age of 13-14 boy-girl relationships have played a large part in my life - caused me a lot of happiness and rather a large amount of bitter-sweet melancholy when I got into such a mood that I felt like reading poetry and writing it too! This usually helped me considerably." Others mention unhappy affairs - "Relationships with the opposite sex on the whole unhappy - either ended by the other person or in one case have been more or less ignored," says one; and another "My first love affair ended in a crash after which I lost all faith in men and was unhappy for months," and another speaks of a happy love affair marred by unhappiness over "problems of unworthiness." But the impression is on the whole a happy one; as a source of present happiness one girl names "my present even emotional state.... having found a member of the opposite sex for whom I have a deep and satisfying affection which is reciprocated." and another speaks of "a deeper religious understanding" achieved through her relations with her fiancé.

1. To such emotional friendships there are many parallels in literature and in real life (cf. - Hogg and Shelley for example.) and Jane Austen has made gay fun of them in "Love and Friendship."

Iovetz-Tereshechenko's study of adolescent letter and diary material ("Friendship - Love in Adolescence" London 1936 p.70-4) records one fine account by an adolescent of the first swift dawn of such an attachment.

See also Chapter III of "The Adolescent Child" for further examples.

In other more general social contexts, there are changes but they are increases in the numbers mentioning them, rather than qualitative changes of the kinds described above. After the age of thirteen many more of these girls mention adjustments to others, the pleasure of being with a group, reflections upon their own personal or social adequacy or inadequacy. In childhood one finds mentions of "not being able to dance, recite or sing," and "not liking to do things with other children much and I never had any desire for parties or to go to other children's parties," and of "being very shy." One finds too that "clothes that made me feel self-conscious, hatred of long black woollen stockings" are spoken of as causes of discontent, while pleasure is derived from "acting and wearing pretty clothes." In the 'teens similar things occur. One girl speaks of her hatred of having to tie her hair back in a tight knob; another worries about being too plump; another mentions a scar on her lip; another, her fear of "being socially rejected through physical unattractiveness - self-pity resulted," and another "Looks - round shoulders, lank hair, figure, first too fat and then too thin." There are several who mention "Lack of confidence, not knowing how to behave, not having anything fit to wear.... hesitant about etiquette, clothes, meeting people and going places," and worries as to "whether a visit was welcome or inconvenient." Some mention general difficulty in adjustment to contemporaries "fear of meeting new people - what to do or say," while others rejoice in "meeting new sorts of people up here and being liked and made happy." One thing which occurs during the 'teens and is not mentioned in childhood is a discrepancy between the standard of one's own home and that of one's friends. "Living in a small house and having friends who were in a financially better position." Many rejoice in such social activities as Youth Clubs, Guides, harvest camps, Young Farmers' clubs, Church guilds and the like. In general, the picture is not so much of change as of a heightened social responsiveness and a heightened awareness of one's own personality in its social aspects, the distressing side of which is well summed up by a girl who writes: "Awareness of other people faced with the same problems and situations as myself, and their apparent ease when handling these situations - when I was confused and always so uncertain myself - gave me the feeling of being different."

Games, Sports, Hobbies and Interests.

In the mentions which are made of Games and Sports, Hobbies and other interests there is evidence of an intensification in activities of all kinds in the 'teens and few indeed are the mentions of unhappiness. One girl mentions that, in learning to play the piano in her childhood, she hated "scales, especially in a minor key" and another feared ridicule because of her clumsiness at outdoor games. For the most part, the references are to "increasing physical ability and enjoyment of exercise" after the age of thirteen; to "swimming", "cycle riding and tennis playing in the heat of the summer," or to "being put in the first hockey team."

Among more cultural activities, one girl writes emphatically of an apparently genuine aesthetic experience in childhood - "My first visit to the Ballet gave me intense happiness (not pleasure). I've remembered it to this day. Music made me happy, possibly because I connected it

with my father who taught me to listen to it." Music is mentioned increasingly in the 'teens and always as a much loved source of happiness (4.7% in childhood: 11.0% in adolescence.) and not infrequently as a compensation for unhappiness in other directions. Others speak with regret of the curtailment of time spent on music by homework - "I continued with the violin in spite of homework," writes one, "but I could not practice very often."

The expanding intellectual and emotional life spills over in other directions in the 'teens - "Books, pictures etc., have given me great happiness" says one "I like collecting such things." Another writes "In recent years I have gained an almost unaccountable abstract pleasure from hitherto unnoticed things - cathedrals, nature, and so on. This all helped to combat the feeling of uncomfortableness I felt in an alien crowd of people." Some are catholic in their activities and tastes - "Anything to do with animals, birds, flowers, music, gymnastics and dancing etc., and embroidery all gave me great pleasure."

This evidence concurs with that presented by Valentine¹ and by Wheeler.² It points to the conclusion reached by Margaret Phillips³ that the 'teens shew an all round increase in emotional energy which leaves a surplus available for genuine aesthetic experience and for the formation, partly on the basis of increased intellectual power and partly on the basis of greater emotional maturity, of genuine and complex sentiments for all forms of art. Physical and intellectual activity too, it should be noticed, are a field in which self-expression or self-forgetfulness can be attained with little reference to the pressing problems of adjustment to others; they are therefore well adapted both to absorb surplus energy and to provide a temporary refuge in times of stress.

Personal Future.

In as highly selected a group as the present, the majority of whom are training for a career of their own choice, one would expect to find less vocational uncertainty than in a more miscellaneous one. A number however do mention their delight in being able to take up teaching or speak of a brief period during which they tried something else and did not like it. Of the latter, a typical example is the girl who writes - "After leaving school at the age of 17 years 7 months, I began work and left home to do so. At the end of three months I left this occupation, and there followed a period of great worry, because I was of calling up age and had no work. In January of the following year I began teaching in a junior school, and after the first few months of settling in and finding my feet I became quite happy and have been so more or less since." Some, to whom teaching is obviously second best, mention frustrated ambitions - "I was happy until about sixteen when, due to unfortunate circumstances, I had to give up the work I loved. The work I do now is really second best, although I like it very much." Others experienced a period of uncertainty before they settled on teaching - "not being able to discover a career that would really suit me, worried me, especially at the end of school years." Such uncertainties and disappointments are mentioned by 9.4% of the group, nearly 4% mentioning their satisfaction in their present choice.

1. loc. cit. p. 58 2. loc. cit. pp. 34-5 3. op. cit. pp. 195, ff. 206, 232-3

Miscellaneous.

In very many respects the types of experience which are classified in this miscellaneous category are the most interesting of all. Numerically the most important topic mentioned here is Religion which is spoken of, either as a source of happiness or of unhappiness, by 13% of the group in adolescence.¹ Only just over 2 per cent. mention it in connection with their childhood. Though religion is cited predominantly as a source of happiness, there seems to be a wide variety of experience. One girl writes: "At the age of twelve, I was converted to the faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and since then I feel that my life has been really worth while.... It seems to me that other things can and do give happiness for a certain length of time but that a living faith provides a wonderful security and joy which does not change with circumstances." With two of the group, religion is associated with a happy love affair - "The person who is now my fiancé and who has brought me to know and love Christ" writes one, of her happiness; and the other expresses herself in similar terms. On the other hand religion may provoke problems. One girl speaks of joining the Christian Science Church ~~which~~ ^{which} "added to the problem of marriage." Another writes "I began to think more about religion - it causes headaches, especially after my brother was killed." In the home situation too religion may bring problems of which one student speaks with shrewd insight "At about the age of thirteen, I began a religious phase which caused a great deal of emotional upset. It caused me at times to feel very happy in a self-righteous way but also made me at loggerheads with my parents who either failed to understand the phase or deliberately laughed at me. When I wasn't feeling self-righteous, I felt as if I was the laughing stock of my friends. The phase lasted until I was about 14½ when I dropped religion like a hot brick and became almost antagonistic towards it."

1. There seem to be wide differences of opinion and of evidence on the incidence of religious conversion and religious interest in the 'teens. Earlier writers from Starbuck onwards insist that genuine religious experience is a widespread feature of the 'teens. The figures given by Valentine and Wheeler shew that between half and three quarters of their groups report religious experience at adolescence, though conversion is mentioned only by rather more than a quarter of Wheeler's groups. This evidence was gathered before 1930. Cole reporting more recent studies of American groups (The Psychology of Adolescence, pp.166-7) states that the majority of adolescents have no religious doubts (and little deep religious experience) at any time, a conclusion which concurs with the findings from the present group and from the group of adolescent workers described in The Adolescent Child, Chapter V. It is ~~probable~~ ^{probable} that we have here evidence of a genuine change in the psychological atmosphere, though it is possible that the differences commented upon are more a product of the methods of gathering the figures than genuinely correspondent to an underlying change in the last two decades.

The other references grouped in this category are more truly miscellaneous. In childhood ten per cent. of the group mention such things as fear of the dentist, attacks of car sickness, "being excitable and nervy" and "being sick with excitement". Similar but vaguer and more abstract things occur twice as frequently in the 'teens - swings of mood, "sometimes sublimely happy, sometimes cast into the depths of despair for no apparent reason," excitability and so on. One such deserves a special mention since it does not occur in childhood, the mention of fear of death^{*1} which is put most vividly by the girl who writes - "At the age of about 14 years, I experienced an uncontrollable fear of death which caused me some unhappiness. Living away from home added to this because I couldn't talk to anyone older. I remember distinctly deliberately finding people out and asking them what they thought of death." Others mention that "growing up was a sore trial" and two speak of "great difficulty in reconciling the ideals of literature and religion with ordinary life." and "a growing awareness that people I loved and respected were fallible human beings after all." Only one girl, surprisingly enough, writes of "being greatly depressed by events such as the revelations of the Belsen horror camps and by the prospect of future war using the atom bomb." One expresses her conflict in more general terms: "Happiness or unhappiness does not always depend upon specific events etc., for me, but by being put off by thoughts of the future, general lack of faith or on the other hand confidence in life in general. Unstable, no fixed outlook."

Conclusion.

The data here presented in their quantitative and qualitative aspects vividly illuminate two main periods of development, childhood and adolescence. They suggest that the second period cannot be regarded as distinct from the first but as emergent from it, a deepening and widening and, in some sense, a repatterning of the emotional field.

In childhood, the family group is all important and the experiences which it provides are the major source of emotional stimuli. By its very universality in our civilisation, it imposes a certain uniformity on childhood experiences, at least among those from roughly the same

*1. The preoccupation with death shewn by some adolescents is probably - as Hollingworth suggests (Op.cit.p.188) - partly a product of experience. By the time the 'teens have been reached there is more likelihood that someone intimately connected with the youth will have died. Deutsch - (The Psychology of Women, Grune & Stratton, 1944, Vol.I. p.175 ff.) suggests that in girls fear of death is connected with fantasies of pregnancy and with ambivalent attitudes towards the mother and elder sisters; this however does not explain the occurrence of similar preoccupations in adolescent boys. It seems likely that it is only with increased intellectual and emotional maturity that death can be apprehended imaginatively and the growing sense of individuality and personality makes the threat of extinction fuller of meaning.

socio-economic level. Its only rivals in importance are the world of school and the society of other children in the immediate neighborhood of the home; and even here some limitations are imposed by family circumstances and by the more or less uniform educational experience to which almost all children are subjected at least until the age of eleven.

Thereafter one can detect, even in a group as closely homogeneous as this, two major ~~trends~~ ^{stages} of development which, interacting with each other, operate to deepen and enrich the personality. The first of these may be called the growth of self-awareness. Few of the experiences reported from childhood betray a conscious conception of the self in any complex sense; in contrast, most of those related to the 'teens are tinged with an acute awareness of personal identity and uniqueness, of the enjoying, experiencing, social self. The second trend may be ascribed mainly to environmental and cultural conditions; it is a product of what parents, society, and contemporaries expect of the adolescent. For most, even for those whose lives are comparatively sheltered there is a steadily enlarging scope of activity - at school, and in social and intellectual contexts: and, coupled with this, a markedly increased idiosyncrasy of experience and reaction. The comparative uniformity of the childhood milieu gives way to a divergency so marked that generalizations and assumptions which can be risked in childhood, are almost valueless when applied to individuals, - even of the same sex and social group - in their 'teens.

How far these two trends are superficial evidence of more complex underlying psychological changes, it is not possible to determine from the data at our disposal. Doubtless many factors - greater physical strength and range of movement, the attainment of sexual maturity, and the growth of intelligence - affect the matter both directly and by increasing the range of individual difference. Our data do however throw some light on how the personality emerges from childhood to adolescence, and on what are the emotional accompaniments of the change.

It seems clear from the comparative homogeneity of the group under discussion that presence or absence of conflict in the 'teens cannot be assigned in anything but the broadest sense to a specific culture pattern. Some mention considerable emotional storm and stress; others seem to have passed the years from twelve to eighteen or twenty in comparative calm. There is evidence for emotional change, evidence that for some this is a painful process at times, evidence that on the whole the 'teens are more subject to difficulty and unhappy experience than childhood years. There is, however, no evidence that conflict is inevitable in any of the fields of development, or under any of the normal circumstances of growth. Still less is there evidence that girls of this intellectual and social level regard the 'teens as predominantly unhappy.

SUMMARY:

1. 128 young women between the ages of 17+ and 24 in the teacher-training department of a University were asked to complete a schedule on the causes of happiness and unhappiness in childhood and adolescence.
2. 81.6 per cent. of the group rated themselves as happy both in childhood and in adolescence. Less than 8 per cent. were unhappy in childhood, less than 12 per cent. in adolescence.
3. Whereas two-thirds of the recollections of childhood are happy ones, only just over half of those from the 'teens are happy. This difference is fully significant statistically and points to an increased emotional stress in the 'teens.
4. There are indications that the early 'teens are more difficult than the later.
5. There is clear evidence that, for girls of this type, the importance emotionally of the home and family situation declines in the 'teens and wider social environments like school and University become more significant. In the references to the family there is a qualitative change; there are more mentions, in the 'teens, of conflict and difficulty at home and in particular there are significantly more who mention clashes with their parents and with the restraints of home discipline.
6. In the references to friendship there is a striking qualitative difference after the age of twelve or thirteen.
7. In general social relationships the picture is of widened scope, heightened responsiveness and increased self-awareness in the 'teens rather than of change.
8. Games, Sports, Hobbies and intellectual interests of various kinds seem at both periods to offer a refuge when life is proving difficult, as well as an outlet for superfluous energy. The number of mentions is slightly higher in the 'teens than in childhood and the qualitative difference fairly marked, indicating the overflow of physical, emotional and intellectual energy into many channels.
9. There is no evidence to suggest that storm and stress is an inevitable accompaniment of development in the 'teens, or that, when it occurs, it is necessarily a product of the culture pattern.

During the War.

W.D. Wall

Summary:

1. Introductory. 2. The Samples - Technical and Elementary; Adult Groups; Grammar School Sample. Social Background. 3. The Nature of the Comparisons which may be made from the Data - comparisons by Sex, comparisons by Age, comparisons by Education. 4. Factors Influencing the Results - time of survey; restrictions on size of newspapers; accessibility of newspapers; regional differences in readership; service conditions; socio-economic status. 5. What kinds of Newspaper are read? - comparative figures from other researches. 6. Do these figures represent a free choice of Newspaper? 7. How many Newspapers are seen Daily? - comparative figures from other researches. 8. Why is any Particular Newspaper chosen? 9. Influence of Age, Sex and Education on Choice of Newspaper. - (i) Age Differences; (ii) Sex Differences; (iii) Educational Differences. 10. Which features of the Daily Press are most widely read? - differences in the patterning of interests by sex, Education and Age. 11. Individual Items. Current News of the war; Gossip and Domestic News; Leading Article; Political Feature Article; Feature Article of General Interest; Comic Strips; Cartoons; Advertisements; Pictures; Sports News; Reader's Letters; Military Correspondent; Humorous Paragraph; Items not listed. 12. Discussion. 13. Summary of Conclusions. Appendix 1. The Questionnaires. Appendix 2. The Effects of Military Service on the Reading of Adults.

1. Introductory.

Few comprehensive surveys of the newspaper reading of adolescent and adult groups have been made. None is listed by Mrs Blackwell¹ as having been presented as a thesis for higher degree in a British University. Jenkinson gives some figures for young adolescents (12+ - 15+) in his "What do Boys & Girls Read?"² and a number of enquiries for commercial purposes have been made into the readership of various daily and weekly papers among adults.³

1. "List of Researches in Educational Psychology presented as Degree Theses in British Universities since 1918" B.J. Ed. P. Vols. XIII, XIV and XV.
2. Methuen 1941 - Chapters VI and VII, XX and XXI. ^{See also} ~~Table~~ Table II C. of this paper.
3. Notably by Kimble (Newspaper Reading in the Third Year of the War. Allen & Unwin 1942) and by:
Hobson, Henry and Abrahams (The Hulton Readership Survey 1947 privately printed.)

A larger amount of American work exists¹ but the nature of American daily journalism, the number and type of newspapers, and the pattern of American life are all so different from our own that few conclusions based upon American groups can be applied untested to English populations.

Our ignorance of the why's and wherefore's of newspaper reading is a facet only of our general lack of data on the whole topic of tastes in reading including periodicals and books. In particular we know very little of what changes take place during the critical years of the late 'teens among those boys and girls who do not attend a Secondary Grammar School. The problems are endless. We do not know for example what are the interrelationships between newspaper, periodical and book reading, the sources of supply of reading matter, the changes in interest shewn by similar groups at different ages and under different educational conditions. It may indeed fairly be said that we do not yet know sufficient about reading in early and late adolescence and in young adulthood to be able to ask the right questions; and obviously the gathering of adequate information must be a lengthy combined operation carried out by many investigators.

The present survey is in the nature of a reconnaissance with limited and practical objectives. It was undertaken primarily to obtain the data upon which more detailed researches could be founded. Ideally the method of longitudinal study coupled with controlled interviews and possibly tests would be used to examine changes in reading tastes and interests but such a method inevitably limits the size of the sample and is most appropriate where external conditions are relatively stable over a number of years. It was felt that useful preliminary descriptive material could better be obtained by a questionnaire, in spite of the obvious drawbacks of a cross-sectional sample and the limitations of the technique.

The groups about whom information was principally sought are those who did not attend grammar schools. Previous study had suggested that standards of literacy among some at least of these might not be very high.² Accordingly the questions were framed in simple language and many were of the limited response type. Others however had space for free verbal responses many of which throw a valuable qualitative light upon the quantitative results of the survey, not least in providing - as so many do - evidence of the low educational standards of many subjects.

A trial form of the questionnaire was given to groups of adolescents and adults of average and below average attainment. This gained some valuable information and led to a number of modifications in the questions.³ In all, three forms of the questionnaire were finally used,

1. Vide Gray and Munroe. Reading Interests and Habits of Adults, New York Friedman, Nemzek "Survey of Reading Interest Studies." Education, and the summaries by Gray published annually in the J. Ed. Research for the last fourteen years. 1929. 1936.
2. See "Decay of Educational Attainments among Adolescents after Leaving School." by the present writer, B.J.Ed. P. Vol. XIV.Pt.1.Feb.'44
3. Vide article previously cited pp.25-9. The final versions of the questionnaire benefited greatly from criticisms and suggestions made by Professor C.W. Valentine and teacher colleagues of the writer.

varying only in the phrasing of the instructions and in the addition, in the case of the form used with Army Groups, of a question (No.14) which aimed to discover whether in the opinion of the subjects, Service life had any perceptible effect upon reading habits. All three are printed in full in the appendix, although in this paper we are concerned only with Questions 1 - 6 inclusive, which deal with newspaper reading. In spite of care in framing the instructions and questions the method is open, of course, to the criticisms which have been levelled against it from time to time. Evidence was found that a few in some groups had misunderstood questions or parts of questions. Doubtless too questions like No. 2, with some subjects at any rate, suggested answers which might not have been spontaneously forthcoming. Questions like No. 1 are liable to another form of distortion - imperfect reminiscence; in others unconscious or barely conscious motives of "putting up a good show" may have operated.

From one of the major sources of error, that of accidental partiality of sampling, the data is free. Of all the questionnaires issued for use, 92 per cent. were returned completed, the balance of 8 per cent. being accounted for almost entirely by circumstances which did not affect the sampling.¹ For the rest it was hoped that the careful briefing of those who administered the sheets, the instructions printed at the head of each, and the great stress laid on the anonymity of the replies would reduce inaccuracies to a minimum.

2. The Samples.

The survey was undertaken in the autumn of 1944 and the early months of 1945. As a consequence it has both the advantages and the disadvantages of war-time conditions. These made coherent sampling of school groups more difficult than in peace-time,² but rendered possible the administration of the questionnaire to relatively complete samples of adults in the services under conditions which could be kept directly under the control of the investigator.

It was originally planned to have twenty-two age, sex and educational groupings. These were to consist of fifty boys and fifty girls from technical and elementary schools³ in each of the annual age groups from 13+ to 17+, fifty men and fifty women in each of the age groups 18.0 - 19+ and 20+ - 24.11 and a comparatively highly selected and homogeneous series of similar age and sex groups covering the age range 13+ - 16.11 from a secondary grammar school. In all the total sample was expected to be somewhere in the region of 1100.

1. The questionnaires answered by the Grammar School groups were administered by the form masters and mistresses. Detailed instructions as to the purpose and method of the enquiry were sent by letter to Mr G. Taylor who kindly made himself responsible for briefing his colleagues. Similar methods were followed in the case of the other adolescent groups except those samples directly under the control of the writer. The service groups were all given the questionnaire either by the writer himself or by instructor colleagues personally brief by him.

2. Not less so because the writer was himself engaged on military service at the time.

3. The old nomenclature has been retained throughout this paper since the reorganization of post-primary education under the 1944 Act had not taken place at the time of the survey. To avoid confusion, the terms 'Grammar' and 'Secondary Grammar' are used but 'Secondary' is never used alone in its old sense.

How the symmetry of this scheme was modified by circumstances is shewn in Table 1 (page 8) which sets out the age, sex and educational distribution of the sample. In all, 1438 questionnaires were issued for use. Of these 1324 were returned completed, of which 39 were discarded (23 were completed by children just below the age range studied, and 16 by adults who had attended grammar schools.) Twelve of the 114 blanks were randomly distributed among those in the non-grammar school samples under the age of fifteen, and probably represent children whose reading ability was so poor that they could make no showing at all. The remaining 102 represent the balance of 160 questionnaires issued to four army cadet groups. Of these only 58 were returned, most of them from one company. It seems that the sheets were given out at one parade to be completed at home and returned at the next, and many were forgotten. In all other cases, the circumstances were such that the forms were completed under supervision at the time of giving out and were collected by a responsible adult who was fully informed of the nature and purpose of the investigation. It is fair to say that, with the exception of the army cadet groups mentioned above, the sample obtained is representative of the groups chosen for the survey.

The sources from which samples were obtained are:-

1.(i) Technical and Elementary (Non-grammar school.)

- (a) A group of 121 Boys and Girls age 13-14+ from the East Council Intermediate School, Blaydon-on-Tyne. This constituted all the children in the age range, present on the day of administration. In intelligence and educational status they range from those who just failed to qualify at 11+ for entry to a grammar school, to those who, to quote the headmaster, "are slow at schoolwork and inaccurate at craftwork." ¹
- (b) A Group of 230 boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 17+ employed by Messrs Lewis's of Liverpool. Owing to the shortage of juvenile labour during the war, this firm had to lower its usually high peacetime entrance standards and in the words of the Assistant General Manager, "anything which does not indicate the positive absence of a glimmer of intelligence gets through." Most of the boys are employed as "floor boys" who fetch and carry stock and the girls are employed as junior cashiers. All attend classes, (of a general educational kind) held during their working time. ²

1. For obtaining this sample and much information about their social and economic background the writer is indebted to Mr J.G.C. Huntley, the headmaster, and other members of the staff of the school.
2. For this sample - as well as for valuable help in other directions - I am indebted to Mr C.J.G. Graham, Assistant General Manager (Administration) and Messrs Lewis's Ltd.,

- (c) A group of 58 boys between the ages of 14 and 17+ in a battalion of Army Cadets in Liverpool. Twenty-one of these were recruited from a Junior Evening Institute, five from a Jewish Boys' Club, and thirty-two from "a club whose members come from a really tough district of this particularly tough city." 1
- (d) A group of 45 Army Boys between the ages of 14 and 17+. All these boys had an elementary school background but, as well as receiving technical army training, they were being given a general education by the army.
- (e) A group of 74 boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 16 employed as clerks, messengers, junior storekeepers, lamson tube operators and the like at a large Ordnance Depot. In intelligence and educational attainment they were somewhat below the general average of the population and form a further sample of the group on which the questionnaire was first tried. 2
- (f) A group of 60 boys and girls between the ages of 13 and 16+ attending the full-time, day, commercial, and technical courses at the Walker Technical College, Oakengates, Shropshire. 3
- (g) A group of 82 boys and girls aged between 13 and 17+ attending the full time day courses at the Technical College, Shrewsbury. 4

24. (i) Adult Groups.

Other than the groups of 17+ men and women accounted for above, all the adults, numbering 256 and ranging in age from 18.0 to 30+, were members of successive squads of army men and A.T.S. entering an army training wing for courses of instruction in clerical and storehouse duties. The educational background of these men and women was mainly that of the public elementary school, though a proportion of them had attended junior commercial and technical schools and some had been to evening classes. Their average mental level corresponded to that of elementary school leavers² as a whole, though the very dull and mentally defective had been eliminated by the selection procedures of the Army Directorate for the selection of personnel. These men and women came from all parts of the country and had had varying periods of service.

1. The obtaining of this sample was arranged for by Mr G.J.C. Graham.
2. Vide article cited p. 20
3. The writer is grateful to the Principal, Dr. Chapman, for permission to administer the questionnaire to students in this college.
4. Mr S.E. Redman formerly a member of staff of the Shrewsbury Technical College and a colleague of the writer kindly obtained this sample.
5. For an account of closely similar groups see the present writer's "Reading Backwardness among Army Men" Part I. p.29, B.J.Ed. P. Vol. XV. Pt. I. 1945.

///(iii) The Grammar School Sample.

Part of the aim of the research was to bring out broad differences in reading habits which might be attributed to superior intelligence and to the greater stimulus towards reading provided by a good grammar school. For this purpose, the Bede Collegiate Schools at Sunderland, County Durham were chosen, because the area in which they are situated is closely similar geographically and economically to those from which the other adolescent samples were drawn and because the Boys' department had been personally known to the writer. These schools serve a population of 182,500 and at the time of the survey were the only provided grammar schools in the borough.¹ Entry was determined on the result of an examination consisting of carefully designed tests of English and Arithmetic and an intelligence test, and rather less than seven per cent. of those eligible by age obtained places. Both the boys' and the girls' departments possessed well stocked school and form libraries which received maintenance grants from the local authority. In addition the public library system of the borough is good and branch libraries are established in all the suburbs.

~~Half~~ From these schools, 359 boys and girls are included in the sample. ~~They~~ were taken from the top streams of each form - potential open scholarship winners and children of nearly equal calibre. In addition the questionnaire was answered by roughly equal numbers of those who - not necessarily because of lower innate ability - had been allowed to discontinue a second language after the first year in favour of a special wood and metal work course in the case of the boys and house-craft in the case of the girls. The forms chosen only roughly corresponded with the chronological age groups of the survey and some of the material obtained had to be discarded because those answering fell outside the age range studied. This in addition to the fact that numbers in the classes are kept as low as possible accounts for the smallness of some of the samples, particularly at the extremes of the range.

(iv) The Social Background.

The social and economic background of all the adolescents included in the survey, in spite of some geographical differences, is closely similar. All came from industrialised urban areas which, before the war had had experience of wide spread unemployment and which were at the time of the experiment relatively prosperous. Their parents as far as could be judged represented a fair cross section of the employed adult population though a rather smaller proportion than was general would probably have been on military service. Even those from the midland area (Shropshire) came from districts where a large part of the working population was engaged in coal mining and heavy industry.

The adult sample was more mixed in origin, and it would be difficult accurately to gauge what had been the social and economic circumstances surrounding their schooldays: there is however no reason to suppose that it was in any way substantially different from that of the adolescent groups. Most of the men and women who made up the sample came from towns.

1. There is a small R.C. non-~~pro~~-provided Grammar School and a Girls' High School run by the G.P.D.S.T. as well as a number of private schools.

Their civilian jobs covered much the same range as those of the parents of the adolescents, though there were many fewer of the skilled artisan class and rather more of those who had held minor clerical posts and jobs in the wholesale and retail distributive trades.

The non-grammar school groups of adults and adolescents are, of course, much less homogeneous than the Grammar School groups, but the conditions of sampling were such that slight local peculiarities of opportunity or social pressure would tend to cancel out. They may fairly be considered a representative sample of that large proportion of our urban industrial population which ranges in innate ability from just above the borderline of mental defect to one standard deviation above the average, a sample of the products of our elementary and junior technical schools outside the metropolitan area. The grammar school group was deliberately chosen to present contrasting conditions of innate ability and cultural stimulus within an economic and social setting in other respects similar. They are a more than usually favourable sample of boys and girls of their circumstances.

As has been said the aim was to have a sample of fifty in each age, sex, and educational sub-group, a number which kept the labour of preliminary analysis of so extensive a questionnaire within bounds and at the sametime allowed statistical comparisons to be made without an undue margin of error. All but three of the grammar school groups fell short of this as did two of the elementary and technical school groups. The two groups of young men, 17+ and 18+, number 36 each only and the corresponding groups of young women also fell short, but in view of the fact that the younger groups (17+ men and 17+ women) were predominantly civilian and the older (18+ men and women) entirely service, it was considered advisable not to combine them. There were also sufficient men over 30 educated at elementary and technical schools to constitute an additional subgroup though women over thirty, by reason largely of the differential call-up, were too scantily represented to furnish a comparative sample.

Thus the final distribution of the numbers on which this study is based departed considerably from the original plan and is as shewn in Table I.¹

¹ The inclusion of the 17+ groups of young men & women in the Adult Sample in the table & in what follows needs some defence. Usually the period of Adolescence is taken like *l'âge de l'adolescence* with the 'teen's roughly in the case of boys & to end somewhat sooner in the case of girls. The main purpose of this enquiry was, however, to learn more about adolescents of school age - in particular of those boys & girls who will stay on in the future until 15 & possibly until 16 & later in Secondary Modern Schools. 16+ is the usual school leaving age for Grammar School children, and groups of this particular background free of uncontrolled bias of selection are difficult to obtain after that age. Hence considerations of symmetry have been allowed to prevail in this instance over more truly for diatopical reasons. Since, however, comparisons by age etc. are made between individual sub-groups, the arbitrary nature of the division is more apparent than real.

Distribution of the Sample by Age, Sex and Education.

**ELEMENTARY & TECHNICAL
ADOLESCENTS.**

**ELEMENTARY & TECHNICAL
ADULTS.**

GRAMMAR SCHOOL
ADOLESCENTS.

No.	13+		14+		15+		16+		17+		18+		20+		30+		13+		14+		15+		16+	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
	75	41	89	128	81	64	73	42	36	41	36	34	52	67	66	-	44	35	48	36	51	60	51	34
% of Total Sample	5.8	3.2	6.9	10.0	6.3	5.0	5.7	3.3	2.8	3.2	2.8	2.6	4.0	5.2	3.1	0	3.4	2.7	3.7	2.8	4.0	4.7	4.0	2.6
Totals: Boys	318 (24.8)																							
Girls	275 (21.4)																							
Men	190 (14.8)																							
Women -	142 (11.1)																							

+ 13+ means the age range 13.0 - 13.11. & similarly for the other groups up to 17+. The 18+ groups cover the range 18.0 - 19.11. The 20+ group the range 20.0 - 29.11 & the 30+ group up to 39.11.

It was not considered advisable to attempt to fill the gaps or to increase the numbers in the smaller groups since to do so would have meant seeking samples over a wider geographical area or at a different time of the year and stage of the war.

3. The Nature of the Comparisons which may be made from the Data.

As was stated earlier, the main purpose of this survey is exploratory and descriptive: but the nature of the data and the way in which it was collected lends itself to certain suggestive comparisons. The numbers in each age, sex and education group are in most cases too small for slight differences to be statistically significant; but broad trends of difference can be explored - between the sexes; between boys and girls in the grammar school and those from technical and elementary schools; and, less securely, differences between age groups.

No amount of statistical elaboration will compensate for defective sampling and the techniques used in what follows are of the simplest. The figures presented must be regarded as first approximations only, for, although the techniques principally employed are sufficiently sensitive to draw attention to differences which are statistically significant, there is often no certainty that the differences are significant of underlying psychological variations rather than of peculiarities in the sampling. This caution is particularly necessary in those cases in which changes with age are under consideration. The only sure way of studying maturation of tastes in reading as the resultant of emotional, intellectual, and other less innate factors of change would be by a series of longitudinal studies pursued over a considerable period of growth. Cross-sectional studies like the present are open to the obvious objection that no two age groups are related to each other in the way in which a boy's fourteenth year, for example is related to his thirteenth or fifteenth. Where a generation has passed through a period of upheaval in the physical, social and educational environments such as that of the decade, one would expect comparisons between age groups, in the 'teens particularly, to be even more than usually tentative and uncertain. Cross bearings on the data of the present survey can be to some extent provided by comparisons with the results of other surveys made at different times and by relating the whole to what is generally established in the field of adolescent psychology: and it is in the light of these that the analyses which follow must be viewed: not as facts established which will hold true of other, even closely similar, groups, but as hypotheses put forward for further empirical study by other methods.

Within these limitations it is possible with much of the quantitative data to make the following sets of comparisons:-

1. Comparisons by sex.

Groups of like age and educational background but of different sex can be compared together. A glance at Table I will shew that four such comparisons are possible for the elementary and technical sample, four for the grammar school sample, and three for the adult sample.

It is also possible to compare all grammar school girls with all grammar school boys, all technical and elementary school girls with all technical and elementary school boys, and all adult men under 30 with all adult women.¹

In all then, fourteen comparisons can validly be made under this heading.

2. Comparisons by age.

Within each of the three major subdivisions of the sample (Elementary and Technical, Adult, and Grammar School) comparisons between the age groups are possible to exhibit trends of difference. Twelve such comparisons are possible within each of the Elementary and Technical, and the Grammar School subgroups and nine more in the Adult group, making a total of thirty-three in all. It would have been possible to have carried the age comparisons of the Elementary and Technical school samples into the adult groupings, giving thus a further twenty-eight comparisons; but the special circumstances of most of the adult groups seemed to render the comparison in the highest degree artificial; hence the writer has contented himself with comparisons drawn between all those under seventeen and all those over that age. Thus, including a comparison between the adolescents of the Grammar School sample and the Adult groups, a further four comparisons can usefully be made bringing the total to thirty-seven.

3. Comparisons by Education.

Since the Grammar School sample stops short at 16+ the only comparisons which can be usefully drawn here are between the two major adolescent sections of the sample. Comparisons can be drawn between boys of the same age but of different educational background and intellectual calibre and between girls of the same age but of different educational and intellectual level. In this way, eight comparisons are possible and a further two by throwing all the boys of one educational group together and comparing them with all the boys of the other; and similarly with the girls. Thus ten comparisons by education are possible in all.²

In all those cases where such comparisons are appropriate, they have been made and are discussed in the text. The data derived from certain questions does not lend itself to such treatment and where this is so, other means have been used which will be spoken of more fully later on.

1. Where comparisons of this kind have been made the contribution of each subgroup has been equalized so that the final composite is rendered independent of accidental differences in the size of the smaller constituents.
2. A number of other comparisons could be made. For example it would be possible to compare throughout the age range Grammar School boys with Technical and Elementary School girls and similarly Grammar School girls with Technical and Elementary School boys. Such comparisons and others like them would be possible statistically but the interpretation of differences or similarities would have very little psychological or descriptive value.

4. Factors Influencing the Results.

Before considering in detail the answers to the questions on newspaper reading, a number of facts in the light of which the results must be interpreted, call for consideration.

The survey was carried out during the final stages of the war. (Autumn and Winter 1944 and the early months of 1945) at a time when the general trend on most fronts was favourable to the allies, though there were anxious and uncertain moments - notably Rundstedt's counter-offensive at the end of 1944. The invasion of Europe had been launched and war under way to the point at which the German frontier had been breached from east and west. In the Pacific, though no spectacular advances had been made, the tide had turned. Parts of this country were still subject to air attack in a variety of forms but our own and the American air offensives on German cities were very heavy. Domestic politics were comparatively quiet. Everybody was forecasting a speedy end to the War in Europe at least.

The daily newspapers themselves were restricted in size. This latter factor especially meant (and still means) the abandonment of some features of pre-war popular journalism and the curtailment of many more.

Less easy to assess is the factor of accessibility of the various papers and kinds of paper. The number of copies each newspaper printed was limited and supplies to newsagents were determined very largely by the pre-war distribution of demand. In addition few newsagents carried surplus copies since none were sent out on sale or return. Hence certain papers may have had a readership artificially high and others artificially depressed.

Both the wartime survey made by Kimble¹ and the post-war survey of Hobson, Henry and Abrams² lay stress on another limiting influence directly relevant to the present samples. There appears to be considerable regional differences in the kinds of newspaper read. Whereas in the south generally only 5.2% of adults read a local morning daily, in the North, the figure is more than three times as high.³ The influence spreads to individual newspapers, especially the most widely read illustrated daily, the Mirror which, read by 15.7% in the North of the country was read at the time of Kimble's survey by 33.5% in the South. The marked agreement shown by the two surveys separated by five years in time and by the conclusion of the war (though not of war-time conditions of course) suggests that these ^{regional differences} may represent more or less permanent features of adult habits or at least that the conditions producing them remain operative now.

1. Newspaper Reading in the Third Year of the War. Allen & Unwin 1942.
2. The Hulton Readership Survey: 1947 Hulton Press 1947
3. Kimble op. cit. p. 7
4. Kimble op. cit. p. 6

Service conditions too have an effect difficult to assess accurately. It appears that about one-quarter of service men read no newspaper as against 17.6 per cent. of civilian men, and that, whereas 22.6 per cent. of the civilian male population read the Daily Mirror, 30.3% of the service men did so. ¹

A further broad group of factors suggests limitations on the conclusions to be drawn from data of the kind presented here. It appears from the Hulton research (and is confirmed in part by pre-war American work) [†] that the amount and types of newspaper reading varies with socio-economic status (and the attendant differences of education and general intellectual level, political and economic preoccupations, amount of leisure etc.) age group and family responsibilities.

Each of these factors in a different way has a bearing upon what follows and, in view of the miscellaneous character of some groups operates as a partially uncontrolled variable. What may be called the major factor in the psychological environment - the progress of the war - was broadly the same for all the subjects. The personal involvement may perhaps have seemed greater to the service groups. Yet we have to remember that few families in this country were not, through one at least of their members, directly involved in the fighting, and, whether it was felt to be so or not, the war was nearer to all of us, civilian or serviceman, than it had been in 1914-18.

Similarly, though in a different way, the restrictions on the size of newspaper operated equally in all groups. The replies to the question dealing with the content of the newspapers read might well have been considerably affected had the survey been made before 1939 and were most certainly limited to what was presented by the press. The interpretation of the figures however is assisted by the fact that the war-time penny press was remarkably uniform in its make up, (with the exception of the picture papers) and in the presentation of news, tit-bits, correspondence and opinion. Moreover many of the local dailies mentioned by the subjects are owned by one or other of the national groups and follow, with certain more or less distinctive regional characteristics, the style of their parent publications. It is only the more expensive national or semi-national papers like The Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Yorkshire Post, and The Daily Telegraph, that we find a wide departure from the methods of the popular national press, and the number in any group reading any of these newspapers is small.

In its effects upon the papers read, the restriction upon the circulation of newspapers did not operate uniformly on all the groups. In the case of adolescents living at home, and especially those who had not become wage earners, it is likely that their "choice" of newspaper very largely reflects that of their parents. In turn, the pegging of circulations at pre-1939 levels made changing the newspaper taken at home more

1. Kimble op. cit. p. 6 The Daily Mirror frequently claimed to be the Forces Newspaper and owed some at least of its popularity to its advocacy of a service viewpoint - especially that of the man or woman in the ranks.

[†] See Note 2. p. 36.

difficult and reduced the accessibility of occasional copies of other papers to everyone; but the regular delivery of the usual family paper continued in most cases. Adolescents earning their own living and wishing to buy a paper for themselves were in a less favourable position and they shared the common difficulty of getting just what they wanted, or even of trying several different dailies until they struck one to meet their taste. In all the camps in which the Service groups were stationed, several copies of the five national dailies¹ with large circulations were placed. In addition copies of the less popular journals and of local evening papers were often available. In Y.M.C.A. and other canteens, further copies could be seen. The conditions of communal life moreover made many more different newspapers accessible by borrowing than would ordinarily be the case in a self-contained household. Not far from most of the camps, newsagents stalls were established, fairly well supplied for the casual buyer and in some camps boys penetrated with papers for sale. The fact that, on the whole and in most groups, the choice of newspaper was fairly well met is shewn by Tables III A & B. which demonstrates that two-thirds or more of most groups expressed the intention of continuing with their war-time paper even when change again² became easier.

Regional differences are less easy to allow for, in the case of the Service groups which are so mixed in their geographical origin. Few had come from the Midland area in which they were stationed and most had very little purely local interest in the evening paper published and circulating in this area. Many however bought it since it was the only evening paper readily accessible. Others, a minority, had the paper of their own home area sent to them through the post. With very few exceptions,² the adolescent groups came from the N.E. and N.W. of the country, ^{and the Midlands} where readership of local publications is higher than in the South. Hence differences in the readership of local papers between the adolescent and adult groups must be interpreted with caution.

The question of socio-economic status and its effect upon the kind and number of papers read by the groups of this survey is less complex and difficult than might at first appear. The known correlations between ^{parent class} intelligence ^{and between intelligence} and economic success might lead one to expect that the grammar school group would contain a higher proportion of children of parents from the higher income levels than the other groups, which would contain proportionately more from homes of average and below average incomes. This may well be so but it is doubtful whether the disproportion between the two groups is sufficient to render comparisons difficult - as it might have done had a group from, say, a private or public school been chosen. The data about the individual samples already given indicates that they are all reasonably representative of those economic groups forming the bulk of our population with family incomes ranging from about £650 a year downwards. ~~They are~~ ^{They are} not representative of the top ten or fifteen per cent. of the income range. The same may be said of the Service groups.

We may perhaps sum up in this way. Restrictions on newsprint and the accessibility of different newspapers, though probably fettering the free choice of newspaper, had comparatively little effect - much less than

1. Daily Express, Daily Herald, Daily Mail, Daily Mirror, News Chronicle.
2. See p. 5 groups d & e. The Army Boys came from all over the country. The adolescents of groups were in some cases the children of civil servants evacuated from London.

the family choice of newspaper in the case of adolescents and the availability of a larger number of papers in the case of the service groups. More marked in its effect is likely to be the fact that whereas the adolescent groups come in the main from the N.E. and N.W. of the country, the service groups are uprooted (and therefore have no ties to the place in which they find themselves) and are very mixed in geographical origin. Differences in socio-economic level can reasonably be ignored.¹ All these possible sources of difference are greatly overshadowed by the differences in age, education and sex on which the comparisons of the study are based.

In the light of this we can proceed to examine the replies to those sections of the questionnaire which have bearing upon newspaper reading. They were designed to elicit broad indications of the number and kinds of newspaper read (Q. 1), those parts of the Daily Press which have the greatest appeal to the different groups and the reasons for this (Q.'s 2 and 3) attitudes towards News of the War (Q. 4), and the likely direction of postwar newspaper reading as seen by the subjects themselves. (Q.'s 5 & 6)

5. What kinds of Newspapers are read ?

In spite of the fact that Question 1 asked clearly "Which Daily Newspaper or Newspapers do you read ?" a proportion in all groups included Sunday Papers.² In compiling the figures for Table II mentions of Sunday papers were ignored throughout, and the table based entirely upon the dailies mentioned. The numbers in each group are too small to present figures for individual newspapers and the mentions accordingly have been roughly classified under four, more or less self-explanatory headings. Under the heading "Illustrated" have been included all mentions of papers like the Graphic (formerly the Daily Sketch and Daily Graphic) and the Daily Mirror. In point of fact very few mentions are made of illustrated dailies other than the Mirror. Under the heading "Local" are included all those dailies, morning or evening, which are not nation wide in their circulation, even though they may be owned by one or other of the big newspaper combines publishing national dailies. Papers like The North Mail, The Sunderland Echo, the Wolverhampton Express and Star, the Liverpool Post, Echo and Express, and so on are recorded under this heading. Under the heading National are included all mentions of the Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Herald and News Chronicle. The scanty references to the Daily Despatch and the Daily Worker are also grouped here. The fourth division is difficult to name without inaccuracy or offence. In it are grouped all references to those newspapers which seem to demand from their readers a superior level of comprehension ability and a more leisurely approach. In this category are placed references to the Manchester Guardian, (which was not local to

1. Evidence from the opinions given by the service subjects themselves in response to the specially inserted Question (No.14 Form C) is given in Appendix 2.

2. Of total mentions made, ^{in each group} mentions of Sunday papers are 21 per cent. in the Grammar Boys Group, 26 per cent. in the Grammar Girls, 15 per cent. Elementary and Technical Boys, 19 per cent in Elementary and Technical Girls, 12 per cent. in Adult Male, 17.3 per cent. in Adult Female group.

any of the groups studied) the Times, and the Daily Telegraph.¹

1. There was some doubt as to whether the News Chronicle should be included in this superior group. Though it makes far less demand upon the attention of the reader than any of the others mentioned in this group and in format and presentation resembles the Express, Mail and Herald, it seems to be marked by greater restraint; by more space devoted to well informed articles of general topical interest; and by the assumption, on the part of the editorial staff, of a somewhat higher level of comprehension in its readers.

It is not without interest that throughout the war the News Chronicle has preserved the weekly semi topical essay (contributed by Robert Lynd) and shares some of its contributors with the Manchester Guardian and New Statesman.

The following comparison between a randomly chosen page of Beacon Study Readers Book IV. (pp.212-3) (intended for children 9-12), and the first six inches of the leader columns of the Daily Express and News Chronicle for August 30th 1947 is instructive:-

Subject		No. of Words	No. of Paragraphs	Average No. Sentences per para.	Average No. Words per Sentence.	Range.
<u>Beacon</u>	Sponge Fishing	315	5	5	13	4-39
<u>Express</u>	"Path of Fortune" (Emigration)	173	8	1.4	16	5-35
<u>News Chronicle</u>	"Germany"	245	6	2.1	19	5-41

The figures presented are cursory and casual evidence of different levels of complexity. The sentence units in Beacon are shorter than in either of the other sources which suggests that the demand upon grasp at this level is lower; when however we look beyond that to paragraph structure we find that a much greater demand is made on the child (by the Beacon Reader) to hold a number of thoughts in mind, in suspense as it were, than by the newspapers on the adults, though the News Chronicle judged both by sentence length, and by paragraph structure, asks more of its readers than the Daily Express.

Such an analysis as this misses elements like vocabulary and, more important still, the level of logical or emotional appeal, which, difficult to assess quantitatively, are immediately apparent even to casual readers.

The inclusion of the News Chronicle in the superior classification would diminish the National categories in most groups by between 3 and 6 per cent. and correspondingly increase the Superior.

The results of this analysis are presented in Tables IIA & B. In Tables IIC and D. are presented comparable data derived from the work of other investigators by regrouping their data under similar categories. Lines 1 & 2 of Table IID. give the best indirect evidence available of the types of newspaper which one would expect to find in the homes of adolescents like the present¹ and Lines 3 & 4 provide useful comparative figures representative of the whole adult population which serve as an indication of how our groups may vary from the general norm.

Table IIC. is based on the data given by Jenkinson for his young adolescent groups gathered just before the present war from samples which - though he does not say so - seem on internal evidence to be similar in regional provenance to those of this survey.

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1. In the Hulton Survey, Economic Groups A. & B. cover that 15 per cent. of the population whom the investigators found to have family incomes of £650 per year or more. Group C. containing 20 per cent. includes those with incomes from £350 - 650 a year, Group D. from £225 - 350 a year and Group E. those earning less than £225 a year. (10 per cent.)
(55 per cent.)

TABLE IIA.

Types and Numbers of Newspapers mentioned by the Various
Age, Sex and Education Subgroups. *1

Age Group	Sex	Ed.	No. in Group	Types of Newspaper Read % of Mentions.				Number of Newspapers Read % Proportions of Group				Ave No. Daily
				Illus.	Local	Nat'l	Sup'r	0	1	2	3+	
13+	M.	G.*2	44	8	53	28	10	0	27	59	14	2.0
	F.	G.*2	35	10	60	28	2	0	40	48	12	1.7
	M.	E.*2	75	12	50	38	0	1	51	33	15	1.6
	F.	E.*2	41	17	62	22	0	8	42	42	8	1.5
14+	M.	G.	48	10	54	32	4	0	35	52	13	1.8
	F.	G.	36	4	66	30	0	0	28	53	19	2.0
	M.	E.	89	7	35	58	0	2	56	33	9	1.5
	F.	E.	128	14	56	30	0	5	49	35	10	1.5
15+	M.	G.	51	13	50	34	3	0	27	55	18	1.9
	F.	G.	60	8	56	34	2	0	18	51	31	1.9
	M.	E.	81	20	24	56	1	1	63	28	7	1.4
	F.	E.	64	25	48	25	2	5	41	44	11	1.6
16+	M.	G.	51	7	53	38	2	0	24	55	21	2.0
	F.	G.	34	10	46	43	0	0	41	44	15	1.7
	M.	E.	73	33	12	51	4	1	25	35	38	2.0
	F.	E.	42	16	52	31	0	2	54	28	15	1.6
17+	M.	E.	36	33	10	53	4	0 ³	33	33	33	2.1
	F.	E.	41	22	39	37	2	2	49	39	10	1.6
18+	M.	E.	36	33	11	51	0 ⁴	0	47	36	17	1.7
	F.	E.	34	40	6	51	2	9	44	41	6	1.4
20+	M.	E.	52	25	10	62	3	11	46	29	13	1.5
	F.	E.	67	44	9	41	6	2	37	51	11	1.7
30+	M.	E.	66	11	7	78	3	10	41	29	20	1.6

1. In spite of the smallness of the sub samples, all figures are given in percentages so that quick comparisons may be made. It should however be kept in mind that the standard error of percentage on a group of 40 would be about 8 per cent. and a significant difference ($2\frac{1}{2}\sigma$ diff.) would have to be in the region of 28 per cent. Moreover the error of sampling in groups of less than 100 is probably not well estimated by the usual formula for the σ of a percentage ($\sqrt{\frac{pq}{N}}$)

Contd/...

TABLE IIA. Continued.

- 1 (Contd.) All the comparisons which follow in later sections, based on this and on other tables, have been made by the χ^2 test using the raw numbers of mentions or subjects as the case may be, grouping observations in contiguous classes in order to avoid any cell frequency of less than five and, in those cases which could be treated only by a 2 x 2 Table, applying Yates' correction for continuity where necessary. (Fisher: Statistical Methods for Research Workers p.p. 92-3 and Table of P. pp.110-111 Oliver and Boyd, 1941).
2. In this and subsequent tables M. or F. represents Male or Female, G. stands for Grammar School and E. for Technical and Elementary.
3. No answer to this question was given by 3 men, 2 in the 17+ and 1 in the 18+ group who however answered the other questions and have been counted as reading one Newspaper each.
4. 3 men (5%) said they read any which came to hand.

TABLE IIB.

Types and Numbers of Newspapers mentioned -
Consolidated Groups. *1

Age Group	Sex.	Ed.	No.	Types of Paper Read % of Mentions #2				Number of Papers Read Daily % of Group #2				Average No. read daily
				Ill.	Loc.	Nat.	Sup.	0	1	2	3+	
<u>Adolescent</u>												
13.0	M.	G.	194	9.5	52.5	33.0	5.0	0	28.3	55.3	16.5	1.9
-	F.	G.	165	8.0	57.0	34.0	1.0	0	31.8	49.0	19.5	1.8
16.11	M.	E.	318	18.0	30.3	50.8	1.3	1.3	48.8	32.3	17.3	1.6
	F.	E.	275	18.0	54.5	27.0	0.5	5.0	47.0	37.0	11.0	1.6
<u>Adult</u>												
(17.0-29.11)	M.	E.	124	30.3	10.3	55.3	2.3	3.7	42.0	32.7	21.0	1.8
(17.0-29.11)	F.	E.	142	35.3	18.0	43.0	3.7	4.7	43.3	43.3	9.0	1.6
30+	M.	E.	66	11.	7.	78.	3.	10.	41.	29.	20.	1.6

#2 Note: Differences, between percentages, in excess of 14% exceed $2\frac{1}{2}\sigma$ difference.

*1 The figures of this table represent the averages of those given in Table IIA. In effect this means that the subsamples have been equalized in weight in spite of discrepant numbers. The percentages have been rounded to one place of decimals and hence do not always total exactly 100 per cent.

TABLE IIC.

Types and Numbers of Newspapers Read by 1886 Adolescents -
Jenkinson's Data (1939) *1

Age Group.	Sex.	Ed.	No.	Types of Paper Read % of Mentions.				Av. No. Read Daily
				Ill.	Loc.	Nat.	Sup.	
13+	M.	G.	211	4.4	32.6	58.8	4.2	1.6
	F.	G.	207	10.9	21.3	63.6	4.1	1.4
	M.	E.	287	1.9	30.8	66.8	0.5	1.5
	F.	E.	298	2.3	32.3	64.7	0.7	1.4
14+	M.	G.	250	4.0	38.0	57.1	0.8	1.6
	F.	G.	188	7.6	25.1	62.4	4.9	1.4
	M.	E.	68	1.2	31.4	67.4	0.0	1.3
	F.	E.	53	3.7	31.7	64.6	0.0	1.5
15+	M.	G.	171	5.3	37.2	53.2	4.3	1.7
	F.	G.	153	8.7	27.5	61.1	2.8	1.4
13+-15+	M.	G.	632	4.6	35.9	56.4	3.1	1.6
	F.	G.	548	9.1	24.6	62.4	3.9	1.4
13+-14+	M.	E.	355	1.6	31.1	67.1	0.3	1.4
	F.	E.	351	3.0	32.0	64.6	0.4	1.4

*1 Recalculated from data given in What do Boys and Girls Read. (Methuen 1941) pp.87-88, 232-3. Jenkinson lists the papers mentioned by each group and gives the frequencies. These have been classified into the four groups used in the present survey, summed and presented as percentages of total mentions of dailies.

TABLE IID.

Types and Numbers of Newspaper Read by Certain Adult Groups in 1947. (Hulton Survey.) #1

Type of Group	Number in Sample	Types of Paper Read - Percentage of Mentions.				Average No. Read Daily
		Illus.	Local ^{#2}	Nat'l.	Supr'r	
Men. Heads of Households with children under 16 - C.D.E. Income Groups	1,232	18.9	19.1	56.6	5.4	1.3
Women. Housewives with children under 16 - C.D.E. Income Groups	1,298	28.6	15.1	53.6	2.7	1.1
All Men.	4,652	16.7	19.6	53.4	10.2	1.4
All Women.	5,547	25.4	15.4	48.9	10.4	1.1

#1 These figures are derived from Tables 5, 6, 8 & 9 (Parents of families and Tables 2 & 3 of the Hulton Readership Survey by weighting the percentages by the numbers in the samples (to obtain the totals of mentions) and then classifying the individual papers into the groups of Table IIA, summing the mentions of each within the classes and expressing as a percentage of the total mentions. Differences in rows 1 & 2 of 5% and more, and in rows 3 & 4 of 2.7%, are in excess of 2½ σ difference.

#2 The figures in this column certainly underestimate the proportion of local daily papers read in the country as a whole and in the North East and North West in particular since these dailies are expressly excluded from the Hulton tables. As a rough guide however evening papers published daily in London and semi-national papers like the Yorkshire Post were included here. An idea of the extent of readership of local dailies among the adult population in the north is given by Kimble (op.cit. p.6) who states that in the N.E. and N.W. the various local morning papers have a combined readership greater than that of any national daily except the Daily Express and that whereas 5.2 per cent. of adults in the S.E. and S.W. read a local daily, 16.5 per cent. do so in the N.E. and N.W. The adjustments to Table IID which these facts suggest, would bring the figures very much more into line with those of the adolescent groups of this survey though the fact that the Hulton figures cited are based on the whole country favours the readership of National as against Local newspapers.

Table IIA presents the detailed results obtained in each sub-group of the present sample and Table IIB the consolidated figures for the six main age, education and sex groups. From these two tables certain interesting features of Newspaper reading emerge. It appears that newspapers of the type of the Telegraph, the Times and the Manchester Guardian make very little appeal, even to the groups of Grammar School children.

A glance at the first two rows of Table IID suggests that in the homes of children such as these, there is less likelihood of meeting with papers of this type and the consolidated figures of Table IIB shew that at least in the case of the boys, the proportion who do so is up to expectation. On the other hand it must be remembered that copies of these papers were available in the libraries of the schools and in the reading rooms of the town and that certainly the older pupils were actively encouraged to read them.

In contrast to these figures are those for illustrated papers. In most groups this means almost entirely the Daily Mirror since references to what was then the Daily Sketch are very scanty. Illustrated papers, it appears, are read more by the elementary and technical school groups (who read fewer 'superior' newspapers) and after 14+, the age at which most of these children left school, there is a tendency to an increase in the numbers until, among the service groups of men and women between 18 and 30, the figures ^{reach} exceed twenty-five per cent. A further comparison with the figures of Table IID shews that this trend is not unexpected from the picture of adult newspaper reading there presented. Had our adolescent samples been drawn from the S.E. and S.W. of the country where the readership of the Daily Mirror among men and women is more than double that in the N.W. and N.E.*1 we might have expected the figures to be very much higher.

Table II C shews some interesting contrasts.*2 Readership of illustrated papers in all Jenkinson's groups is lower than in those of the present survey, and especially remarkable is the fact that, in contrast to my own groups, it is highest among boys and girls from Grammar Schools. So too, though this is probably less important, proportionately fewer in his groups read local dailies and more read one or other of the national papers. The overall trends are similar and the differences are probably to be ascribed to factors in the sampling. Jenkinson gives neither the date when his survey was made (though it must have been prior to the recent war) nor the geographical source of his samples though it can be inferred that they came from the north of the country and are thus far similar to the present group. Difficulties of transport, interference by air attack and restrictions on circulation probably made local dailies more accessible than London papers*3 in places like Liverpool and Sunderland during the war, and may thus account for the high readership of local dailies in the present group as compared with Jenkinson's. The discrepancy in the

1. S.E. & S.W. Men, 27%, Women 32%, N.E. & N.W. men 11%, Women 14% approx. Hulton Readership Survey 1947, pp.10-11, confirmed by Kimble op.cit. p.

2. See footnote to Table IIC.

3. even those which had regional offices in Manchester.

proportions reading illustrated papers can perhaps be ascribed to the partial exclusion *1 from Jenkinson's groups of those children in Senior Schools below average in attainments.

This in itself is insufficient entirely to explain the discrepancy on this point and it is probable that since 1939 there has been an absolute increase in the number of adolescents - especially in the groups with a lower than average level of intelligence - reading the Daily Mirror.

6. Do these figures represent a free choice of Newspaper ?

As a means of testing whether the war and the limitations on the supply of newspapers were potent in determining whether a newspaper was read or not and which one, Questions 5 and 6 were framed. Each subject was asked whether he or she would continue to read a newspaper after the war. In most groups there was a small proportion who underlined 'No.' The highest figures are 7% in the 14+ and 15+ Girls Elementary and Technical, and in no other group did it exceed 5 per cent.

Question 6a sought information on the newspaper which would be voluntarily chosen after the war and Question 6b, which will be dealt with later, asked for the reasons prompting the choice.

Tables IIIA and B. present the information derived from Questions 5 and 6a.

*1 What do Boys and Girls Read ? p. 8

TABLE IIIA.

Proportions of Adolescent and Adult Groups who propose to continue to Read the Same or to have a Different Newspaper after the War.

Detailed Analysis.

Age Group.	Sex.	Education.	N.	Will you continue to read a Newspaper after the War ?		Proportions of the total group choosing:-	
				Yes % \oplus	No. %	The Same %	Diff. %
13.+	M.	G.	42	95	5	77	18
-	F.	G.	34	97	3	77	20
	M.	E.	75	97	3	85	12
13.11	F.	E.	41	100	0	73	27
14.+	M.	G.	48	100	0	77	23
-	F.	G.	36	97	3	83	14
	M.	E.	89	98	2	72	26
	F.	E.	128	88*	7	75	13
15.+	M.	G.	51	100	0	86	14
-	F.	G.	60	98	2	67	32
	M.	E.	81	98	2	79	19
	F.	E.	64	97	3	77	16 ⁺
16.+	M.	G.	51	100	0	73	27
-	F.	G.	34	100	0	79	21
	M.	E.	73	97	3	75	22
16.1	F.	E.	42	93	7	59	19 [⊗]
17.+	M.	E.	36	97	3	67	28 [□]
17.1	F.	E.	41	95	5	76	19
18.+	M.	E.	36	97	3	81	8 ^x
18.1	F.	E.	34	97	3	70	12 [⊞]
20.+	M.	E.	52	98	2	58	40
-	F.	E.	67	97	3	78	4 [‡]
30+	M.	E.	66	100	0	70	30

\oplus See footnote to Table IIA.

* 7 subjects failed to answer in this group.

⁺ 5 spoiled answers.

[⊗] 6 spoiled papers

[□] 2 spoiled papers.

^x 4 spoiled papers.

[⊞] 5 spoiled papers.

[‡] 10 spoiled papers.

TABLE IIB.

Proportions of Adolescent and Adult Groups
who propose to continue to Read the Same or
Different Newspapers after the War.

Consolidated figures: †

Age Group.	Sex.	Educn.	N.	Will you con- tinue to read Newspaper after the War ?		Proportions of the <u>total</u> group choosing:-	
				% Yes.	% No.	% the Same	% Different
13+ - 16+	M.	G.	194	98.8	1.3	78.3	20.5
13+ - 16+	F.	G.	165	98.0	2.0	76.5	21.8
13+ - 16+	M.	E.	318	97.5	2.5	77.8	19.8
13+ - 16+	F.	E.	275	94.5	4.3	71.0	18.8
17+ - 20+	M.	E.	124	97.3	2.7	68.7	25.3
17+ - 20+	F.	E.	142	96.3	3.7	71.3	11.7
30+	M.	E.	66	100	0	70.	30.

† See notes 1 and 2 Table IIB.

The number of those who state that they will not read a newspaper after the war is small enough to be ignored. Not so, at first sight, are the substantial proportions of most groups who would read a different newspaper if they could get it. When however the stated preferences of the adolescent groups are scrutinized there are only two instances of a change of type of newspaper - two Grammar School boys (14+) who wish to change to the Manchester Guardian from their local daily. In all the other cases the change is for another newspaper of the same type as the one read now. Among the service groups of adults the picture is very much the same, except that a few more express the intention of changing after the war to the local daily current in their home district. We may therefore safely conclude that, with the partial exception of the adult groups, Tables IIA. and B. give a fair picture of the distribution of preferences for the various kinds of newspaper in groups of the types here studied.

7. How Many Newspapers are Seen Daily ?

From the replies given to Question 1, it is possible to estimate - from the numbers of dailies mentioned - how many papers are seen by each individual. Of necessity this is a rough guide since "reading" a newspaper means different things to different people; and there would, moreover, be a tendency to jot down papers occasionally read, especially evening papers. It is difficult too to be sure of the figures for those who read none. In some of the groups one or more subjects left Question 1 blank. Such cases were only scored as non-readers when there was no answer also to Questions 2, 3, 4, and 5 and clear cases were few except in the service groups. This rather stringent criterion probably ~~en~~cluded a number of occasional newspaper readers in the numbers of those reading one a day.

The results of this analysis are to be found in Tables IIA. and B. columns 9 - 13. From these, it appears that in the adolescent groups only very small proportions indeed do not read a newspaper and that such non-readers are confined to the Elementary and ~~Technical~~ School groups. In the Grammar School groups more than half in most of the sub-samples see at least two papers daily. It is only in the adult groups, and especially among the older men - that considerable proportions of non-readers are found though high percentages also claim to read two or more dailies. Further light on these figures is thrown by Column 9 of Table IIC. and Column 7 of Table IID.

In Table IV. are presented data derived from Kinbles' wartime research and the postwar figures of the Hulton survey.

TABLE IV.

Percentages of the Adult Population reading
0, 1, 2 and 3 or more Newspapers Daily.^{†1}

(Hulton Survey 1947; Kimble 1941.)

Source of Information and type of Sample.	Number in Sample.	Numbers of Papers Read Daily Percentages of Group			
		0	1	2	3+
<u>Hulton Survey 1947.</u>					
All Men.	4,652	10.0	63.6	20.7	5.7
All Women.	5,547	15.7	63.6	17.2	3.5
Men C.D.E. Income Groups	3,987	11.1	65.1	19.1	4.8
Women C.D.E. Income Groups	4,868	17.0	65.1	15.2	2.7
<u>Kimble Survey 1941.</u>					
All Men.	9,347	22.5	55.0	16.4	6.1
Service Men.	5,751	25.5	50.7	16.4	7.4
Civilians.	3,596	17.6	62.0	16.3	4.1
All Women.	10,358	34.7	54.8	9.2	1.3
Service Women.	847	34.4	49.8	13.2	2.6
Civilians.	9,511	34.7	55.2	8.9	1.2

^{†1} Figures obtained from Hulton Readership Survey 1947, Table II.
(by weighting according to sample size where necessary) and
Kimble: Newspaper Reading in the Third Year of the War 1942.
Tables G. and H. p.21.

The first circumstance which strikes the eyes is the higher proportion of non-readers in both the Hulton and Kimble figures than in those derived from the present samples. Some of the discrepancy - certainly in the case of the Hulton figures and probably in the case of Kimble's - arises from the fact that evening dailies are included in the figures of Table IIA and B. whereas other investigators ignore them or group them separately.^{*1} This would bring the figures of the Hulton survey much closer to those of Tables IIA and B. Kimble's war-time figures are even more discrepant. This difference can, in the writer's opinion, in part be ascribed to the time at which the various surveys were made. Kimble's figures were gathered in wartime but at a period (September - October 1941) when the distribution of national newspapers was considerably interfered with by enemy air attack. Furthermore conditions in the services generally were not as good, from the point of view of amenities in the camps, as they were two or three years later; and the service groups of the present survey were in the particularly favourable situation of being relatively static in a long established base camp in this country. It is possible too, since both the Kimble and the Hulton survey were carried out by the method of the oral interview that they tapped a more representative sample of those whose level of literacy was too low to form part of the samples used by the writer.^{*2}

1. The Hulton survey gives figures for readership of evening dailies but tabulates them separately. From the figures as presented it is not possible to work out a directly comparable consolidated figure of the kind given in Table IIA & B.
2. Gray & Munroe op.cit. pp.31-35 citing unpublished American studies carried out in the 1920's by Farnsworth & Parsons, give the following figures which make an interesting comparison with Tables IIA, B, C, and D. and with Table IV:-

Numbers of Newspapers Read Daily

Men under 25	1.8	Women under 25	1.7
Men 36 - 40	2.0	Women 36 - 40	2.0
Both Sexes.			
	City Dwellers.	Town Dwellers.	Country Dwellers.
	2.29	2.03	.57

The proportions in various groups who do not read newspapers at all shew that whereas the overall figure for the adult population appears to be between 3 or 4 per cent., the highest figures for non-readers are found amongst those employed in Public and Personal Service (15.4%), Trades and Labour (8.3%) and among those with the briefest schooling (below 8th Grade 9%, 8th Grade only 6.7%). In view of the fact that nearly one-quarter of the recruits to the American Army in World War I had not "the ability to read and understand newspapers" (Gray & Munroe op.cit. pp.21-2) and that the proportions of illiterate and semi-literate men in our peace-time population are estimated by Burt ("The Education of the Illiterate Adult" B.J.Ed. P. Vol. XV. Pt. 1 1945, p. 27) as being at least 16½ per cent. one would expect the numbers of those who do not read the newspapers or at best scan the pictures to be nearer the English than the American figures.

With all these provisos, the figures in these tables shew how pervasive is the habit of at least scanning the paper daily in all groups of our population. It seems probable too that the custom begins before the years of adolescence. This universality of exposure to the influence of the daily press is a factor to be reckoned with, though the effects of it are as yet obscure.

8. Why is Any Particular Newspaper Chosen ?

We may move a step nearer to a solution of this problem by considering the answers given to Question 6b. Each subject was asked to give a reason which would prompt the choice of newspaper after the war. Varying proportions of all groups gave no reply to this part of the question - partly probably because of inability to express what they thought. The replies given by the others, though difficult to quantify, throw an oblique light upon the way in which the Daily Newspaper is regarded. There are no marked differences from age to age - certainly none that it is possible to treat statistically. Hence the consolidated figures for the main subdivisions of the sample only are presented grouped under certain somewhat arbitrary categories. These are as follows:-

- (a) Vague Approval: e.g. "Because I think it has more news than other papers" (G.E. 15+); "Good detail about things going on" (B.E. 14+); "Because it has good reading" (B.G. 14+); "Because I like it" (B.G. 15+); "Because I like the way it's written" (B.G. 15+); "I like the way its set out" (F.E. 19+); "Because it interests me more than other papers" (B.G. 15+) and remarks of similar kind.
- (b) Local Interest: e.g. "Because it gives really good news of Liverpool" (G.E. 15+); "You see things about the people you know" (B.E. 14+); "The local paper gives the news of the locality" (B.G. 16+)
- (c) Custom: Because its the paper I always read now and I like it the best" (G.E. 15+); "We've always had it" (G.G. 14+); "Because I haven't bothered to read any other" (F.E. 19+)
- (d) Special Features: There is a large variety here ranging from references to the Mirror's pictorial presentation of the news and simple style, to such remarks as "Because Beachcomber writes in this paper. (B.G. 16+ Daily Express); "Because it has the adventures of Tim Tyler (Liverpool Evening Express B.E. 14+); "Because it has a 'Readers' Letters to the Editor' column and its interesting to read what other people want to know" (M.E. 19+ Daily Mirror); "There is a piece in it called Jane and she often goes about quite naked and that is very good" (B.E. 14+ Daily Mirror). The majority of those mentioning a special feature seem to be readers of the Daily Mirror and references to Jane, Live Letters and the comic strip pages predominate.
- (e) Political Views: The references here are few except among the adults. They are mostly specific:- "Because it is a Labour paper" (M.E. 19+); "It's a paper solely for the working class people. I believe strongly in it's policy." (F.E. 19+); "Because it is a Conservative paper" (B.E. 16+); "Good political features" (B.E. 14+)

† In this & other cases where verbatim comments are cited, the sex of adolescents is indicated by B. or G. & of adults by M. or F. The educational background of the subject is indicated by G = Grammar or E = Technical & Elementary; 15+, 13+ etc. indicate the age. All comments are given with their imperfections of grammar, spelling & punctuation.

- (f) Sport: The references here are specific - to the sports column, to news of local games and in at least one case to "get tips for horse races".
- (g) Critical Appreciation: The assignment of reasons to this category is more subjective. Nothing was in fact included unless it gave clear evidence of some critical thinking about the content and style of the paper chosen. Examples are:- "They usually contain some good literary articles written by the best of the modern journalists and writers (B.G. 16+ Times & Manchester Guardian.)" "It is less blatantly partizan than any other paper and records without prejudice. I read the literary column and book reviews because of my literary interest and ambition." (B.G. 16+ Manchester Guardian.)

TABLE V.

Classes of Reason Assigned by the Various Groups for their Choice of Newspaper. †

GROUP.	ADOLESCENT.				ADULT.	
	SEX.	M.	F.	M.	M.	F.
	ED.	G.	G.	E.	E.	E.
Age Range.		13+-16+	13+-16+	13+-16+	13+-16+	17+-30+ 17+-20+
Number.		194	165	318	275	155 142
Per cent. giving no reason.		5.7	1.8	10.6	9.1	15.5 13.4

Reasons assigned to various classes as percentages of total reasons given.

Vague Approval	30.0	36.0	49.5	55.8	46.0	63.0
Local Interest	23.6	22.6	8.4	6.0	7.1	9.0
Custom	5.3	11.6	10.6	12.4	5.6	10.8
Special Features	27.4	26.2	20.5	25.8	15.8	15.3
Political Views	2.6	2.4	5.1	0.0	25.4	1.8
Sport	7.9	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Critical Appreciation	3.2	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

† No attempt has been made to equalize the groups as has been done in other consolidated tables. The classifications above are of necessity more or less subjective; moreover there is no difference between the age groups sufficiently marked to have any distorting effects except that many more men in the 30+ age group than in younger ones give political reasons for their choice of paper.

The results of this admittedly rough analysis are set out in Table V. The most interesting feature is that only in the group of men from 17+ to 30+ are political reasons given as a main determinant of choice of newspaper. In no other group do reasons of this kind exceed five per cent. Special features, articles, cartoons, comic strips, letters to the Editor, pictures, "scandal", and the like are more frequently mentioned by the adolescent groups than by the adults and constitute a principal reason for the choice of paper. Local interest is strong apparently only amongst the Grammar School groups, though almost as many in the Elementary and Technical groups, especially of the girls, claim to read local journals. (See Table IIA. and B.) Sports News is an attraction only it appears to boys, though here we must remember the great curtailment of professional sport brought about by the war and the consequent reduction of the space devoted to it in dailies of all kinds. If we add the figures for Custom to those of Vague Approval, it seems that in all groups except Grammar School adolescents, reasons of a general and rather hazy character determine the choice of paper rather than any clearly thought out preference based upon an appreciation of what the chosen journal has to offer.

9. The Influence of Age, Sex and Education upon Choice of Newspaper.

It is possible that factors other than those recognized and stated by the subjects themselves in response to question 6b operated to determine both the number and the kind of newspaper read in some or all the groups. Age, Sex and Education all present themselves as likely influences, and on the basis of the comparisons referred to in Section 3 (page 90) we may discuss each in turn in reference to the kinds and numbers of newspapers read. (Tables IIA, and B.)

(i) Age differences. *1

When we compare the age subgroups in the Grammar School samples of boys and girls, the significant differences both in the distribution of mentions and in the numbers of papers read from age to age are very few. The 13+ Grammar School girls group differ significantly ($P = .022$) from the corresponding 15+ group, and the 15+ from the 16+ group ($P = .036$) in the numbers reading none, one, two and three or more dailies. This seems to be due to a peculiarity mainly of the 15 girls many more of whom read three or more papers. In the kinds of newspaper read, there are no differences from age to age which reach even the lowest level of significance ($P = .05$) nor in any other groups does the distribution by numbers vary significantly. Each of the Grammar School samples taken as a whole differs from the similar sex adult group in kinds of newspapers mentioned and in the numbers seen daily, ($P < .01$ in all cases except girls grammar - women (Numbers) $P = .016$). The differences seem to lie largely in the greater proportions of illustrated papers mentioned in the adult groups and the greater proportions of local papers mentioned by the grammar school adolescents. Many more grammar school boys and girls seem to see two papers daily than do the adults, and whereas substantial proportions of the adults apparently do not read a daily newspaper, all the grammar school adolescents claim to see at least one.

*1 See page 10.

The picture is somewhat different when we come to consider the Elementary and Technical groups. Between the various age groups of girls under 17 there are no significant differences either in the kinds of paper mentioned or in the numbers reading none, one, two and three or more daily except that 14+ girls differ from 15+ ($P = .036$) in the kinds of paper mentioned, the 15+ girls mentioning proportionately fewer local and national dailies and more illustrated papers than the 14+.

In the contemporary boys' groups the differences with age are more marked. In the case of the kinds of newspaper mentioned, all six possible differences between the age groups are significant ($P < .01$ in all cases). These differences seem to be due to a progressive change with age in the balance of kinds of newspaper favoured. With the exception of a recession at 14+ there is a steady increase from 13+ to 16+ in the numbers of those mentioning illustrated papers which, in the main, indicates an increased readership of the Daily Mirror. There is too a corresponding decline throughout the age range in the readership of local dailies. After 13+, readership of the various national dailies remains static.

In the numbers reading none, one, two and three or more papers three differences only are significant, and they all centre upon the 16+ group in which many more claim to read two and three or more papers daily. This group differs significantly (P in all cases $< .01$) from 13+, 14+ and 15+ groups which do not significantly differ among themselves.

When we compare the Technical and Elementary groups as a whole with the adult samples between 17+ and 20+ we find that boys do not differ significantly from men nor girls from women in the numbers of newspapers read; but in the distribution of kinds of daily mentioned the differences are significant ($P < .01$). This seems to be due mainly to an increase in the number of illustrated newspapers and a corresponding decline in the number of local dailies mentioned by the adult groups. The fact that most of the men and women composing the groups over 17 were in the services and consequently uprooted from their native towns and cities probably accounts for the decline in readership of local dailies; but in itself it does not explain why the redistribution of readership which this might be held to cause should favour illustrated papers rather than the ordinary national dailies. It is interesting to observe that the group of men of thirty and over differs significantly from the younger men and from both the adolescent groups of boys in all sections. *1

In the adult groups from 17+ onwards the picture is not quite so clear. In the numbers reading none, one, two and three or more papers daily among the men, only one difference approaches full significance. The 17+ group - which is a composite containing youths in civilian employment as well as Army boys, - has more who claim to read three or more papers daily than the other adult male groups but this is only significant by comparison

1. The Hulton Readership Survey shows a progressive decline in the readership of the Daily Mirror in all economic and sex groups from 16-24 onwards until it falls to comparatively small proportions among the over 45's, especially men.

with the 20+ group ($P = .04$) This group of 17+ youths resembles most nearly in this respect the group of 16+ boys of similar educational background, which, as noted above, differed from the younger age groups quite markedly. The two groups cohere together but stand apart from the age groups preceding and succeeding them. Among the women, it is in the 20+ age group that the difference in the numbers reading none, one, two and three or more dailies makes itself felt and this group differs significantly ($P < .01$ in both cases) from the 17+ and 18+ groups which do not differ from each other.

When we turn to the kinds of newspaper mentioned by the men, it is the oldest group (30+) which stands out as different from the others. It differs significantly from the 17+ and 18+ groups ($P < .01$ in both cases) mainly because the older men mention very many fewer illustrated and more national dailies than the younger ones. In this respect the 20+ group of men occupies a midway position. It does not differ significantly from the two younger groups but on the other hand when it is compared with the older one the value of chi-square approaches significance ($P = .067$). Unfortunately there is not a senior group of service women to see whether a corresponding trend is observable there. The evidence we have however suggests that entry into the services may be critical. The 17+ group (predominantly civilian) differs from the 18+ group ($P = .048$) and still more from the 20+ group ($P < .01$) but the 18+ and 20+ groups do not differ significantly from each other.

On the basis of these results the influence of age can perhaps best be summed up thus. Increasing maturity seems to have little influence on the numbers of dailies read by adolescents or by adults. There are exceptions however. Boys of an elementary and technical school background seem in the years from 16 to 18 to read rather more than previously, possibly because they are increasingly independent economically; but the increase is not fully maintained after entry into the Forces. Among Grammar School girls 15+ seems to be a peak though, since this for many is the School Certificate year, it is difficult to see why.*1 The older group of service women (20+) seems to read more than the 17+ and 18+ groups of similar background possibly because they have been longer in the service and have become adapted to its conditions.

It is in the kinds of newspaper read that increasing maturity seems most to make itself felt. Grammar School boys and girls maintain much the same patterns of newspaper reading throughout the age range studied but among boys from elementary and technical schools there seems, throughout the age range, to be a steady ~~increase~~ ^{in the} number of illustrated papers (especially the Daily Mirror) and a decline in the number of local dailies included in their choices. This process of change is practically complete by seventeen and remains unaltered until, sometime after the age of twenty, there is a decline in readership of illustrated papers and an increase in readership of other popular dailies. Among girls and women from an elementary and technical school background there seems to be no marked

*1 The time at which the survey was made with this group may be significant here. The questionnaires were administered at the beginning of the school year before the S.C. Exam. became imminent in the summer term.

process of change during the early 'teens and the marked increase in readership of illustrated papers (as well as an expected decline in the numbers of local dailies mentioned) comes with entry into the Forces.

(ii) Sex Differences:

As in the case of differences with age, the Grammar School groups are remarkably coherent when we compare the sexes within the same age range. In kinds of newspaper mentioned and in the numbers reading none, one, two and three or more dailies there are no significant differences nor are there between the Grammar school boys as a whole and the Grammar school girls.

The groups of boys and girls and men and women with elementary and technical school backgrounds are far less consistent. In the numbers of papers read daily, the differences between the sexes are not striking or significant except at 16+ where many more boys than girls read two, and three or more papers daily ($P < .01$) and at 20+ where fewer women than men read no daily paper and many fewer men read two or more. ($P < .01$). When we compare the adolescent boys as a whole with the group of girls no significant difference appears. When all the men between 17 and 20+ are compared with women of the same age range the difference between them, due mainly to the number of men reading three or more papers daily, though not great is fully significant. ($P = .042$).

Difference between the sexes in these groups shews itself more markedly in the kind of newspapers mentioned by adolescents. At 13+ the differences are insufficiently marked to be significant, but at 14+, 15+, 16+ and 17+ the value of chi-square in each case is such that P is greater than .01. This appears to be chiefly due to the predominance in the girls' groups of mentions of local dailies and in the boys' groups, of national dailies. A contributory but inconsistent change is the fluctuation in the number of illustrated papers mentioned by the girls. Between men of 18+ and contemporary women, and between men of 20+ and women of the same age, though the women read more illustrated and fewer national dailies, the differences do not reach the level of significance. If however we compare all the men of 17+ to 20+ with all the women of the same age the slight predominance of illustrated papers, and local dailies among the choices of the women and of national dailies among those of the men reach the level of significance. ($P = .031$).

Difference in sex then seems chiefly to ^{make itself} ~~be~~ felt among non-grammar school adolescents in the mid and late 'teens, and principally in the kinds of newspaper chosen rather than in the numbers read. The process of change is obscure but seems to be complete by adulthood and to settle into a small but significant difference between the sexes, more or less independent of age up to thirty at least, shewn more especially in readership of illustrated and local dailies which is higher among women and, correspondingly in readership of the popular national dailies which is higher among men.

(iii) Educational Differences.

It would be difficult to say whether any differences between adolescents of like age and sex but of different educational backgrounds are due to the effects of education itself or to differences in innate intelligence. The Grammar School groups as was stated earlier, are representative in innate ability of the top 10 per cent. of the intelligence distribution whilst the contemporary elementary and technical school groups probably range from the dull to those of one standard deviation or less above the average. Nevertheless the influence of the Grammar school type of education cannot be entirely discounted as a factor influencing the kind and number of newspapers read though general considerations would lead us to attach more weight to inborn ability. With this in mind we can examine the differences between the various educational subgroups of the adolescent sample.

Among the boys, differences between the grammar and technical and elementary groups in the numbers reading none, one, two and three or more newspapers are significant at 13+ ($P = .028$), 14+ ($P = .039$) and 15+ ($P < .01$) largely because many more of the Grammar school boys read more than one daily. At 16+ when the numbers of technical and elementary boys reading two and three or more papers increase, the difference is no longer significant, though when we compare the grammar school boys as a whole with the contemporary non-grammar school sample the preponderance of those reading two dailies in the grammar school group is clear ($P < .01$).

Except at the age of 13+, differences between the two groups in the kinds of newspaper mentioned are significant ($P < .01$ in all cases) throughout the age range studied and when we compare all grammar with all non-grammar boys, it seems that boys from technical and elementary schools read fewer local and on the whole more national and illustrated dailies than do the grammar school boys, a difference brought out clearly by the composite figures of Table IIA. It is possible that the difference in readership of local dailies is due to the geographical provenance of the samples though this seems less likely when we remember that the number of local journals published in the areas from which most of the non-grammar school samples came is at least equal to that in the area in which the Grammar ^{School} is situated. The overall difference in readership of illustrated papers can only be accounted for by differences in ability and education.

Among the girls the trends are more obscure. When we compare all the grammar school girls with all those from elementary and technical schools it is clear ($P < .01$) that more Grammar School girls claim to read two and three or more papers daily. Within the age groups there is no significant difference at 13+ and 16+ though the same trends of predominance seem apparent. At 14+ and 15+ the differences are more certain ($P = .016$ and $< .01$ respectively.)

Much the same picture presents itself when we turn to consider the kinds of newspaper mentioned. When the two educational groups of girls are compared together as wholes they differ significantly ($P < .01$) mainly in the greater number of mentions of illustrated papers by the girls from elementary and technical schools and to a lesser degree in the fewer popular national dailies cited. Within the age subgroups this tendency is certain only at 15+, though if Chi-square is calculated on the

dichotomy "Illustrated: Other" at 14+ the value of $P = .037$ which suggests that the difference begins then to make itself felt. At 16+ the differences between the two groups are insufficiently marked to be significant statistically on the small numbers, but they echo the general pattern of the previous two years.

Of the three factors studied so far, educational differences, and their corresponding differences in innate ability, seem to be the most decisively linked both with the kind of newspaper read and with the numbers seen daily.^{*1} On the whole, the more able grammar school adolescents read more newspapers: and, of those which they do read, fewer are of the illustrated type and more of the superior type. Grammar school boys, especially seem to take more interest in the local press than do non-grammar school boys, and a similar difference - though not nearly so marked - is seen in the girls' groups.^{*2}

1. It is relevant to ask what, if any, is the bearing upon these conclusions of the figures presented in Table IV. The absence of any marked differences between the numbers in the various age, sex and education subgroups, who implied an intention to change their daily after the war, would be presumptive evidence that conditions are similar enough from group to group for the restrictions on war time newsprint not to be a decisive outside factor of difference. It should also be remembered that of those whose choice of newspaper indicated a change from the one or ones they saw at the time of the survey, few wished to change to a paper of another type. It is possible that, in the case of the service groups, a return to domestic from community life might bring about a reduction in the number of those seeing more than one newspaper (thus bringing the figures of Tables IIA and B, more into line with those of Table IV.)

on the basis of Table IV

Of the sixty or more comparisons which can logically be made, only seven are significant. Fewer boys of 13+ than of 14+ in the Elementary and Technical Group express a desire to change their newspaper ($P = .029$). In the adult male group, the men of 18+ differ, in shewing greater satisfaction with their present daily, from the 20+ and 30+ groups of men ($P < .01$ and $P = .046$ respectively) but not from younger ones. No significant differences which might be related to education can be found; but comparisons by sex suggest that grammar school boys of 15+ differ from their contemporary grammar school girls ($P = .025$) in that fewer of them express a desire to change. In the elementary and technical school groups boys and girls of 14+ differ ($P < .01$) and men and women of 20+. It will be seen too that all the men between 17+ and 20+ differ from all the women quite markedly in the number expressing an intention of changing their newspaper ($P < .01$). These differences must be interpreted with caution. It will be observed that, in every case except that of the 15+ Grammar School sex difference, the groups on which they are founded are incomplete because some of the subjects did not answer the question (vide notes to Table IVA.) We may conclude therefore that the differences which do exist are comparatively slight in comparison with the overall similarities and do not seriously affect the argument.

2. It is of interest to note that Miller ("The Relation of Reading Characteristics to Social Indexes" Am. Journ. Sociology No. 6 May '36 pp. 738 - 756) found that his economically, educationally and socially superior group (of adults) read an average of 1.58 newspapers daily as compared with an average of one in other groups. Similarly, although

contd. next page.

Footnote (Continued from page 36.)

2

there is little broad difference between his adult groups in the kinds of newspaper read, there are many more in the superior division who read newspapers of high quality (p.753) - a general trend confirmed by the figures of the Hulton Survey (Tables 4 - 9 inclusive.)

Terman & Linia (Children's Reading, Appleton & Co., 1931 pp.46-7) remark that gifted children generally read more than other children, a fact confirmed by the summary of studies given by Gray and Munroe, (op.cit.pp.114 - 129) who add that while the more able children tend to read ~~the~~ similar kinds of newspaper, magazines and books ~~as~~ ^{to those read by} their contemporaries, they include in their reading more of a superior quality.

Waples & Tyler in their study of 107 sex and social groups of American adults (What People Want to Read About, University of Chicago Press 1931) found that of the conditions affecting group reading interests generally, differences in ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{sex} had the most general effect, but that differences in education come next in importance, and increase as the gaps in educational opportunity widen. (pp. 124 - 9)

10. Which features of the Daily Press are most widely read ?

The remaining three questions in the section of the questionnaire under discussion are closely interrelated. Question 2 sought to obtain information as to which features of the daily newspaper read had the most appeal at various ages. Question 3 aimed to gather pointers to the reasons why certain features were read, and Question 4 tried explicitly to find what the prevailing attitude was towards the news of the war which filled much of the news space at the time of the survey.*1

In Question 2, the subjects were asked to place the various parts of the daily paper in an order representing the degree of interest they took in these. The list was carefully compiled from an examination of all the popular national dailies and most of the local dailies (morning and evening) published in the areas from which the samples came. The build up of most of the dailies local and national was found to be closely similar, but of course the quality and attractiveness of similar features as well as the space allotted to them by different editors, differed considerably. The principal difficulty was found to be in making a list which was brief enough to be held in mind by the least intelligent subjects, full enough to omit nothing of importance, clear enough in definition not to be misunderstood, and yet sufficiently general to apply to all the newspapers most likely to be read by the groups. The result is inevitably a compromise and not an entirely satisfactory one. That it was sufficiently comprehensive is indicated by the comparative scantiness of the replies to the last item which asked the subjects to put in any feature not previously covered; but clues provided by the answers to Question 3 shewed that one or two of the items - especially 'pictures'*2 - had been misunderstood in a number of cases.

1. It is in fields such as this that the results of a questionnaire approach are most equivocal since the information asked for is in some degree subjective and since we have as yet no adequate means of knowing how the interest shewn by one individual differs in emotional intensity from that displayed by another. Moreover there are variables in the field of study itself - differences between newspapers for example or between the interpretations placed by individuals upon descriptive terms - which are to varying degrees incalculable. Such considerations, which have most weight in interpreting the answers to Question 2, suggest that an approach like the present one can only be tentative and suggestive; but it is doubtful whether at the present stage much more exact methods of dealing with groups are available.

2. Many of the apparently duller members of the Elementary and Technical adolescent and adult groups, and a few Grammar School boys and girls, evidently took this to mean Cinema programmes or even film criticism - a shrewd comment on the pervasiveness of the Cinema in their thinking.

More difficult to assess accurately is the reliability of the answers given and to express these as an index for the groups concerned. Though sounder statistically it would have been difficult to restrict the list to those parts of the newspaper which were certainly of universal interest and to have asked for an order in which all items given were ranked. Such a course would have permitted the calculation of a reliability coefficient for each group but would have severely limited in other ways the information obtained. Instead, all subjects were asked to delete those items which they never read and to number the remainder in rank order of interest. This produced a result difficult to handle with refinement, but more suitable, (in that it allowed the subject the greatest possible freedom), to an exploratory survey like the present.

In analysing and tabulating the results, the proportions of each group deleting each item were recorded. This forms a kind of inverse index of interest for the group since the instruction to cross out those sections which were never read was explicit. The remaining items were then allotted a mark, 14¹ for first place, 13 for second, 12 for third and so on. The score for each item was then summed and expressed as a percentage of the possible score had every subject ranked it first. This figure provides a rough index of the degree of interest in the particular item shewn by the group.²

1. 14 and not 13 was allotted for first place since small proportion of most groups added a further item in the space provided and some placed it in order of interest.

2. This method of obtaining a group index is open to objections both logical and statistical, especially if we seek to apply the indices so obtained to individuals; none-the-less it does indicate central tendencies within each group and seems to be as accurate as the nature of the data itself warrants. An indication of its reliability may be gathered by correlating the rank order of the items for each group on this percentage index with that given by the proportions deleting each item. The average of the 23 coefficients so obtained is .89; thirteen of the coefficients are of the value of .9 or better, seven of .8 or better, and only three fall below that (.66 Girls Grammar 13+; .68 Girls Grammar 16+; and .73 Women 18+)

In the correlation of indices, there is of course a certain (and in this case incalculable) element of the spurious since averages tend to ignore the variation within the populations from which they are drawn. Moreover the deletion of an item by a subject means that it does not score and therefore does not contribute to the composite interest index. A certain and probably fairly high degree of correlation between the two orders would be expected to follow automatically from these two circumstances alone and the coefficient cited above cannot be considered directly comparable with coefficients derived by the split-half method or by correlating two successive administrations of the same test. None the less the high values obtained suggest that the use of the composite interest index is a legitimate refinement upon the mere ticking or deletion of items which is a method frequently employed in data of this sort. There seems to be no reason to suppose that it is less reliable or more open to objection than the somewhat more complicated (for the subject to understand and apply) method of asking the subject to rate each item on a three or five point scale.

The order in which many of the items were ranked varied markedly and members of the same group placed them sometimes at the extremes of their lists. In other cases the question was imperfectly answered and while some items were deleted and others ranked, some were left blank. In such cases, the items left blank have been allotted a position as if they were equal to each other in interest but below those which had been put in order. On the whole the question was answered conscientiously and the number of such imperfect answers is not great.

Tables VIA. and B. present the results of this analysis, for each of the several sub-groups into which the sample is divided. Under each educational, age and sex group are four columns. In Col. (a) is shown the percentage of the group deleting the item; in Col. (b) the order of readership of each item based on this; in Col. (c) the percentage score for each item derived as described above; and in Col. (d) the order of interest based on this. At the foot of the table are printed the coefficients of rank order correlation obtained by correlating columns b and d.

Table VIA.

† The symbols B.G., G.G., B.E., G.E., M.E. and F.E. mean respectively Boys Grammar, Girls Grammar, Boys Technical and Elementary, Girls Technical and Elementary, Males Technical and Elementary, and Females Technical and Elementary.

Under each group are shown:- in column(a) the percentage of the group who claim that they never read the item in question; in column (b) the order of interest based on column (a); in column (c) the composite interest score expressed as a percentage and derived as described in the text; and in column (d) the rank order of the items based on this. The final row of the table gives the rank differences coefficient of correlation calculated from columns (b) and (d).

It will be noticed that in certain of the columns apparently equal percentages are differently ranked in column (d). This is because all the percentage figures are rounded to whole numbers whereas the rank orders of column (d) are derived from the raw scores.

TABLE

The Degree of Interest Shewn
Consolidated

VIB.

in Various Sections of the Newspaper.
Groups. †

	Boys: Grammar				Girls: Grammar				Boys: Technical & Elementary.				Girls: Technical & Elementary				Men: Technical & Elementary 17-20				Women: Technical & Elementary 17-30				Men: Technical & Elementary 30+			
	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d
Current News of the War.	6.8	3	79.8	1	16.3	8	70.5	2	14.5	4	73.5	1	34.8	6	55.3	5	8	1	82.7	1	10.7	2	79.3	1	2	1	84	1
Gossip and Domestic News.	80.9	13	8.0	13	27.0	10	49.3	8	89.0	13	6.8	13	49.5	8	35.3	9	61.7	13	20.7	13	27.3	8	50.3	8	64	13	21	13
Leading Article.	36.8	10	41.0	10	31.5	12	43.8	11	49.3	9	34.8	9	69.0	12	19.0	12	25.7	9	46.3	10	32.0	9	42.3	9	11	3=	68	3
Political Feature Article.	54.3	12	28.3	12	66.8	13	19.8	13	71.5	12	17.5	12	82.5	13	7.8	13	41.7	11	33.7	11	58.7	13	25.0	13	17	7	62	4
Feature Articles of General Interest.	1.7	7	55.5	8	10.5	6	68.8	4	40.0	8	41.5	8	55.3	9	28.8	10	16.0	6	57.0	4	21.0	7	53.0	7	9	2	58	5
Comic Strip.	15.5	6	55.8	7	5.5	5	59.5	7	11.5	2	66.5	3	13.0	3	71.3	1	20.0	7	51.0	7	13.3	5	56.0	5	38	10	32	11
Cartoon.	6.3	2	64.3	3	1.3	1	68.5	5	10.8	1	66.8	2	12.8	2	66.8	3	10.0	5	55.3	5	11.0	3=	55.7	4	18	8	46	8
Advertisements.	39.3	11	29.5	11	13.3	7	39.3	12	49.8	10	30.3	11	23.3	4	55.5	4	45.0	12	27.3	12	35.0	10	34.3	11	44	12	29	12
Pictures.	8.3	4	60.0	6	3.8	2	69.3	3	13.8	3	58.5	5	8.0	1	70.8	2	8.7	2	58.0	3	7.3	1	61.3	3	14	6	56	7
Sports News.	20.0	8	66.0	2	25.8	9	45.8	9	28.5	6	59.3	4	56.8	10	41.0	8	9.7	3=	71.3	2	54.7	12	25.7	12	12	5	70	2
Readers' Letters.	11.8	5	61.8	5	4.5	4	77.8	1	51.3	11	33.8	10	38.8	7	43.8	7	21.3	8	49.7	9	14.7	6	63.3	2	11	3=	58	6
Military Correspondent.	23.8	9	44.8	9	30.5	11	44.3	10	37.3	7	43.5	7	67.3	11	19.8	11	27.6	10	50.0	8	39.7	11	34.7	10	42	11	37	10
Humorous Paragraph.	5.8	1	62.5	4	4.0	3	68.3	6	27.0	5	46.0	6	31.3	5	44.3	6	9.7	3=	54.0	6	11.0	3=	53.7	6	21	9	42	9
	.85				.70				.94				.96				.95				.92				.90			

† See footnote to Table VI A. In calculating the figures of this table the relevant columns of Table VIA have been averaged, thus giving equal weight to each of the subgroups in spite of discrepant sample numbers.

TABLE VIA.

THE DEGREE OF INTEREST SHEWN IN VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE NEWSPAPER BY THE AGE, SEX AND EDUCATIONAL SUBGROUPS OF THE SAMPLE †

In spite of the limitations of the material and the method, a number of broad generalizations are suggested by these Tables. If we glance at the columns shewing the percentages of the subgroups who never read various sections of the paper, (cols. (a)) and more especially at the figures for the consolidated groups of Table VIB, it seems clear that more adolescents of a Grammar school background, especially girls, take some degree of interest in most of the items listed than do their contemporaries from Technical and Elementary Schools. In this they resemble the adult groups. If we look at it another way, and consider the percentage interest scores (shewn in cols. (c) for each group), we find that there are few items indeed for which the interest score of the Technical and Elementary groups between 13 and 16 is on the average higher than for their Grammar school contemporaries. The exceptions to this are significant. The Comic Strip is more popular among Technical and Elementary school adolescent groups than among Grammar School boys and girls; so too, slightly, are Advertisements.

In most groups on the average Current News of the War, stands highest both in the numbers of those reading it and in interest score. In the two groups of adolescent girls however it occupies a lower position, coming second in interest to Readers' Letters in the case of grammar girls, and fifth after Comic Strip, Pictures, Cartoon and Advertisements in the case of girls from technical and elementary schools. In the case of grammar boys and men, news of Sport comes next after the war news and in the case of boys from elementary and technical schools, the cartoon and comic strip occupy second and third place in their interest. Readers' Letters, Pictures and the Cartoon are the second, third and fourth in favour with the women. Humorous paragraph is half-way up all lists except that of men over thirty. Only among the senior group of men do Leading and Political Feature articles appear to hold any marked interest. On the general evidence of Table VIB. it seems fair to state that much of the interest shewn in the daily press, especially by adolescents, is not of a serious cast. *1

1. Very little comparative information from other sources is available. In their previously cited book, (pp. 71ff. and p. 43) Gray & Munroe summarize researches by Hotchkiss and Franken, and by Ross which indicate that in various adult groups, News, Editorials, Politics, Sports, Special Articles and Cartoons are read in that order of interest by business and professional men, male college students and clerical workers. Their own study of groups in Chicago suggests that the Comic Section ranks highest for men and women, followed by the News. Third in the favour of the men comes Sport followed by Editorials. Third for women comes the Home Page followed by Advertisements and Sport. The order found for groups of adults in Evanston is different. Both men and women placed News first; Sport, Editorials and Comic Section followed next in order for the men, Home Page, Comic Section and Editorials for the women. (op.cit. pp. 150ff.)

Rasche (cited by Gray and Munroe op.cit. p. 114) found Comics, Stories, News, Sports and Pictures most popular in his young adolescent Chicago children and Nelson (Gray and Munroe op.cit. p. 114) found among High School pupils, a similar order - Sport, funny strips, News, Scandal, Advertisements, Columns, and Cartoons; no Editorials were checked.

In Jenkinson's groups, (op.cit. pp. 92-3, 234-5) the News is read by three quarters or more of boys and girls of all age and education groups. The Sport is read by more than three-quarters of the boys and except at 15- by rather less than half of the grammar school girls, and by less than 30 per cent. of girls from senior schools.

It is not possible to give in detail the distribution of the placing of each item by the individual members of all the groups; but the facts that the order in which items were ranked in each group differed very considerably from one subject to another and that a single item often occupied in any group as many as six or seven different positions, indicates that average figures mask a great range of individual differences.

In the patterning of interests shewn by the average interest scores of the groups, Sex, Education and Age seem to have effects similar to those already observed in the kinds and numbers of newspapers read. A useful indication of this may be obtained by correlating the rank orders of the items (cols. (d)) for the groups bearing in mind always that since these are based on indices, there will be a tendency towards comparatively high values of ρ .

(a) Sex:

Table VII (a) presents the coefficients[†] of rank order correlation obtained by correlating the order of preference of like age and education groups but of opposite sex.

TABLE VII (a) *1

Rank Order Correlations between Orders of Interest for various Items of the Newspaper shewn by Opposite Sex Groups.

TABLE	Age Group	Grammar	Technical and Elementary
VIA.	13+	.58	.74
	14+	.73	.58
	15+	.41	.57
	16+	.53	.59
	17+	-	.37
	18+	-	.47
	20+	-	.39
	Average Correlation		
VIB.	Adolescents	.56	.62
	Adults	-	.41
	(All Girls - All Boys	.65	.59
	(All Men - All Women	-	.46

- *1. For these coefficients and those which follow in other sections of Table VII no p.e.'s are printed since it was felt that such would be misleading. Not only are the samples themselves in most cases small (thus rendering the distribution even of a product-moment r far from normal - vide Fisher op. cit. pp.185 ff.) but the method of rank differences squared imposes a rectilinear distribution on the data which are themselves indices. Hence these coefficients should be regarded in their general trends only and cannot accurately be compared together.

† All the coefficients of this & subsequent tables are positive.

The figures of this table suggest that differences in sex have a considerable bearing upon the way in which interest is distributed over the various sections of the newspaper. This seems to be markedly the case in the adult groups from elementary and technical school backgrounds. The consistency of the Grammar School adolescent groups appears to be, slightly less than that of their Technical and Elementary school contemporaries, a finding contrary to that brought to light when we were considering the Kinds of Newspaper read, (see p. 31.) - though when all the age groups are thrown together (Table VIB.) and the orders so obtained are correlated, the difference appears to be in the other direction.

(b) Education.

Table VII(b), presents the coefficients obtained by correlating the orders of preference shown by groups of like age and sex but of different education.

TABLE VII (b)

Rank Order Correlations between Orders of Interest for Various Items of the Newspaper shown by Different Educational Groups

<u>TABLE</u>	<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
<u>VIA.</u>	13+	.87	.46
	14+	.87	.57
	15+	.69	.73
	16+	.67	.29
	Average	.78	.51
<u>VIB.</u>	All Elementary & Technical All Grammar	.85	.48

The figures of this table suggest that the interests of boys - especially in the early 'teens - are much less affected by difference in education (and the implied difference in mental level) than are those of girls. On the whole too, in the case of boys, the divergencies become more marked with age. The girls present a problem which the data is insufficient to solve; from 13+ to 15+ there is a steady apparent convergence of interests, but between 16 and 16.11 the divergence becomes abruptly marked.

Again the evidence provided by the present approach does not run precisely parallel to that derived from a study of the kinds of newspaper read. Boys of like age but different education, it will be remembered, differed from each other significantly at 14+, 15+ and 16+ but not at 13+. Girls differed from each other significantly at 14+ and 15+ but not at 13+ and 16+. All the Grammar School boys considered together differed from all their Technical and Elementary School boy contemporaries significantly as did the Grammar Girls.

A consideration of both these approaches suggests that the effects of education upon the patterning of interests in the various parts of the newspaper are extremely complex. With boys, Education seems first and most markedly to affect the kind of newspaper chosen and only secondarily the sections of it which are read with most interest. With girls it seems that education is less important in affecting the choice of paper but in all age groups other than 15*¹, more so, in the distribution of interest.

(c) Age.

In Table VII(c) are shown the correlations between the orders of interest of the various items shown by the different age groups of the survey. In the upper half of the table are the figures for the adolescent groups and in the lower half those for the adults. In Table VII(d) are shown the correlations between the orders of interest of the various items age by age shown by adolescents of the two sex and two educational groupings with those of the corresponding sex groups of adults age by age.

TABLE VII (c)

Rank Order Correlations between Orders of Interest for Various Items of the Newspaper shown by different Age Groups of Boys and Girls

Age Group.	Boys Grammar	Boys Elem. & T.	Girls Grammar	Girls E. & T.
13+ - 14+	.98	.91	.75	.95
- 15+	.77	.90	.76	.89
- 16+	.57	.84	.81	.86
14+ - 15+	.79	.95	.92	.95
- 16+	.60	.89	.78	.95
15+ - 16+	.78	.93	.79	.98
17+ - 18+	-	.83	-	.86
- 20+	-	.60	-	.91
- 30+	-	.40	-	-
18+ - 20+	-	.73	-	.90
18+ - 30+	-	.45	-	-
20+ - 30+	-	.81	-	-

*1 The age of 15+ has been noted in other investigations as possibly a year of emotional crisis especially for girls. See the summary of evidence on this point given in the present writer's 'Adolescent Child' (Methuen: to be published.)

TABLE VII d.

Rank Order Correlations between Orders of Interest for Various Items of the Newspaper shown by different Age, Sex and Education Groups of Adolescents compared with the Adult Groups.

ADULT GROUPS †	ADOLESCENT BOYS.					ADOLESCENT GIRLS.														
	Grammar					Tech. & Elementary					Grammar					Tech. & Elementary				
	13+	14+	15+	16+		13+	14+	15+	16+		13+	14+	15+	16+		13+	14+	15+	16+	
17+	.87	.83	.81	.59		.85	.91	.95	.92		.64	.91	.92	.67		.62	.69	.83	.83	
18+	.86	.87	.78	.69		.73	.84	.80	.92		.57	.90	.84	.74		.49	.48	.65	.65	
20+	.63	.64	.85	.76		.26	.47	.46	.56		.70	.92	.92	.85		.36	.41	.58	.59	
30+	.36	.36	.56	.70		.05	.25	.27	.38		-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	
Combined Groups (Table VII B.)	.86					.85					.92					.63				

† The orders in which groups of boys placed the items listed are correlated with those of the adult groups of men and the orders of the girls with those of the women. Hence these ages must be interpreted as referring to men when the left hand side of this table is under consideration, and to women when considering the right hand side.

All the coefficients are positive.

* Excluding 30+ Men in the case of the Adults Males. The rank order of 30+ Men correlates with that of the combined Grammar Boys .47 and with combined Elementary and Technical Boys .31

As in the preceding tables, the most striking thing is the degree of similarity between groups. Of the 98 coefficients here printed, 76 equal or exceed .60, only 8 fall below .4, and all are positive. Within this picture, however, there is evidence of the effects of maturation upon tastes. In three out of the four adolescent groups of Table VIIc. - Grammar Boys, Technical and Elementary Boys, and Technical and Elementary Girls - this is clear, the coefficients diminishing regularly, though not greatly, as the age difference between the groups increases. The same trend in an even more marked degree (probably because the age gaps are wider) is shown in the adult male groups. This trend of change is by no means marked in the Grammar School girls group, in which the lowest correlation is between the 13+ and 14+ groups and almost the highest between the 13+ and 16+ groups. The differences are too small and inconsistent to warrant any degree of certitude but they point to an anomaly in the 15+ group of Grammar School girls whose order of preference agrees better with 13+ and 14+ group interests than the 13+ and 14+ agree together. Among the adult women there seems to be little variation with age, except that there is a slightly greater difference between the 17+ and 18+ groups than elsewhere in the age range, probably because the 17+ women were not in the Services whilst all the 18+ women were.

The influence of age on the patterning of interests is made more obvious when the figures of Table VIId. are taken into consideration. If we first read the coefficients down the table for the Technical and Elementary adolescent groups it will be seen that in the case, both of boys and of girls, there is a decline in the degree of similarity which appears to accelerate as the size of the age gap increases. To this trend in these groups there are no exceptions. If we next consider the coefficients row by row for the same groups - that is with the stress now on the smaller age gaps of the adolescent samples - the general trend is the same but less marked and with a few anomalies. These latter are too small to be significant in the face of the general coherence of the coefficients.

When we compare the coefficients derived from comparisons of the adolescent grammar school groups with adult men and women of a different educational background, the effects of maturation are obscured and complicated by the variables of education and intelligence. If we read the coefficients for Grammar Boys downwards first, the steady divergence with increased age is apparent in the 13+ group, with the greatest similarity shown between 13+ Grammar Boys and 17+ Men and the least between 13+ Grammar Boys and 30+ Men. Grammar Boys of 14+ agree best with 18+ Men, next best with 17+ and diverge increasingly from 20+ and 30+ Men. Grammar Boys of 15+ agree best with 20+ Men, next with 17+ Men and least with Men of 30+. In the 16+ Grammar Group the best agreement is again shown with 20+ Men but the flanking groups of 30+ Men and 18+ Men also agree fairly closely.

The trend of these figures is confirmed by an examination of the figures row by row. Here it will again be seen that the age relationship is not simple and direct. In this first row (17+ Men) the closest agreement is with the youngest Grammar Boys group and thereafter there is a decline. In the second row (18+ Men) the decline begins after 14+; and in the third row (20+ Men) the highest coefficient is opposite 15+ with lower coefficients on either side. Only in the fourth row (30+ Men) do the coefficients increase uniformly from left to right with the highest

opposite 16+. We may put this in another way and can say that, with one exception, the highest coefficients are in the leading diagonal of the matrix of coefficients.

From these figures it seems that up to a point age operates in the Grammar School Boys' Groups in the same way as it does in the case of adolescents and adults in the Technical and Elementary School groups. A different education with its corollary of difference in innate ability seems however to accelerate the rate of maturation up to a point but it also is a factor working for divergence in the patterning of interests - as it is of course in the kinds of newspaper chosen.¹ The Grammar School boy appears to reach and pass beyond, in his 'teens, patterns of interests shown by men of a different educational background in the late 'teens and twenties.

A similar but less clearly discernable relationship can be seen in the figures for the groups of Grammar School girls. It will be noticed that the row shewing the highest coefficients is that containing comparisons between grammar school girls and women of 20+. Similarly the columns containing comparisons between women of various ages and 14+ and 15+ Grammar girls display coefficients higher than elsewhere. This again suggests that there is a steady maturation in tastes with age accelerated by a different education and a higher level of innate ability in the case of the grammar school girls though - as was said in considering Table VIIa - this is overlaid by some inconsistencies in the 'teens. It seems fair to state that, as the Grammar school boy, the Grammar school girl appears to reach and pass beyond in her 'teens patterns of interest in the newspaper shown by women of a different educational background in their late 'teens and twenties.

One more feature of Table VII d remains to be commented on. If the coefficients in the four main vertical sections of the table are examined, it will be seen that on the whole (leaving out the row for men of 30+) the groups of Grammar Boys and Girls agree better with the adult groups than do the Technical and Elementary boys and girls, a difference which though comparatively slight in the case of the boys of different backgrounds, is marked in the case of the girls from technical and elementary schools. This seems to be one more indication that the different educational background of the grammar school groups and their correspondingly higher level of mental ability accelerates the growth of interests in the field under discussion. More strongly still does it suggest that in this field at any rate changes with age in the case of technical and elementary schoolgirls are more strongly marked than in boys of the same educational background, or girls of a different educational and intellectual level.

11. Individual Items.

We may now turn to a consideration of the individual items of Question 2 and try to arrive at a picture of the way in which interest in them fluctuates from age to age, according to sex and education. For this purpose the composite group interest scores seem to be the more useful since these reflect not merely the proportion of the group reading the item in question, but the order of preference in which it was ranked compared with other items in the list. A reference to the questionnaires

¹ See p. 31-32

in the Appendix will shew that in Question 3 all subjects were invited to state why they had chosen their first two items. These comments have not been quantitatively analysed but in each of the subsections which follow a selection of them is given sufficient to throw a valuable qualitative light upon the group indices.

(a) Current News of the War.

Of all the items noted in Question 2, this is the one most frequently put first. When the questionnaire was framed, this topic was considered to be of sufficient importance in the overt functions of the daily press to warrant an additional question entirely devoted to it, and before dealing with "current news of the war" as an item in Question 2 we may well consider the responses to Question 4. In this, subjects were asked whether they read the war news other than the headlines and to underline one of four alternative responses:-(i) "I read the headlines only, (ii) I always read the headlines and all the war news; (iii) I read the headlines and sometimes some of the news; (iv) I rarely read the headlines or the news."

In all groups the majority claim to read at least the headlines and some of the news and the proportions rarely reading the headlines or the news and reading the headlines only are small in all but the 14+ and 16+ Technical and Elementary Girls groups. Accordingly in Tables VIIla and b. the data from this section of the questionnaire are shewn under three headings only, items (i) and (iv) of Question 4 being combined.

TABLE VIIIA.

Proportions of the Various Age, Sex and Education
Sub groups paying varying degrees of attention
to News of the War.*

Age.	Sex.	Ed.	N.	Reading War News.		
				Rarely Read- Headlines or News or Head lines only.	Headlines and Some of News.	Headlines and all News.
				%	%	%
13+	M.	G.	44	7	66	27
	F.	G.	35	17	57	26
	M.	E.	75	22	52	27
	F.	E.	41	12	71	17
14+	M.	G.	48	12	44	44
	F.	G.	36	3	88	9
	M.	E.	89	10	57	33
	F.	E.	128*1	33	48	19
15+	M.	G.	51	2	76	22
	F.	G.	60	10	83	7
	M.	E.	81*2	10	60	31
	F.	E.	64*3	17	56	26
16+	M.	G.	51	4	69	29
	F.	G.	34	12	76	12
	M.	E.	73*4	5	54	41
	F.	E.	42*5	37	15	49
17+	M.	E.	36*6	6	57	37
	F.	E.	41*7	16	66	18
18+	M.	E.	36	3	80	17
	F.	E.	34*8	9	65	26
20+	M.	E.	52	4	48	48
	F.	E.	67	1	48	51
30+	M.	E.	66	5	31	63

* See Note to Table IIa. Where, as indicated in foot notes, papers have been spoiled the percentages have been calculated on the basis of the diminished groups.

*1 - 2 papers spoiled.

*2 - 9 " "

*3 - 2 " "

*4 - 2 papers spoiled.

*5 - 1 " "

*6 - 1 " "

*7 - 3 " "

*8 - 3 " "

TABLE VIII B.

Proportions of the Consolidated Groups paying Varying
Degrees of Attention to the War News.

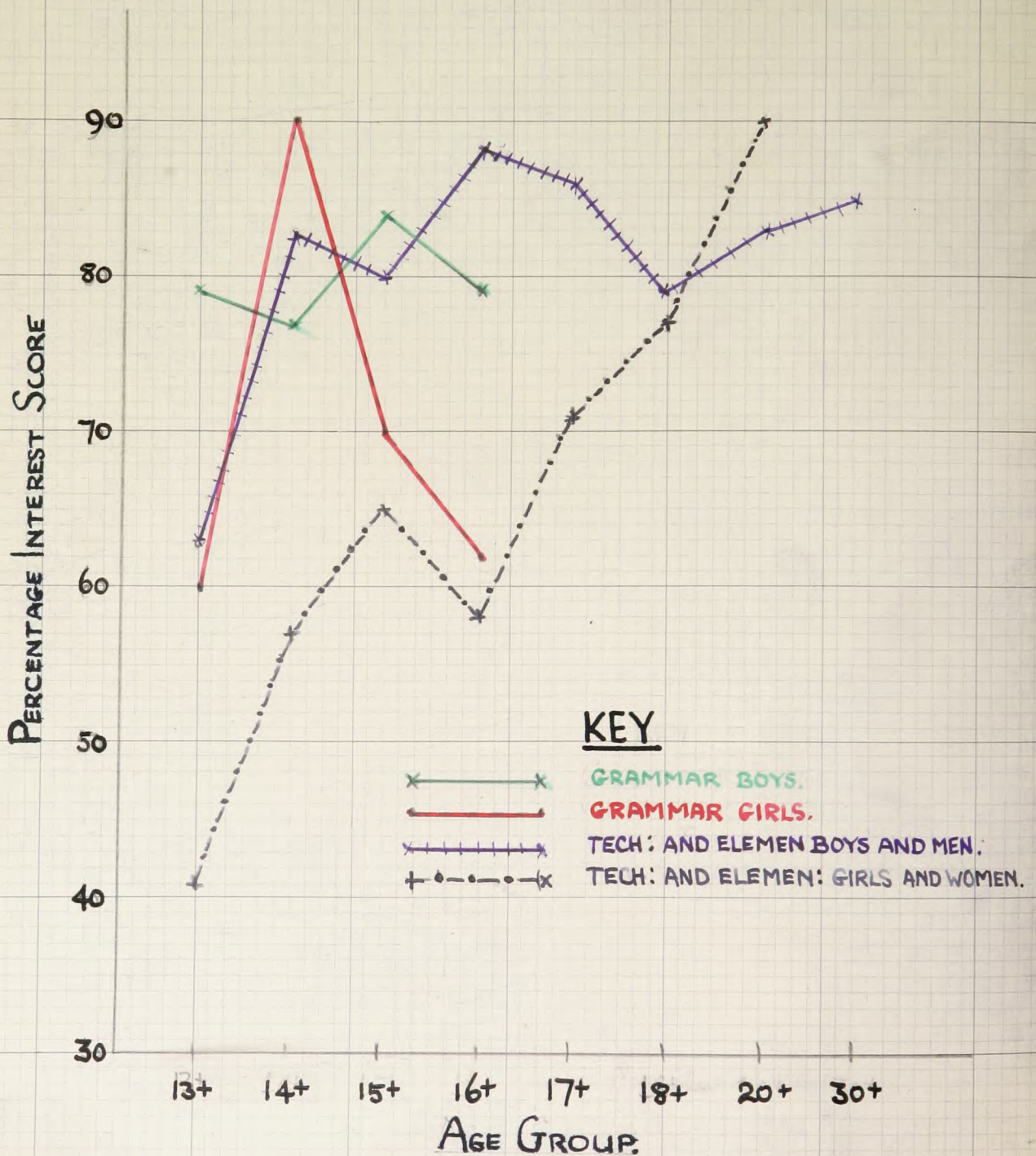
Age Ranges	Sex.	Reading War News.				
		Ed.	N.	Rarely Read Headlines or News or Head lines only. %	Headlines and some News. %	Headlines and All News. %
13+-16+	M.	G.	194	6.3	63.8	30.5
	F.	G.	165	10.5	76.0	13.5
13+-16+	M.	E.	318	11.5	55.8	32.7
	F.	E.	275	24.8	47.5	27.8
17+-20+	M.	E.	124	4.4	65.0	34.0
	F.	E.	142	8.7	59.7	31.7
30+	M.	E.	66	5.0	31.0	63.0

Any comparisons by age, sex and education, since the frequencies in the 'rarely read headlines or news' and 'headlines only' sections are small have to be made on the dichotomy those who claim to read all the news and headlines and those who do not. On this basis none of the age differences in the adolescent groups except that between 14+ and 15+ Grammar Boys ($P = .023$) and 13+ and 15+ Grammar girls ^($P = .015$) approach significance. But differences with age in the adult groups are apparent. The 18+ men, who do not vary significantly from the 17+ men, differ from the 20+ ($P < .01$) and 30+ men ($P < .01$) largely because fewer of them claim to read all the news. This group it will be recalled were comparatively new to the service and it is interesting to note that although the 17+ group differs from the 30+ group significantly ($P = .012$) it does not significantly differ from the 20+, nor the 20+ from the 30+. When too we compare all the grammar boys with all the adults under 30 no significant difference appears nor is there any marked difference between the Technical and Elementary boys considered as a whole and the men under 30. A similar trend is observable in the female groups. Among the adolescent girls the only significant difference which may be ascribed to age lies between 13+ girls Grammar and 15+ girls Grammar. ($P = .015$). At 13+ more girls state that they rarely read the news or that they read the headlines only. Among the women, it is the 20+ group, with its smaller proportion of those who rarely read the news and larger proportion of those who claim to read the headlines and all the news, which is different both from the 17+ Women ($P < .01$) and the 18+ ($P = .044$). This appears however to be a confirmation of a general trend in ^{the} women towards increased reading of war news in late adolescence and adulthood, for, when all the Grammar Girls, considered as a whole are compared with the Women under 30, the difference is significant ($P < .01$), as is that between all the girls of the technical and elementary groups and all the Women ($P < .01$)

Differences which may be connected with sex are apparent at 14+ and 15+ in the grammar school groups ($P < .01$ and $P = .033$ respectively). At 14+ it seems that a higher proportion of grammar boys claim to read all the news and headlines than do girls ^{but these fewer girls are in 17+ group} who rarely read news or headlines and more boys who claim to read all about the war. At 15+ ^{there are more girls} this difference is still apparent though not so marked ($P = .074$). When however Grammar School boys and girls are compared together as total groups, the difference in interest is marked ($P < .01$). In the technical and elementary school groups there is a difference at 14+ ($P = .024$) due to a preponderance of girls of this age who do not read the war news and of boys who claim to read it all. At 15+ a similar difference appears which is not however statistically significant, while at 16+ there is a trend to extremes in the girls, over one third of whom state that they rarely or never look at more than the headlines whilst nearly half claim to read all the war news. This makes the group differ markedly from the corresponding age group of boys ($P < .01$). When the groups of boys and girls of this educational background are compared however the differences especially in the proportions ^{of girls} who do not pay much attention to news of the war become striking ($P < .01$).

None of the sex differences within the age groups of the adult sample reaches the level of significance, but when all the men are compared with all the women the slight preponderance of women who rarely read more than the headlines and of men who read all the news become apparent ($P < .01$).

No 1: CURRENT NEWS OF THE WAR.



Of the differences which might be connected with education only one - that between 15+ girls Grammar and 15+ girls elementary and technical ($P < .01$) - is significant.

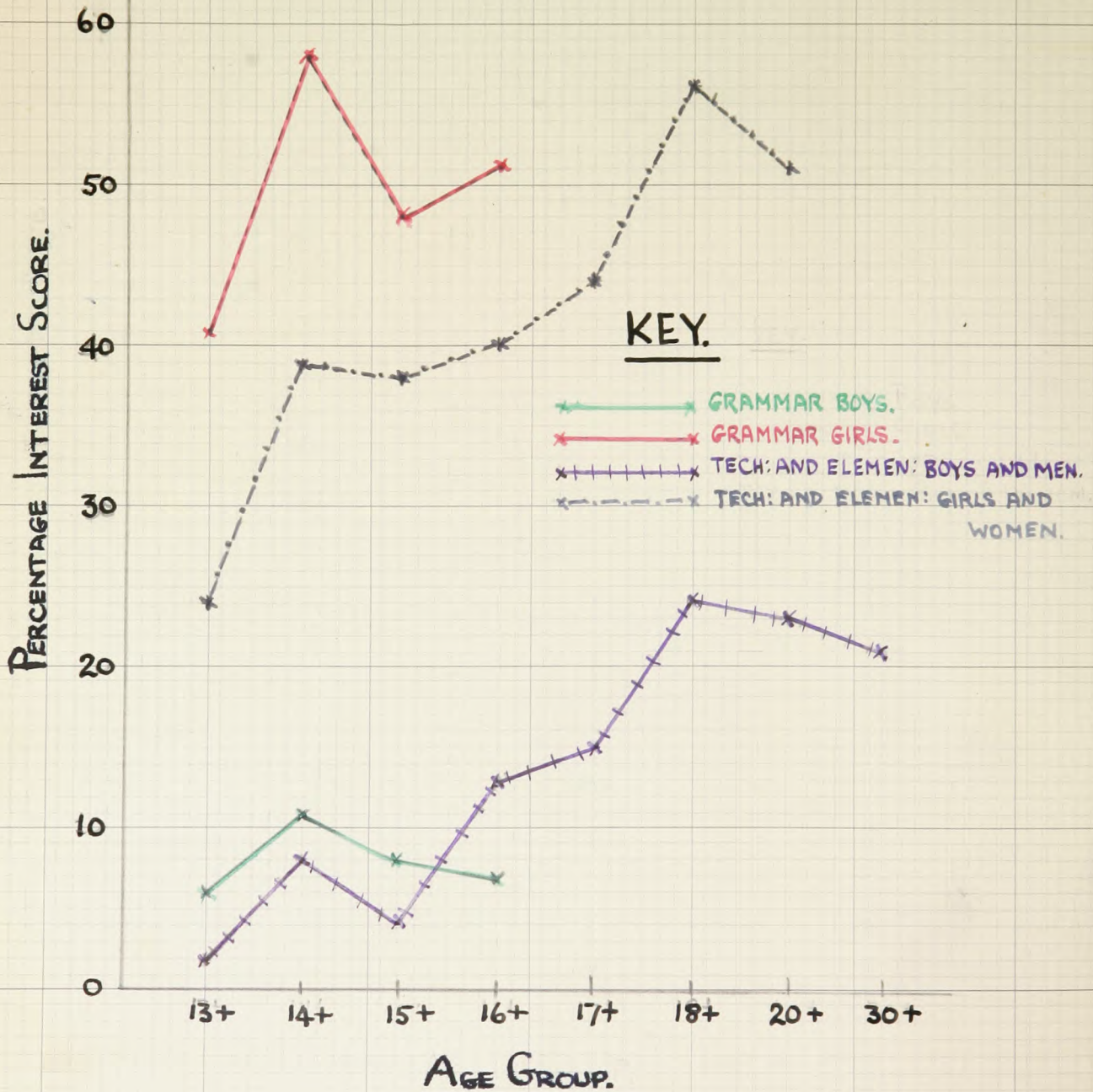
From these figures it seems that differences in education do not have much to do with the amount of attention paid to news of the war; nor apparently, except among girls and women, do differences in age and even here the differences are more to be ascribed to experience than directly to age. There is a small but comparatively consistent sex difference; more boys and men claimed to read all the war news: more girls and women rarely read headlines or news, or read the headlines only.

We may now turn to a consideration of Diagram 1, which, on the basis of the percentage interest scores of Table VIa, shews the trends of interest in Current News of the War in the various educational subdivisions of the sample. It will be seen that the male groups (with the exception of 13+ Technical and Elementary boys) return a consistently high interest score for this item. In the group of grammar school girls, interest appears to rise from 13+ to a very high level at 15+ and there after to fall considerably. In the case of girls and women of a technical and elementary school background with the exception of a slight recession at 16+ there is a steady increase in interest throughout the age range from 13+ to 20+. Thus the interest scores confirm the general conclusions drawn from Question 4.

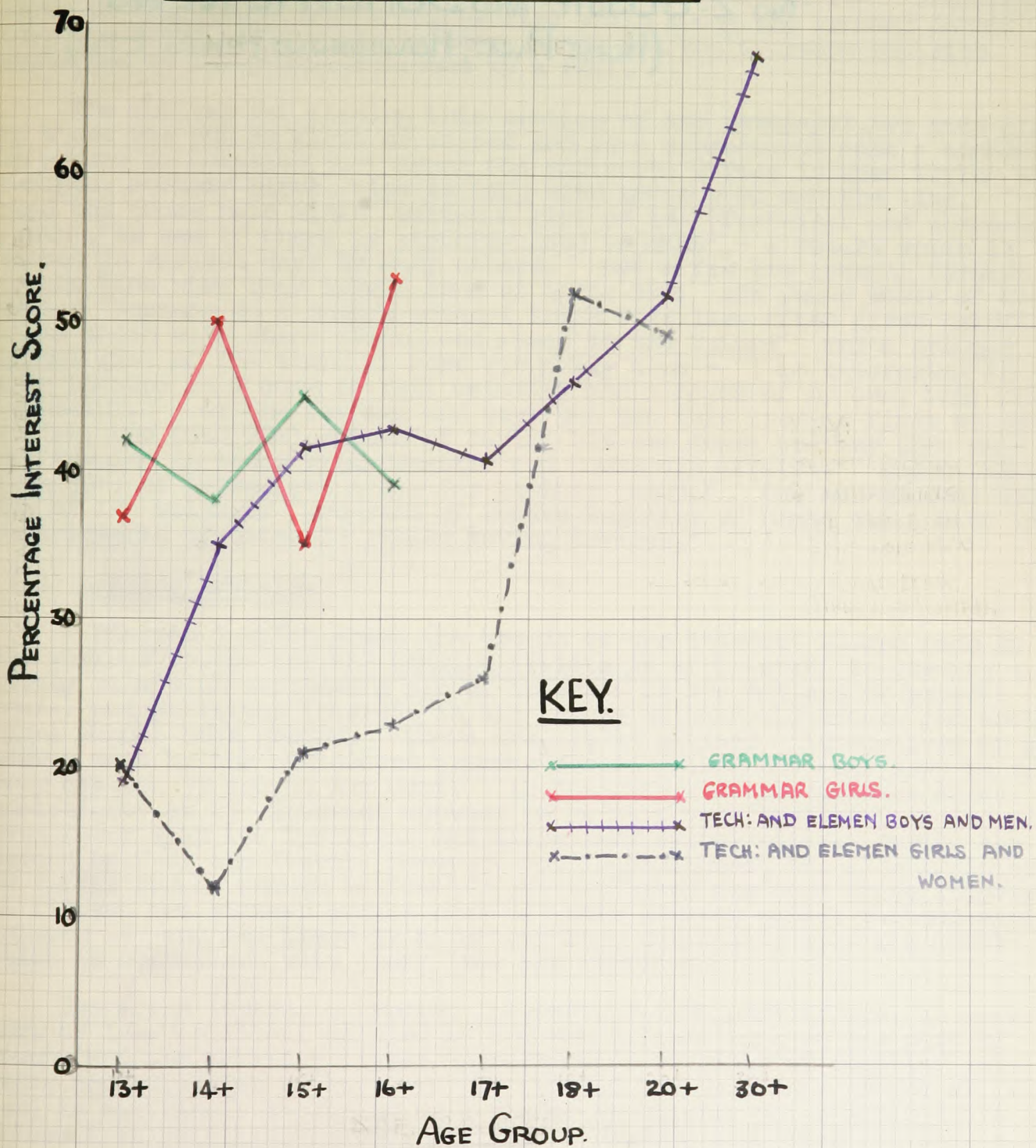
The nature of this interest in all groups is made abundantly clear by the comments given in answer to Question 3. Most typical are remarks like "I want to know how the war is getting on" or "It is interesting to everybody and effects everybody." Many too especially among the adolescent groups express a sense of personal involvement: they mention a desire to know how "our boys" are getting on, or speak of relatives at the front or in prisoner of war camps. For example a grammar school girl of 13+ writes "I like to read about the war and the places where fighting is taking place as I have several relations either in the Army or Air Force." The war maps which were a feature of the papers at the time are frequently mentioned especially in the Grammar School and Adult groups - "I like to know how the war is going and I like Geography and like following the maps" writes one woman of 18+ and a girl (Technical and Elementary group 16+) "because my favourite hobby is geography and I would like to travel". Others in all groups mention that the news helps in discussion or in following current affairs. Among the service groups some mentions of a desire for the end of the war and the consequent demobilization. This is somewhat bitterly put by a woman of 20+ who says ".....to try and judge how soon the war will come to an end, as I am just waiting to get away from this ^{new} concentration camp," and a man of 30+ (whose first interest is sports) writes "To see how my release group is affected by the war." A very few, mainly in the adult groups speak of the suffering involved in the war "anxiously waiting for the cessation of hostilities" writes a man of 30+, "am not in favour of wars, owing to suffering and loss of life it brings to humanity, and of the destruction of notable Beauty Spots."

*1 In this and succeeding sections, the replies are cited verbatim with all their imperfections of spelling, punctuation, grammar and syntax.

No 2: GOSSIP AND DOMESTIC NEWS (HOME PAGE, HOUSEHOLD HINTS ETC.)



No 3: LEADING ARTICLE.



(b) Gossip and Domestic News (Home Page, Household Hints etc.)

A glance at Diagram 2 confirms what we might expect on other grounds, that the interest scores of boys and men on this item are very much lower than those of girls and women. It is of interest to note also that the trends of the scores in all four groups appear to be similar - a rise from 13+ to 14+ and a slight fall again to 15+. Thereafter three of the groups shew a slight rise while among the grammar school boys the score falls again to 16+. Among the adult groups the rise continues to 18+ and is followed by a fall.

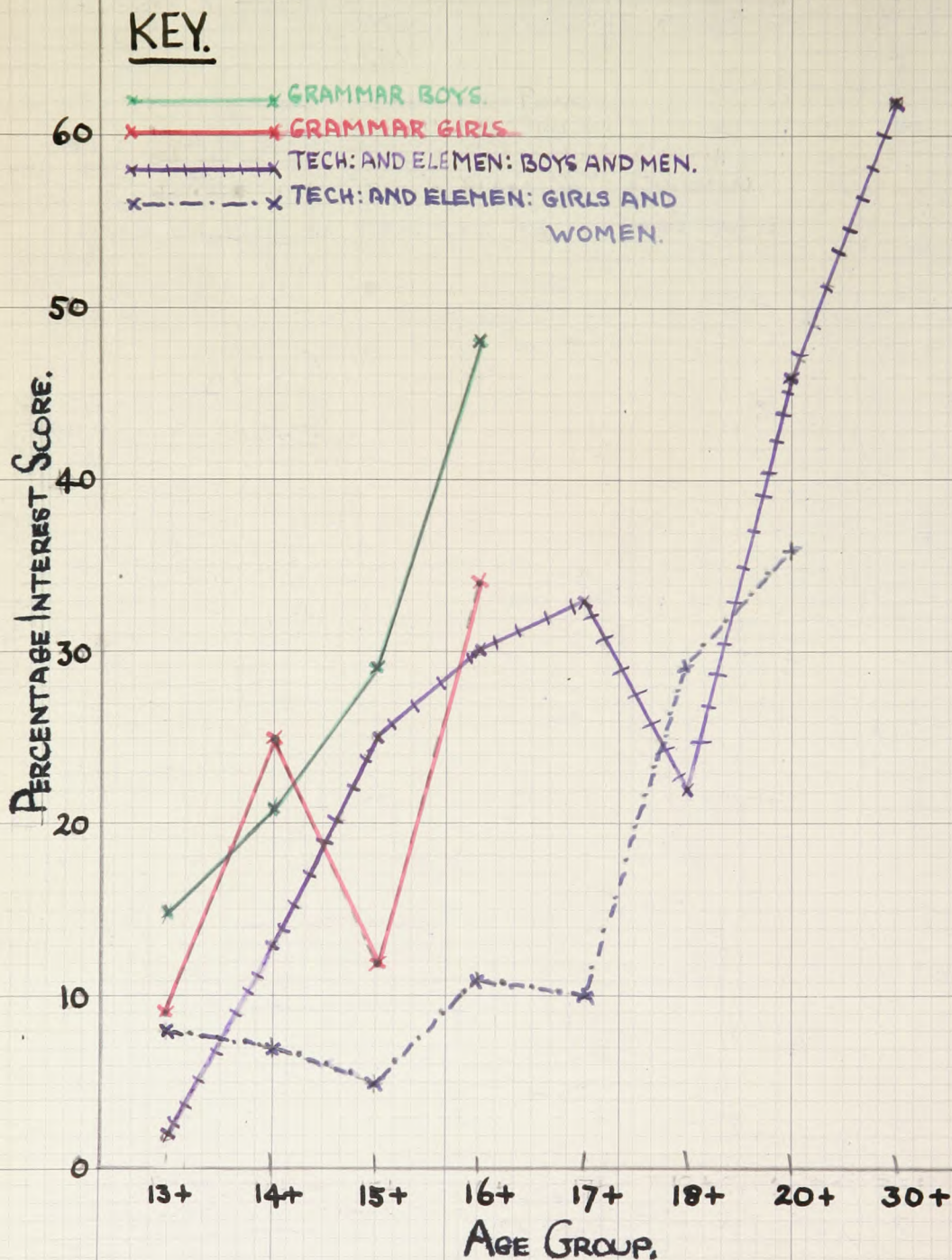
The motives for reading this section of the newspaper are made clear by those who put it first or second and as a consequence make a comment in answer to Question 3. Among the girls the stress is upon trying out recipes, cookery hints, tips to help with house work and the like. "I read the house hold hints" writes a girl of 14+ (Technical and Elementary group), "to see if there is anything good to make" - a remark which is echoed in various ways by many others. Not a few are looking forward to the time when they have a home of their own; one young woman of 17+ writes "Because as a future woman I think this item often gives helpful hints which will stand me in good stead in the future" and a grammar school girl of 16+ turns it more elegantly thus - "I am interested in this because as I come to full maturity and a house of my own, they will be useful." Of the few men and boys who put this item as first or second choice, one (man 20+) speaks of having his own home, another (20+ man) of "keeping in touch with domestic and household affairs." and another (man 30+) of "excellent ideas for postwar years." One non-grammar school boy of 14+ talks of "progress of future Building of Homes etc., also the advancements of domestic labour saving devices."

(c) Leading Article.

Diagram 3 which shews the trends of the interest scores made by the various groups for the Leading Article is of interest in shewing the steady rise with increasing age of interest in the matters of general social and political interest in the groups with an elementary and technical school back ground. There are, it is noticed, fluctuations in the scores made by the adolescent grammar school groups but they seem to vary only between 35 and 53 per cent. In the groups of non-grammar school adolescents at 13+ interest appears to be at a very low level and to sink even lower with 14+ Technical and Elementary school girls. During the second half of the 'teens, however, and in adulthood, the rise in interest is fairly steady though noticeably greater among the boys whose interest at fifteen and sixteen equals that of their grammar school contemporaries. Between 17+ and 18+ there is a further rise especially with the women which is coincident with entry into the services.

The trend towards a greater interest, on the part of men, in general, more or less political opinion on current affairs than on the part of women (and the markedly closer approximation of girls of superior intelligence and education to boys and men than to the less able groups of like sex) is strikingly confirmed by a glance at Diagram No. 4 which deals with interest in Political Feature Articles. We can note here too once more the apparent effect upon the interests of women, of entry into the services shewn by the steep rise between 17+ and 18+ which continues with the twenties.

No 4: POLITICAL FEATURE ARTICLE.



The function of the Leading Article in putting forth the opinion of the newspaper is recognized in all groups. "Much interesting information from it, views from above, generally interesting" writes a Grammar School boy of 14+ whose first choice is Current News. "To see what thoughts people have" says another boy (E.16+) "It is usually something to talk about" writes a woman of 20+ and a man of 30+ "it is generally the leading question of the day", and another of the same age - "Usually the most outspoken article in the paper." One boy of 14+ (E.) who proposes to read "Socialist Appeal" after the war and now includes the Daily Worker and Daily Herald in his daily reading, says - "I read the leading articles in the newspapers to compare them."

(d) Political Feature Article.

The similarity of the trends displayed by Diagrams 3 and 4 has been commented on. Diagram 4 is of special interest in shewing how low in all groups in the early 'teens the interest in purely political writing seems to be. From 13+ onwards however in the case of boys of both educational backgrounds, interest rises steeply and on the whole steadily. The parallel courses of the two boys' groups suggest that the high level of interest reached by the 16+ grammar group might be the prelude to an even greater score for a group of adults of this background.

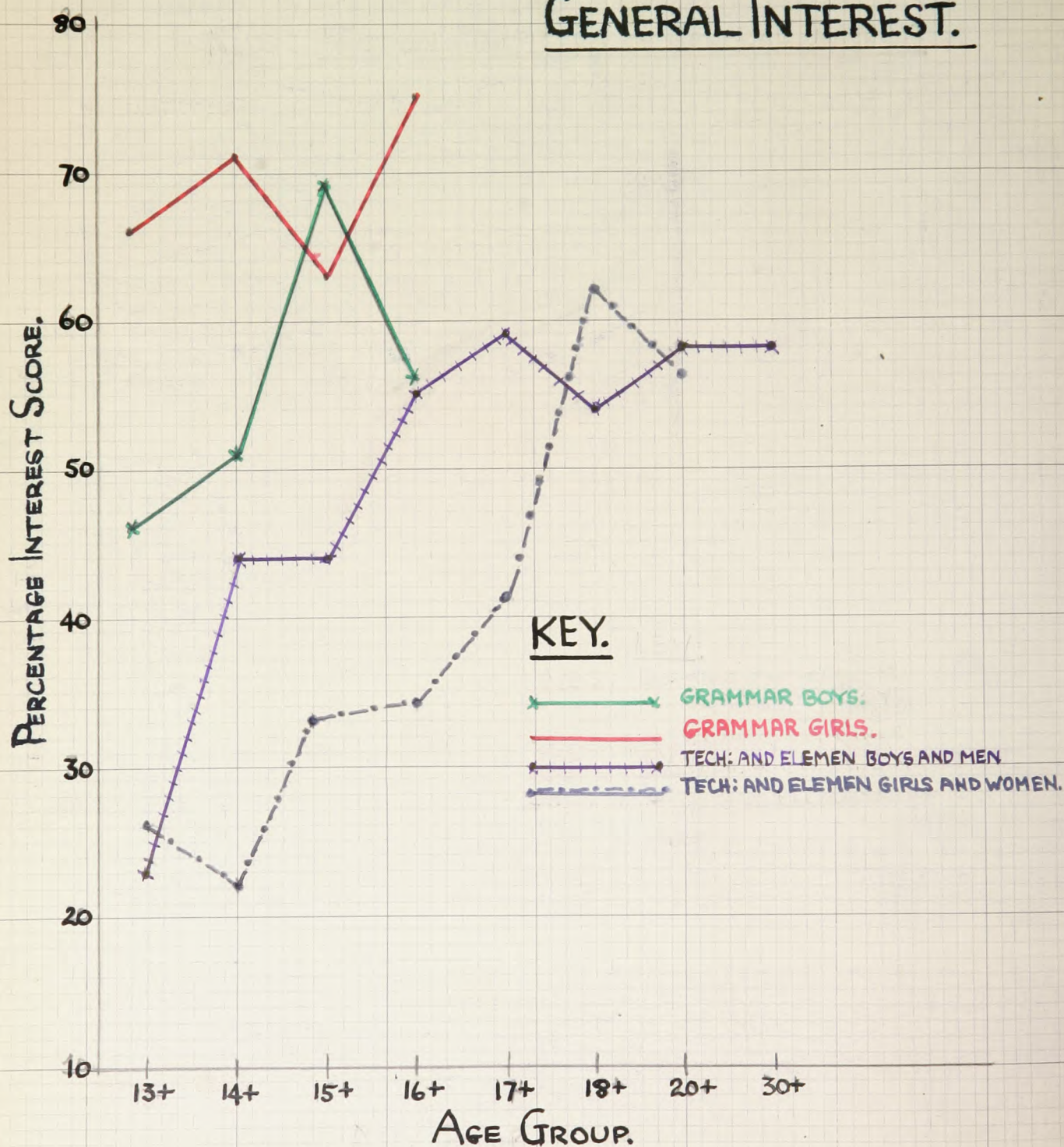
As in the case of Leading Articles, the reasons given for reading this item are usually clear and unequivocal. "As I am now at the age when I can vote, I like to know who and what I am voting for" writes a woman of 21; and another "makes one interested in the government of the country and how one likes to be ruled." "To make sure I use my vote to the best advantage" states a man of 20+; another of 30+ likes to know "What they are doing in Parliament" and another of the same age "What the Government, particularly the Labour party, is doing. "Many of these older men express an awareness of the way in which politics affects their intimate daily lives. "Because it is the lives of my wife, children and myself that are effected by politics." says one; and another "Because to my mind poities has a great baring on the causes and outcome of war."

Among adolescents the reasons given are more vague and general "I want to know the political position in Germany and England now so as to understand what happens after the war" says a 14+ Grammar School girl and another of 16+ writes simply "I am interested in politics." A Grammar School boy of 16+ states "Purely interest in politics, especially party politics and foreign affairs" while a boy of 14 from an Elementary School says "I am intrested in the political affairs of this country and have been intrested since the start of my father in this sphere."

(e) Feature Articles of General Interest.

In the kinds of daily journalism included under this head, there is perhaps more variety than in other items included in Question 2. Most of those however who put this item first or second on their list of preferences and who in consequence commented upon their interest in response to Question 3, seem to have grasped what was intended - those topical but non political articles which provide a background to the events of the day. The quality and intellectual appeal of such articles varies from paper to paper and more especially from the popular national

No 5: FEATURE ARTICLES OF GENERAL INTEREST.



dailies to journals like the Manchester Guardian or the Times. Nevertheless a predisposition to attend to articles of this kind, no matter how lightly or how seriously written is indicative of a broad curiosity about human affairs. This is well put by a Grammar School boy of 15+ who claims to read the Manchester Guardian and who writes "- usually topical, supplying me with knowledge I may not have and thus helping me to give a better judgement." More characteristic in all groups, however, is the vague, "Because they are interesting to read." A Grammar School girl of 15+ writes "I like to read any article no matter what it is about for many items of knowledge may be picked up in this way", another girl of 16 from a Grammar School speaks of variety of information, a young woman of 17+ who reads three dailies says "I like to know what is going on in Great Britain concerning Housing, Schooling, etc." and a woman of 21 remarks that "You never know what you may come accross the articles have different "flavours" and help to educate you generally". A boy of 14+ from an Elementary school speaks of discussing such features with his friends; and a Grammar school boy of the same age likes "to read anything interesting about which I know little;" another speaks of keeping abreast with "the latest developments in Science, Medical Science etc." A few seem partially to have misunderstood what was meant, for example the man of 22 who from the rest of his answers appears to confine all his reading to the Daily Mirror and who writes "Because sometimes there are some very interesting articles. It may be a murder case which last a couple of weeks or anything of that sort." A boy (14 E.) seems entirely to have mistaken the intention of the item since he writes " I sometimes know the people who have been prosecuted or honoured."

A glance at Diagram No. 5 shows how interest in articles of this kind varies from age to age. In the Grammar School groups (from which came a preponderance of remarks stressing the usefulness of the feature in the acquisition of general knowledge), and especially among the girls interest is on a high level at all ages and shews a slight upward trend. In the technical and elementary groups of youths and adults, though at 13+ the score is comparatively low, there seems to be a steadily maintained intensification of interest from 14+ at least to 17+ in both sexes with the level among boys in the early and mid-'teens higher than among girls.

(f) Comic Strips.

The Comic Strip is much less a feature of English than it is of American daily and weekly journalism but there are few popular dailies which do not have at least one strip detailing in from four to six black and white pictures with a minimum of explanatory reading matter the adventures of one or two characters. Sometimes each strip is complete in itself though the character or characters persist from day to day. Equally often the daily strip is an instalment of a narrative which may last over a matter of weeks.

The term 'Comic Strip' is in a sense misleading, though it is the one commonly in use, for very many of the strips are not in the strict sense 'comic' at all. They may concern the hair raising adventures of a detective, the doings of a superman in the Secret Service or an invasion from Mars. Not a few of them have a topical flavour and concern such things as house hunting or black market activities. Some are frankly escapist and deal with life in the past - more or less remote - or in the

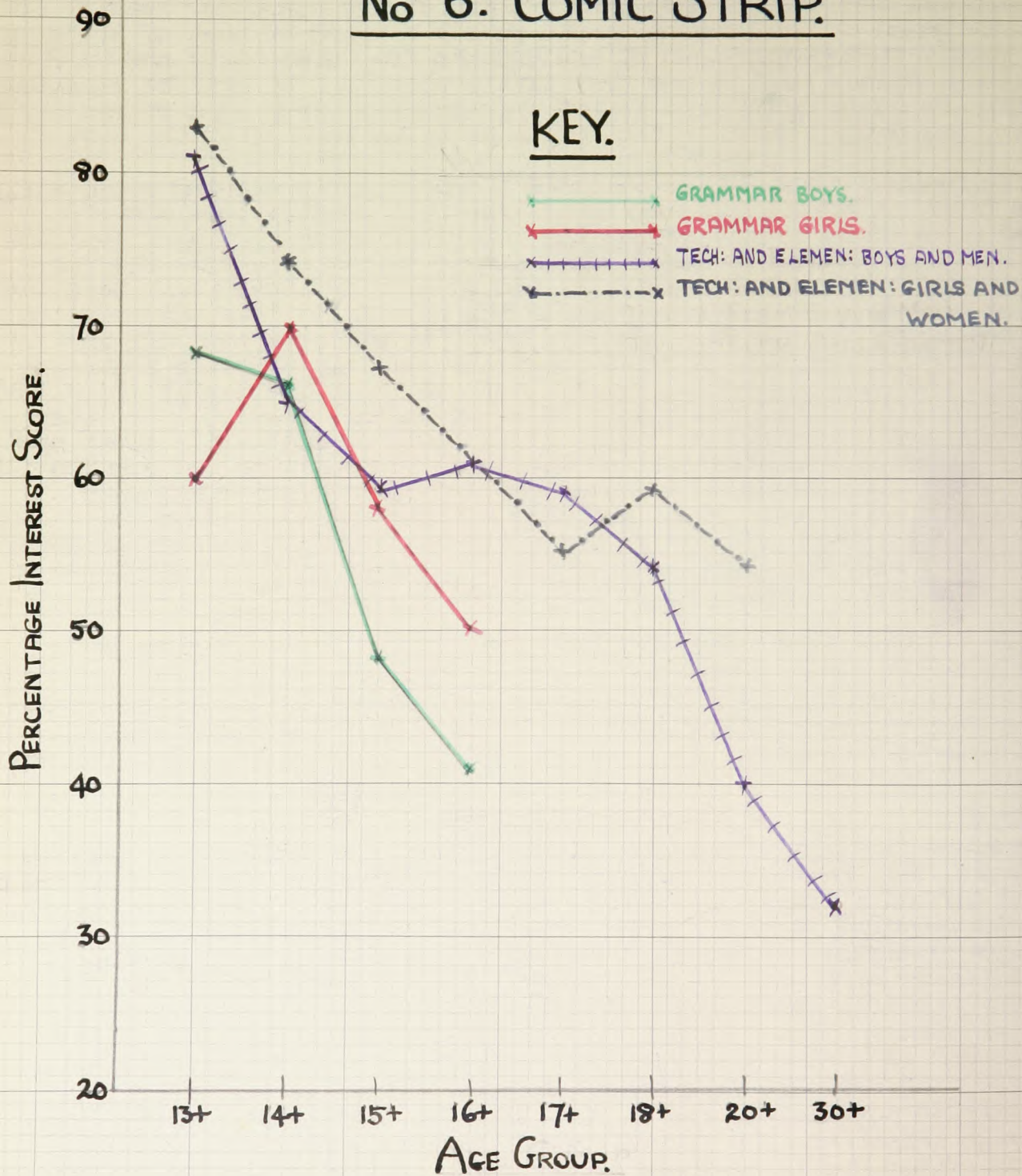
chromium age just round the next millenium. Many of them are however humorous or comic and deal with the day to day dilemmas of more or less ordinary people - adolescent calf love, happenings at the office, social gaffes and the like. Some exploit the appeal of stupidity and misunderstanding. Not a few are based upon well known film characters, or quotesques.

On the fringe of this type of strip are those which aim to convey information of one kind or another - exploiting the desire to know about the "fastest - " "the largest - ", "the strangest - ", in fact all the superlatives of curiosity. In at least one recent instance, a series purporting to give the psychological interpretation of different kinds of dreams drew protest from members of the British Psychological Society.

There are of course weekly, fortnightly and monthly sheets, booklets and magazines published in this country, and still more in the United States,*¹ consisting solely of such strips but although they belong to the genre we are not concerned with them here. Of the newspapers mentioned by the subjects of this study, one stands out however for the amount of space allotted to comic strips even in the times of greatest paper shortage. Throughout the war, the Daily Mirror carried one page entirely devoted to strip. In addition there were usually three other strips occupying the top or bottom of three other pages, as well as illustrated jokes elsewhere. One of these strips - the adventures of Jane - has become sufficiently famous to be the parent of a revue, and of two or three independent publications available on railway bookstalls.*² It sets forth the adventures of a high spirited young lady and her daschund 'Dio', her adventures as part of an Ensa show, her attempts to get jobs, her encounters with designing employers and others, her love affairs and dilemmas. She is frequently to be seen in poses which though unconventional are rarely inelegant and very often is depicted in the scantiest of negligé. The appeal of this strip, especially to the adolescent boy and girl, is difficult to analyse. Undoubtedly the ease with which the eye scans and the mind follows the daily adventures is one factor as it is with most strips. But there is more than this, more even than the erotic appeal of the, at times, slightly suggestive drawing or situation. The adventures of Jane though exaggerated are conceivable and topical and the characters who come and go from week to week, sufficiently schematic to be easily identified with real or imaginary persons in the reader's environment. Socially Jane moves in a sphere a little, but not too far, above that of most of her readers; daily cares do not vex her and troubles of clothes and food rationing do not arise; but she is conventionally moral, reasonably (but not too) intelligent, physically attractive gay and young. She offers an ideal of a sort not too far removed from

1. Hill and Trent ('Children's Interest in Comic Strips' Journ. Ed. Research, Sept. 1940) state that over 1200 comic strips are published in America in addition to those appearing in the daily newspapers. Comic strip versions of Gulliver's Travels, Treasure Island, Black Beauty, and other classics have appeared from time to time either in children's comics or as independent publications. Some of the latter are printed in a size small enough to be concealed readily under a school desk.
2. Miss M.I. Dunsdon informed the writer of the case of a boy of 16+ who stole copies of the Daily Mirror because his older mates at work would pay 2d. or 3d. a copy for it, just to have 'Jane'.

No 6: COMIC STRIP.



possibility for adolescent boys and young men some of whom (only half facetiously) state their ambition to be Jane's husband ^{#1} and an object of fantasy identification for adolescent girls and young women.

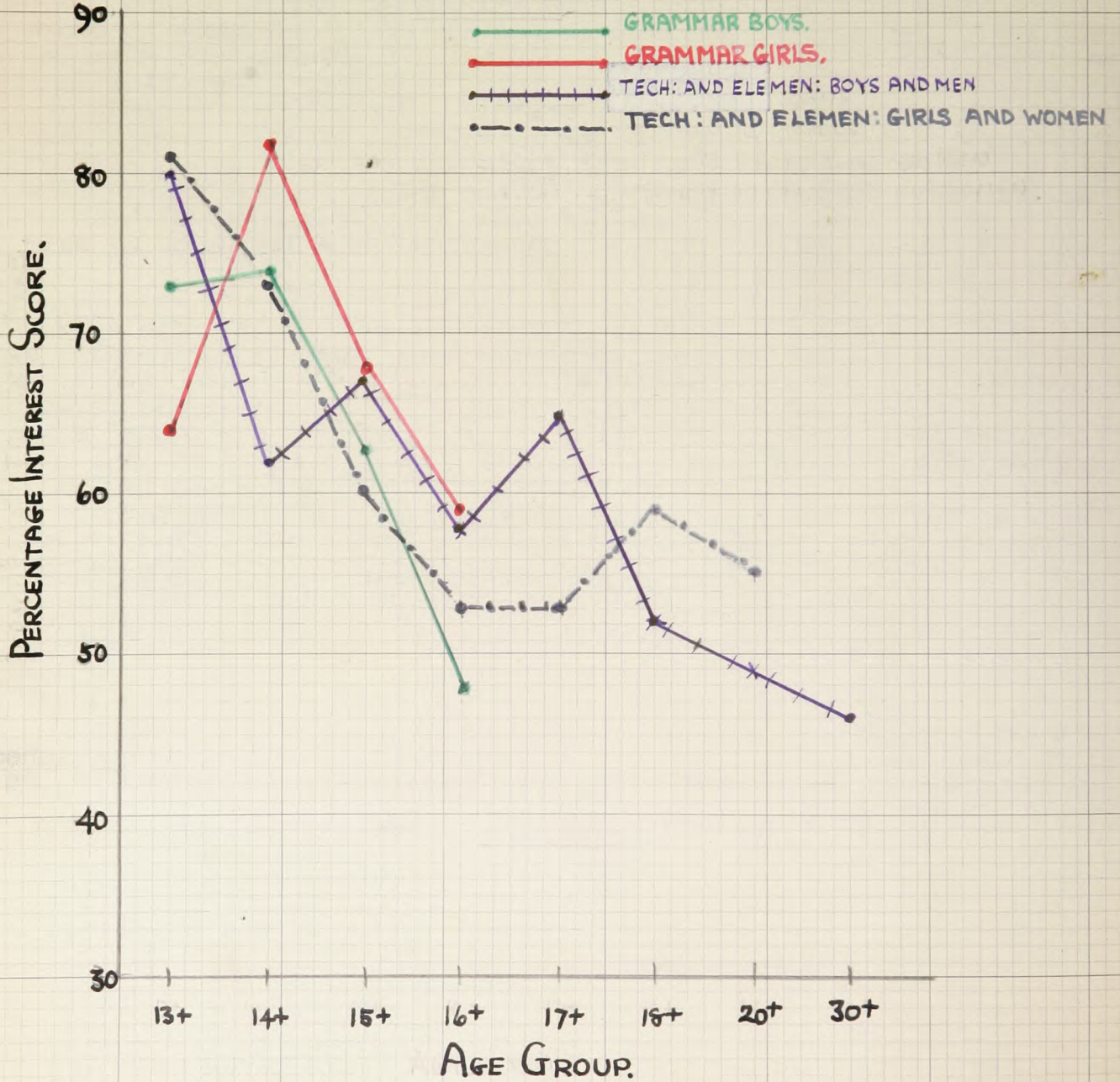
One strip has been dealt with at some length because it is in many ways an exemplar of others. It should be recalled too that illustrated papers, of which the Daily Mirror is the chief, and in many groups, the sole example, form rather more than a third of the newspaper reading of the adult women of the present sample (nearly a third of that of the men, while substantial proportions of adolescents from elementary and technical school backgrounds read it and very little else.^{#2} It will be remembered too that the comic strip page is not infrequently given as a reason for choosing the Daily Mirror as the newspaper to be read after the war. ^{#3}

The reasons given by the subjects themselves for placing comic strips in the first or second place on their list fall readily into clearly defined categories. Some stress the motive of escape. "Why I read the comic strip is because it makes you laugh and is a change from the war news" is the reply of a boy (E. 15+) echoed by many others both boys and girls of a similar background, notably the boy of 13+ (E.) who puts the strip second to Current News and says that "it takes my mind off the flying bombs in London." Equally characteristic and probably springing from much the same motive are replies such as "they are joyful" (B.E.13+) or "because I am normal and have a sense of humour" (B.G.15+) or "they are very funny" (G.E.14+) or "Comic strips help to keep one's moral up." (G.E.14+) Narrative interest and suspense are mentioned and remarks like the following are common - "because they are serials and often very interesting" (G.E.14+); "they are very exiting and continuous and I look forward to read them" (B.E.13+) Not a few enumerate characters as does the thirteen year old (B.E.) who writes "I like to see the adventures of Garth, Buck Ryan, Blendia,^{#4} Ruggle, Jane and Popeye."

1. vide material from other sources cited in the present writer's 'Adolescent Child' Chapter IV.
2. Table IIA and B. There is reason to believe, as was stated earlier, that the figures for adolescents of the sample are considerably lower than would be derived from a sample living in the South East and South West of England.
3. See pp. 30-31. of the present paper.
4. He means 'Belinda Blueeyes' a child curiously reminiscent of Shirley Temple, the juvenile film star, who goes through a series of adventures and sufferings while separated from her father. "Garth" is a man of great physical strength whose adventures are set in various rather vague historical periods; "Buck Ryan" has various hair raising encounters with crooks, enemy agents and the like. "Ruggles" is middle aged unworldly wisdom personified - the father of a family spending his time helping others usually and becoming involved in their troubles. "Popeye" is a character from the animated film cartoons - a grotesque sailor who owes his strength to spinach and who encounters a series of fantastic adventures. He is more like the caricatures of the older strips magazines like 'Comic Cuts.' All the characters mentioned in this answer are to be found in the Comic strips of the Daily Mirror.

No 7: CARTOONS.

KEY:



We approach more nearly to one of the fundamental motives for liking the strips - and probably illustrated papers generally - in another group of replies which emphasise the ease with which they can be assimilated. "I am a person that enjoys reading about people's adventures in pictures e.g. Daily Mirror" writes a youth of 17+; and a woman of 26+ says "I suppose its because I like the lighter side of reading really, that includes the pictures which explains most easily." A man of 30 puts it thus "because of Eye strain. Can't read small print." - his first three choices are Comic strips, Cartoons and Pictures and his daily, the Mirror and a grammar school boy of 14+ whose choice of books is singularly juvenile states more bluntly still - "because they have not to be read."¹

In the light of these comments from the answer sheets, Diagram No.6 is revealing. It will be seen that at the age of 13+ interest in comic Strips stands high in all four sex and educational groups, very high in those groups from the elementary and technical schools. Thereafter in all groups with the passing exceptions of grammar girls at 14+ and Technical and Elementary boys at 16+, the decline in interest is rapid though even in the late 'teens it stands high with young men and women of an elementary and technical school background. On the whole interest among girls is slightly higher than among boys, and among non-grammar school than among grammar school groups. Marked interest in Comic Strips would seem to be a sign of immaturity.

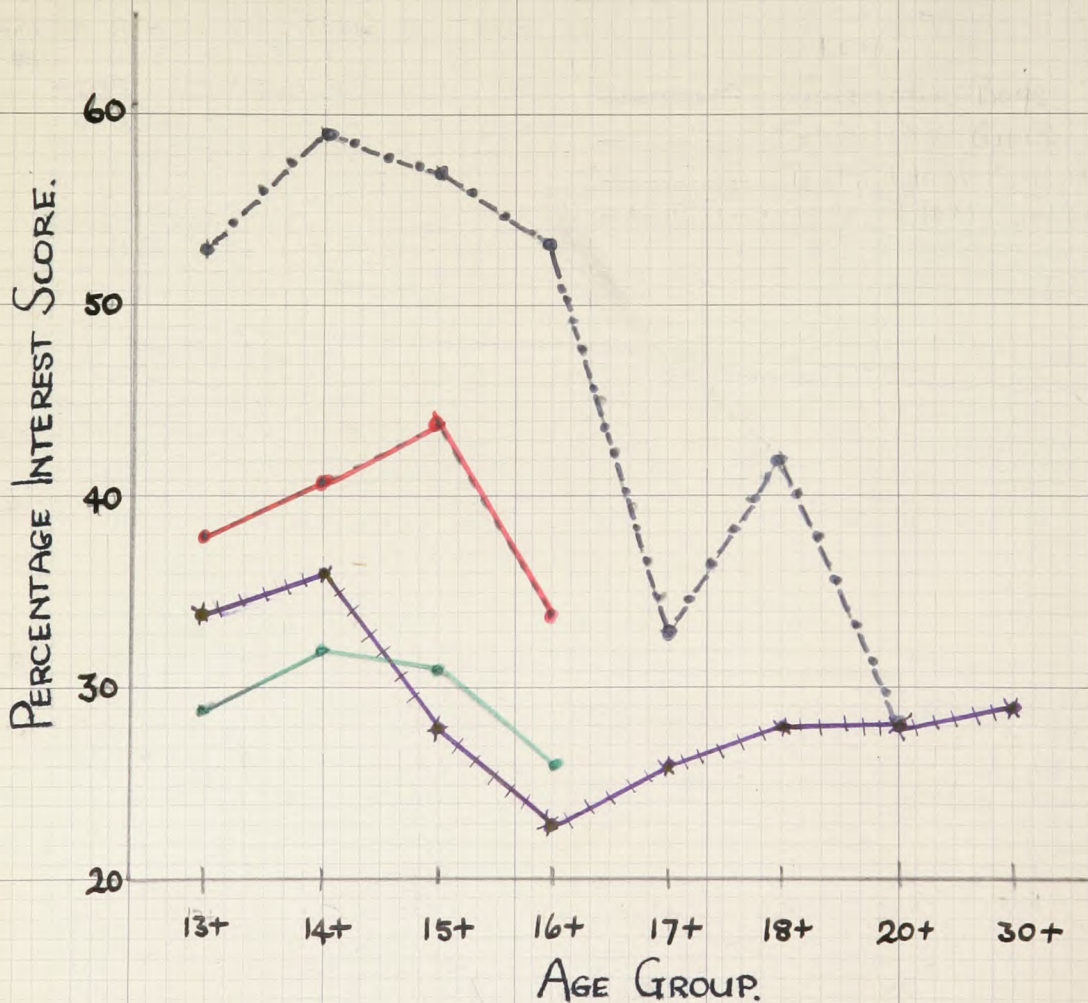
1. Eisenberg (Children and Radio Programmes: Columbia Univ.Press 1936, cited by Hill & Trent loc.cit) concluded that "reading the funnies is preferred by (American) children to listening to the radio; and Witty ("Children's Interest in Reading the Comics" J. Ed. Research, Vol.X. No. 3, Dec.1941) found that "looking at the Sunday funny paper" was a play activity in which boys and girls of 8 to 15 engaged in most frequently. He found too that there was little difference in the number of strips read by boys and girls and no truly significant differences either in the type or amount of such reading from grade to grade. In a second study in the same Journal ("Reading the Comics - a Comparative Study") Witty reports no significant differences in intelligence, patterns of general reading, or adjustment between the 10 per cent. reading most and the 10 per cent. reading fewest comics in his group.

This evidence is only indirectly relevant to the present problem since Witty was studying children's interest in Comic Strips published independently in many cases rather than those ^{only} found in the Dailies as in the present study.

No 8: ADVERTISEMENTS.

KEY.

- GRAMMAR BOYS.
- GRAMMAR GIRLS.
- TECH: AND ELEMEN: BOYS AND MEN.
- TECH: AND ELEMEN GIRLS AND WOMEN.



Interest in the daily cartoon as will be seen from Diagram 7 seems to follow, though not so markedly, much the same course as that in Comic Strips. Throughout the age range studied and in all groups with some fluctuations (notably Grammar Girls from 13+ to 14+ where the rise is similar to that seen in Diagram 6) there is a decline in the interest scores.

In some ways this is puzzling since it would be thought that the content of most cartoons is sufficiently different from that of comic strips to make the basis of appeal of the two things very unlike. Whereas the comic strip is escapist, narrative and as a rule only indirectly topical, the cartoon is often satirical or humorous comment upon events in the domestic or international political sphere. In common, of course, they have a directness of visual presentation, a quality of simplification or caricature in their treatment of human beings and, if not always a humorous intention in the case of cartoons, a presentation of their matter in a humorous way.

Many of the replies given do not indicate an appreciation of the underlying purpose of the cartoons in most dailies. Replies like that of the boy of 13+ (Grammar) who says "I like to see the impression the artist gives of the topical news" or that of the girl (13- E.) who writes "the Cartoonist shews what happens daily in our life" are not common. More frequent are references to "a good laugh" (G.E. 14+); or "only take a second to look at and are usually funny (B.G.16+) or "Cartoons help to give you a happy look on the war" (B.E.14+). A number, particularly of adolescents interestingly enough, adduce motives like "I am interested in scetching and cartoons" (G.E.14+); "I am interested in art, and particularly cartoons" (G.G.16-) or "I try to draw the cartoons" (B.E.13+)

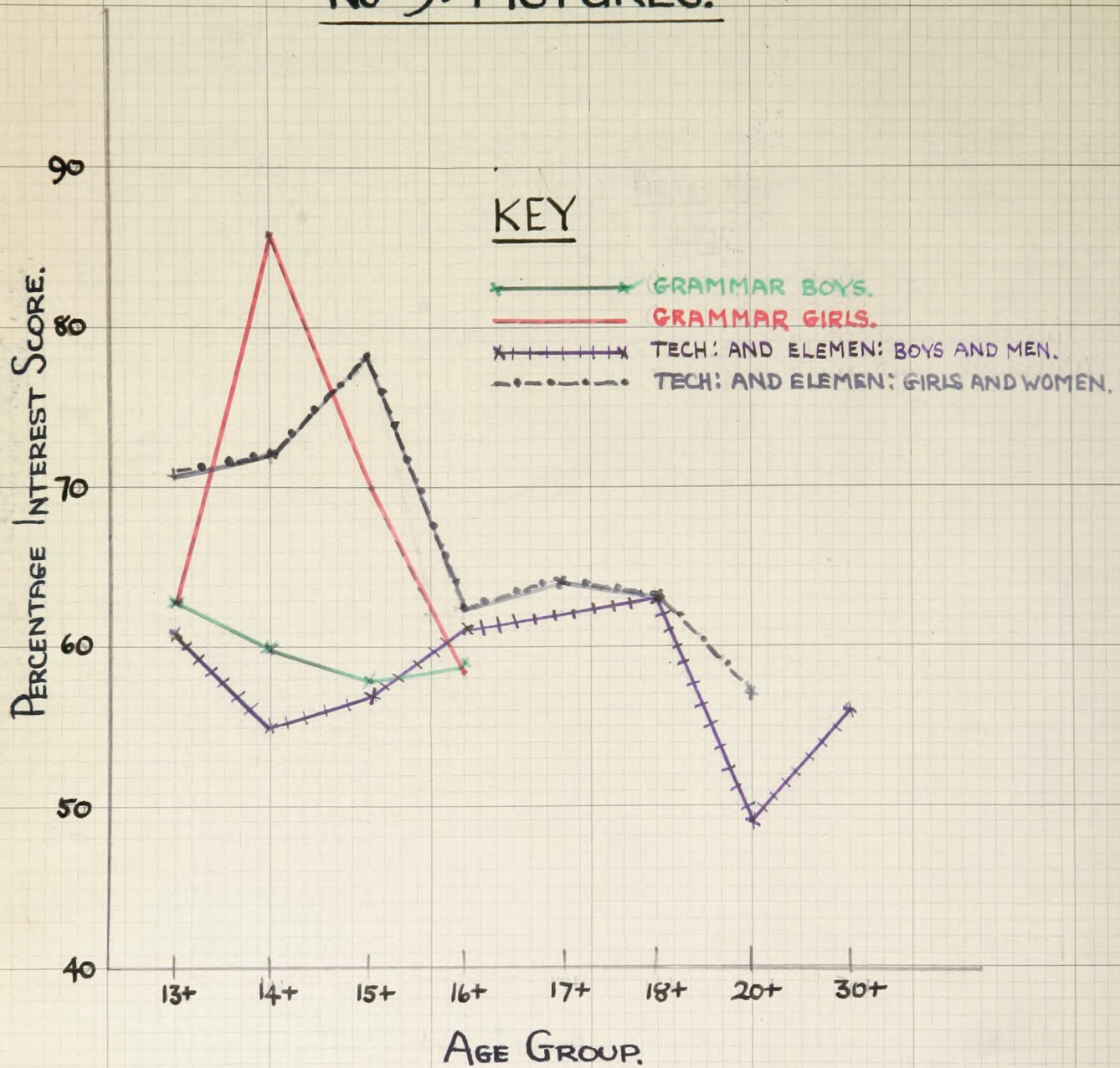
We can legitimately conclude from this rather scanty evidence that, to most adolescents, at all events, the appeal of the cartoon is similar to that of the comic strip - it is amusing, easy to grasp - though not necessarily to understand fully - and makes no great demand upon literacy or attention. There is very little evidence to suggest that the more subtle purpose of the cartoonist is thoroughly understood and appreciated by more than a few.

(h) Advertisements.

The restrictions on news print during the war (and now) as well as the lack of goods for sale considerably diminished the space devoted to advertising in the press at the time of this survey. Nor was the motive of job seeking a strong one because even for adolescents the Essential Works Orders were in force at the time, and the adults were mostly in the services.

1. Witty (loc.cit) found that 60 per cent. of his groups claimed to like drawing comic strips. No subject of this survey spontaneously stated this but replies like those cited above are not at all uncommon among boys and girls who put 'cartoons' as their first or second choice.

No 9: PICTURES.



Replies are found like that of the girl (E.14+) who writes "I always read the Advertisements in case I am ever out of work. I will know a few firms to try and find employment." but they are not common and are confined to the 14+ age group of elementary and technical school girls. More usual are references either vague or specific to things for sale. "I am interested in Animals and musical instruments and like to see just what is advertised." writes a grammar school girl of 13+, and a 17+ girl (E.) says "Sometimes a friend may ask you if it is possible for you to obtain a certain thing for her and in this article you may come across it." Fashions are a source of interest to the girls - "I look at the advertisements to see the new kind of fashions and the prices of them" (F.E.17+) or "I am a fashion lover" (G.E.16+).

When we come to the comparatively few replies from the adult groups one finds that advertisements are read more as pointers to other conditions than for themselves. For example, a woman of 21 writes "I like to find out what people are really short of - houses etc., or daily and weekly help"; a man of 25 says that he reads the advertisements "To see how the Motor Trade is progressing and to keep in contact with the various price lists throughout London Areas etc." and a man of 31 - "Interested in the advertising business and methods of shewing public what an asset advertising is in commercial life."

Diagram 8 shews how interest in newspaper advertisements appears to change with age. It is on the whole and at all ages higher among women and girls than among boys and men, but only at 14+ among the girls from elementary and technical schools does it reach or hold even a moderately high level.*1

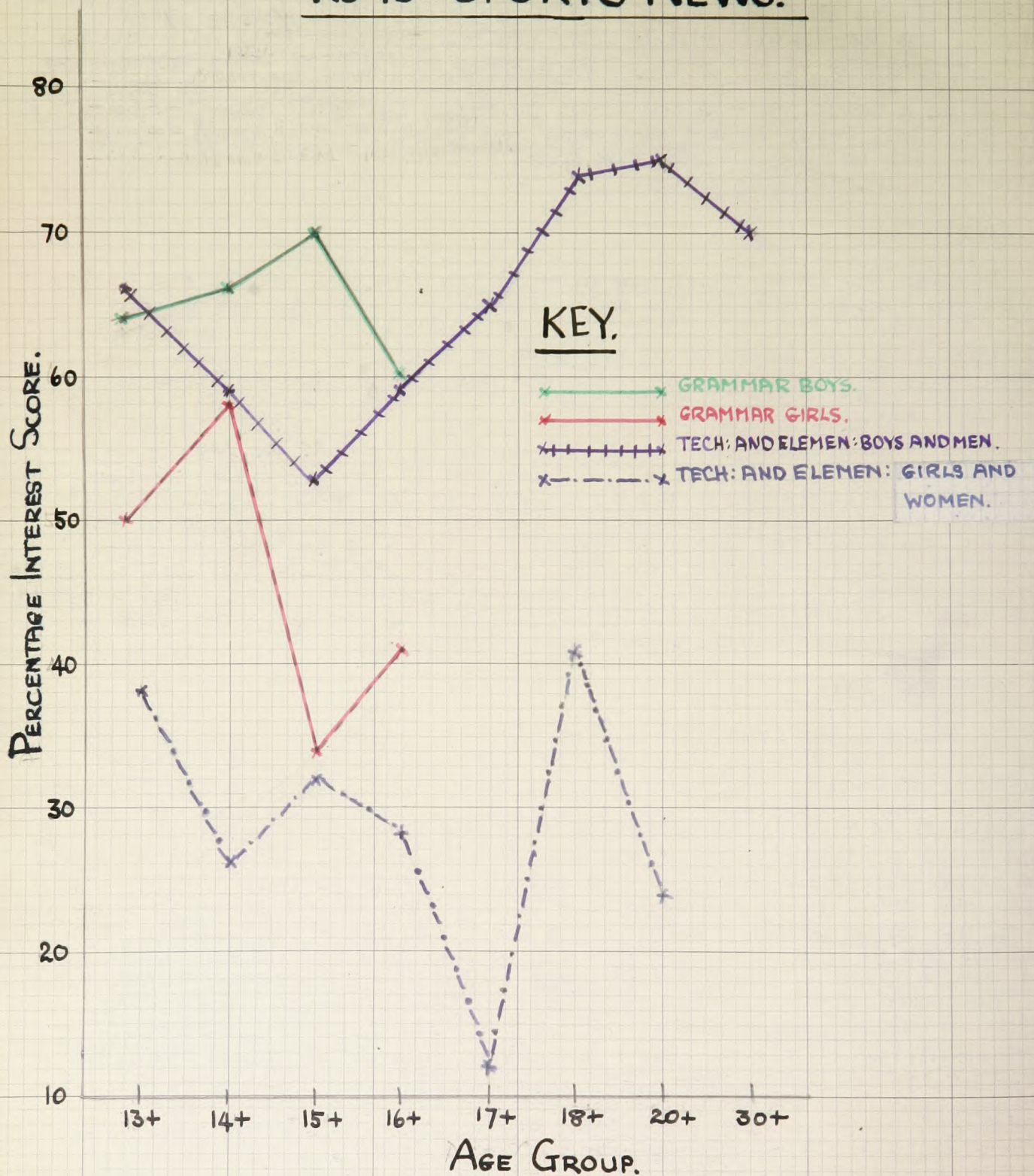
(i) Pictures.

Although the preliminary try out of the questionnaire gave no indication that it might be so, this item apparently was ambiguous. A number of adolescents in both educational groups understood this to mean not the photographs which most newspapers carried even during the war, but advertisements and criticisms of films. This renders the figures especially for the elementary and technical 13+ - 15+ boys and girls somewhat suspect, though probably not so much those for the grammar school and adult groups. It is however of interest to notice from Diagram 9 that the trends of interest in the 'teens shewn by all the four adolescent groups are similar which is contrary to what might be expected had misunderstanding of the item been wide-spread in any one group.

~~In the comments~~ Of those who understood the question properly, a number refer to the ease with which information can be assimilated through pictures - "Appeal to the eye - easy to assimilate" writes a man of 32;

1. Among other criteria of maturity empirically deduced by Weitzman from administering a multiple choice questionnaire to 899 subjects between the ages of 16 and 24, is "Rarely answers newspaper, catalogue or radio advertisements." ("A Study of Social Maturity in Persons Sixteen through Twenty-four years of Age." J. Gen. Psych. Vol. 64, Pt.1.1944.)

No 10: SPORTS NEWS.



"to save reading" says a girl (E.14+); a young woman of 17+ - "Because, by looking at the pictures I get an idea of the news and sometimes I haven't time to read anything." and a boy (16 Grammar) says categorically "Pictures are the best way to convey news." The actuality of the photographs is mentioned by others. One girl (13+ Grammar) writes very fully "Pictures always shew scenes in life more clearly than words. They stimulate the imagination and if they are war pictures they help one to see the conditions of the war," and a woman of 21 says - "Pictures shew exactly what is happening." Others mention habit, and the fact that the pictures in a newspaper are the first to catch the eye. Many, especially among the boys, refer to War pictures, and pictures of weapons, as of major interest to them. Some few speak of cutting out and keeping particularly interesting pictures.

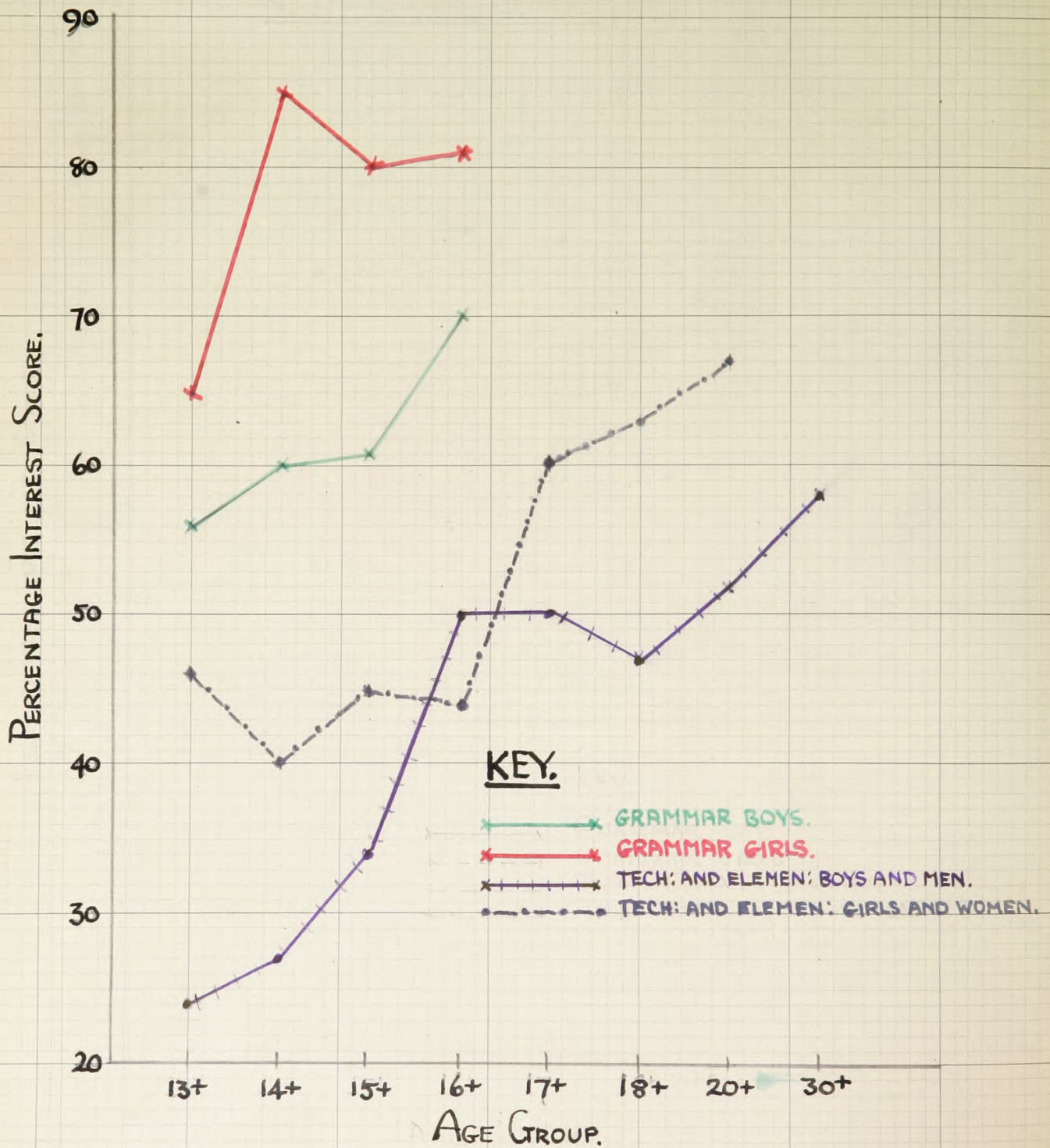
(j) Sports News.

Diagram No. 10 on which are plotted the interest scores for Sports News at the various ages in the main groups of the survey brings out clearly the high level of interest in Sport among boys and men and the much lower level of interest on the part of the girls and women. The answers given in Question 3 by those who put Sports News in first or second place are closely similar, e.g. - "I am very interested in sport" (G.E.16+); "Always interested me from boyhood" (M.E.30+); "Sport is my biggest hobble" (M.E.18+); "I choose it to find if my favourite football team has won" (B.E.14+); and one boy of 14+ (Grammar) writes "Sports because school is a waste of time and I am naturally athletic." Other boys and men mention specific interests in particular sports and ambitions "to enter the world of sport" (M.E.18+) or to "become a Gym Instructor" (B.G.15+). There are too, particularly among the men, mentions of greyhound racing, football, pool coupons, and sweepstakes. Not a few of the older men write in the nostalgic strain of one who says "Because it is about the only sanest thing left." (M.E. 30+).

(k) Reader's Letters.

It seems clear from the replies given in answer to Question 3 by those who put the part of the newspaper first or second that interest in letters written to the paper springs very largely from an inquisitiveness about people generally and their views on current topics. One or two subjects mention learning things from the letters of other people but script after script emphasizes the interest of knowing "What other people think about different things, if my opinion is that of most people, and if not, why not." (G.G. 16+); or, as a young woman of 17+ says "in this part of the paper people express their own opinion and that is the most important use of a paper so that we are united in this way and know what other people think." There is emphasis on the "human aspect" (M.E.20+); upon "how some people are getting treated" (M.E.18+); on "the general feeling of working class people" (M.E.18); "complaints against the Corporation" (B.E.16-); on "what the people want done" (G.E. 13+); on "the grumblings also the betterment of the town's future" (B.E.15+). All these and many more suggest that reading letters to the press ^{is} a way of getting a sense of solidarity with one's kind, and at the same time of vicariously enjoying the opportunity to air a grievance. It is not fanciful to see in an increasing interest of this sort a sign of growing social intelligence.

No 11: READERS' LETTERS



No 12: MILITARY CORRESPONDENT.

KEY.

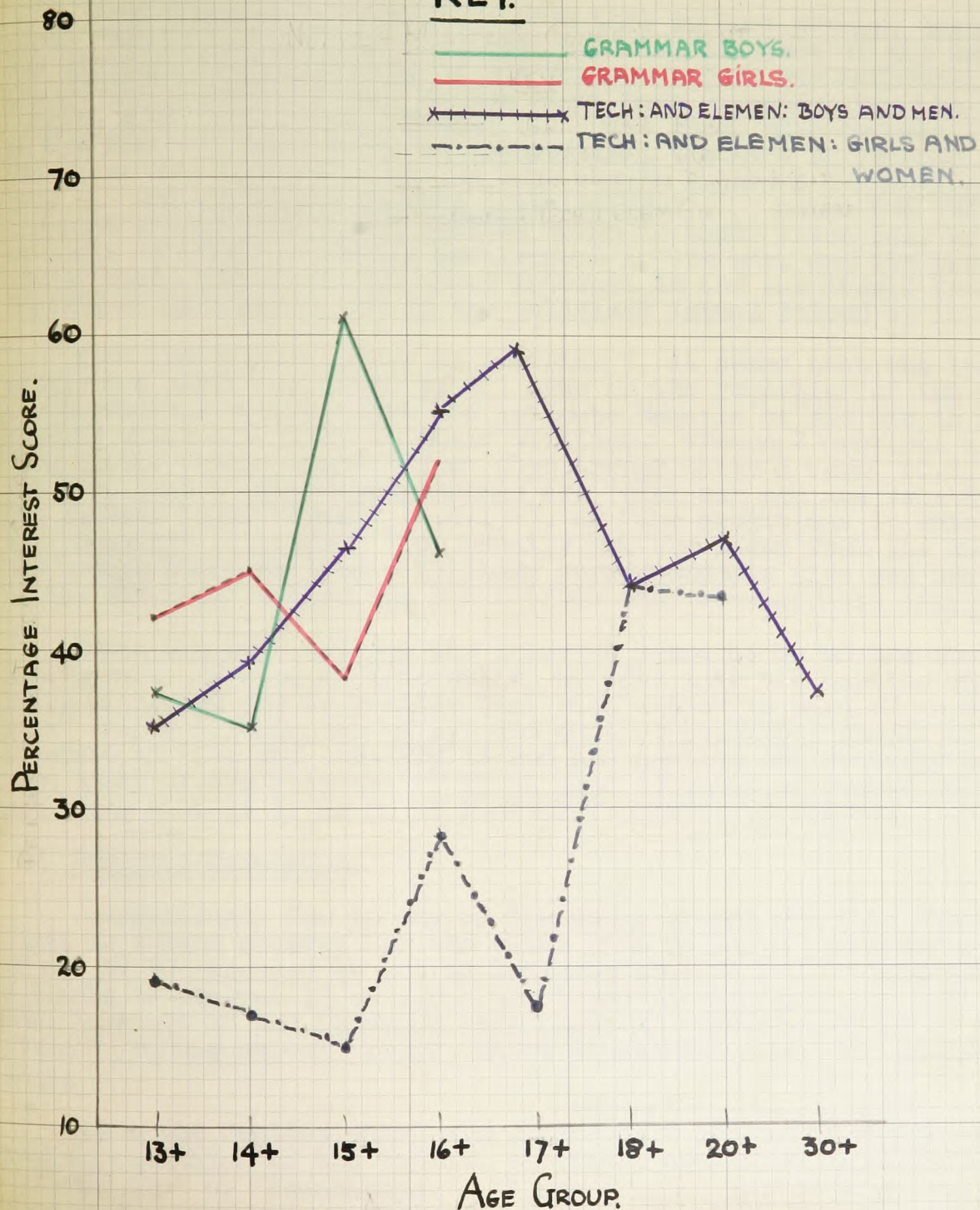


Diagram 11 looked at in this light is most interesting. The greater maturity of the Grammar School groups is more clearly manifested in this than in any other field. Moreover the generally greater maturity of adolescent girls than of adolescent boys of similar ability and background in the early 'teens is also fairly clearly shewn.

(1) Military Correspondent.

From Diagram 12 it will be seen that in most groups, except the girls from elementary and technical schools, interest in the reporting of the Military Correspondents of the various papers was moderately high though not perhaps as high as one might have expected from the figures for Current News of the War (Diagram 1). The steep rise between 17+ and 18 in the case of young women is interesting, the more so because similar increases are noticeable at the same age in interest in Leading Articles (No. 3,) and Political Feature Articles (No. 2). Since the 18+ group was composed entirely of young service women in their first year of A.T.S. life it looks as though a deeper involvement in the war, and its personal consequences had sharpened their interest in the war itself from an individual standpoint and in the political issues raised by it.

From the replies given to Question 3, it seems that the interest of adolescent girls and women of all ages in the reporting of the military correspondents springs from the intimate details of the war in its human aspects which are given in their writings. Frequent mentions are made of "the little things which happen when troops enter a town" (G.G.14-) of the fact that these correspondents are "with our men and relatives and can express their views" (G.G.15+), of "the conditions in which our men are fighting" (G.E.15+) "You usually get the facts from the Radio but not enough story to them - Military correspondents give you the inside of the war news" writes one woman (20+) with considerable insight.

Among the boys and men the interest seems to be on the whole more impersonal. "I find it interesting to look into the battles which are being conducted and to realise that each attack is part of an extensive plan" writes a young man of 17+ and another (B.E.16+) speaks of his interest in "the way the army is run and tactics and strategy of the war" Some speak of the interest of first hand accounts of events which "give you ideas what it is to be at the war fronts". (B.E.14-).

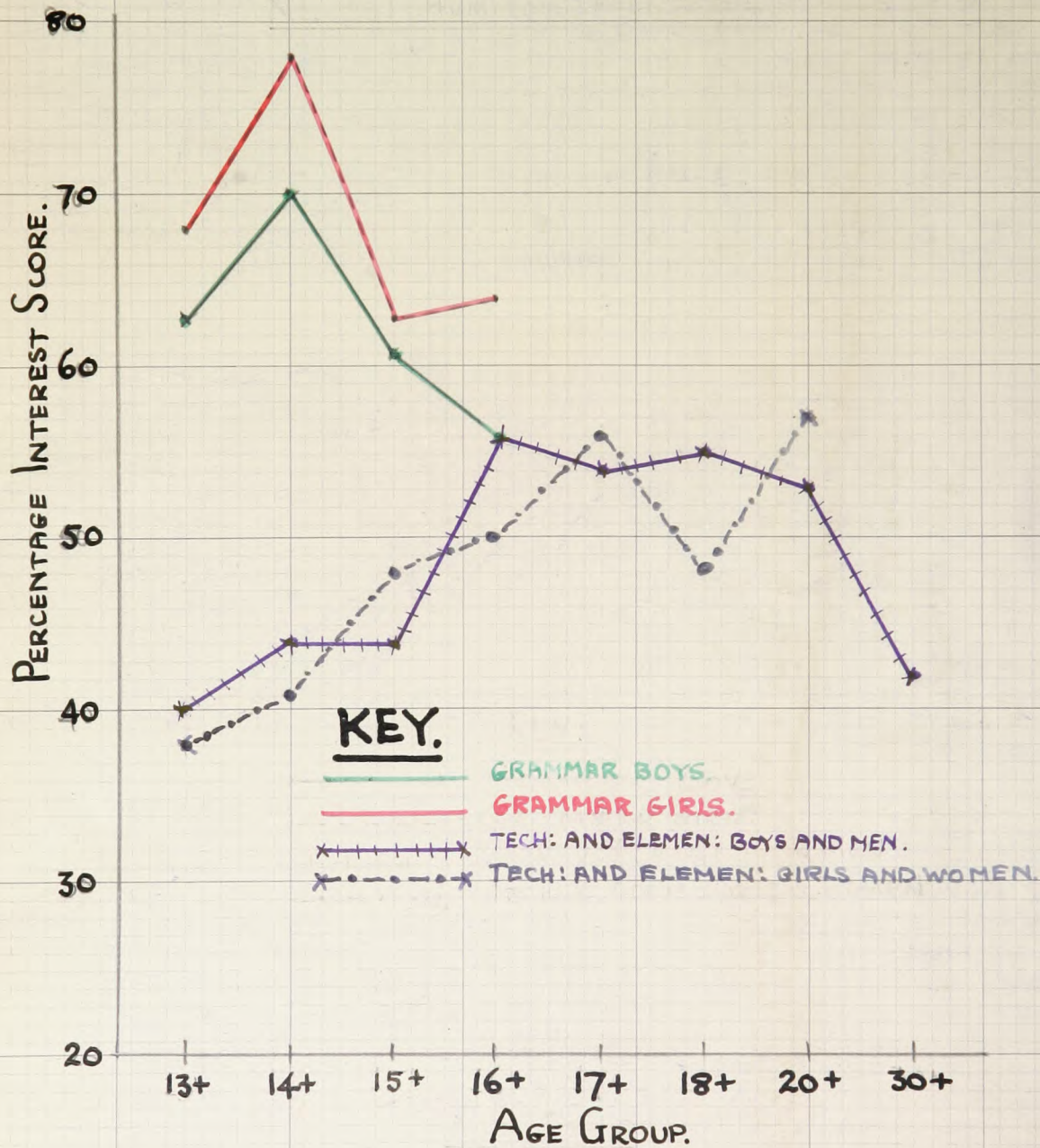
(m) Humorous Paragraph.

Surprisingly few in any of the adult groups put this item as their first or second choice; on the other hand no large proportions except of men of 30+, crossed it out to indicate that it had no interest at all. A glance at Diagram 13 confirms the impression gained from Table VIA that interest in the Humorous paragraphs is moderate except in the younger grammar school groups, where especially among the girls, it stands high.

in Question 3.

Among the replies which are given, there are a few which indicate real appreciation of the topical satirical qualities of writers like "Timothy Shy" or "Beachcomber". A boy (G.15+) writes with insight of this kind "humorous paragraphs are often funny at the expense of governmental blunders, thus revealing difficulties. They also deal with

No 13: HUMOROUS PARAGRAPH.



topical items." More usual are remarks like "Because Beachcomber is very good" (B.G. 16+); "I am very humorous myself. I like to laugh heartily. I like a joke" (G.E.14+); "I like to tell my friends the funny spots" (G.E.16). Some specifically mention that "it helps to direct your mind from the bitterness of war" (F.E.17+) or that it "puts aside the War Horrors" (G.E.14+)

(n) Items not listed.

Each subject was invited to write down at the end of the list any items in which he or she was interested but which were not listed. In all groups there were some who made entries here as was to be expected since no list unless it were twice as long could hope to cover everything. But there were few who jotted down a feature omitted from the list and placed it as their first or second choice. Among the items most frequently occurring - usually unplaced - were:- 'Crime News' ('Scandal', 'Murder Cases', 'Court News'); Film, Radio and Book reviews; Cross Words; and the Horoscope. Gardening hints, Nature notes, Births, Marriages and Deaths, Keep fit articles, Stop Press News, Local History and news of Scouts or Army Cadet Units are also sporadically mentioned.

12. Discussion.

Like other instruments of mass culture - the cinema and radio for example - there is a large element of the stereotyped about the daily newspaper. A casual reader glancing at any of the national dailies with large circulations - the Daily Express, The Daily Mail, the News Chronicle, or the Daily Herald - would notice little superficial difference between them. Nor do they markedly differ from the large number of provincial dailies the majority of which are owned by one or other of the great newspaper publishing companies. Many of the provincial morning and evening dailies, it is true, preserve a markedly local character and give a good deal of space to news and advertisements of purely regional interest. Yet the similarities are more marked than the differences. There are the same techniques of simplification, the same emphasis on the "human angle", the same constituent parts - editorial, correspondence, home page, cartoon, strip or illustrated joke and the rest.

From this norm and at opposite extremes there are variations. Dailies like the Times, or the Daily Telegraph, and one or two regional newspapers, like the Yorkshire Post and Manchester Guardian, stand out by their difference of format and printing, by the emphasis which they lay upon news of political or social importance and by their comparatively literary presentation of their matter. They stand out too in the range and variety of their special articles, many of which are the authoritative pronouncements of experts and not the productions of professional journalists writing up second hand facts. In contrast and at the other extreme are the Daily Mirror and Daily Sketch (or Graphic). A glance at the Mirror whose readership in the entire population is exceeded only by that of the Daily Express shews that it differs from the ordinary dailies in that it is even more adapted to hurried shallow perusal, and makes even less demand upon literacy and sustained attention. Its pages are more humorous and less extensive than those of other national dailies which makes it easier to manipulate in crowded conditions - a fact commented on more than once by working adolescents. In proportion to the pictures

and comic strips, the amount of reading matter which it carries is far less than that of the ordinary dailies. The news is conveyed by captions, sensational or facetious headlines and brief paragraphs rarely exceeding a sentence in length. There is nothing resembling a leading article in the accepted sense but instead one or two very short paragraphs which in a simplified way deal forthrightly with some topic of the hour. Noticeably more space is devoted to stories with a "human angle" and the more sensational happenings of the day, than to current political, social or economic issues. There is little to provoke serious thought, much to titillate, amuse and pass the time. It is, as many youths describe it "a scandal paper". It is not without significance that of a group of adolescent workers many of whom were backward especially in reading comprehension, the Mirror was the sole newspaper of nearly fifty per cent; that; of the names of the various local and national dailies cited by the subjects of this survey most were spelt correctly except the Mirror which frequently appeared as "Mirrer", "Mirro," "Mirrow", and "Marro", and that the highest readership of the Mirror is among the younger age groups, the lower economic strata and women generally.*²

It is probably true to say that the crowded conditions of industrial and commercial life and of communal life in the services, the rush to get to and from work and possibly the restlessness which affects so many youths in their 'teens combine with intellectual and educational shortcomings to provide a public for the kind of paper that he who runs may read. It is certain that dailies of the quality of the Times or Manchester Guardian require sustained attention, leisurely uninterrupted perusal, and pre-suppose in their readers a level of interest and knowledge which does not seem to be common. But within the superficial similarities of the other national dailies there are differences in the demand which is made upon the reader's attention. The circulation of the Daily Express in the country generally is nearly three times as great as that of the News Chronicle,³ and one is tempted to state that the circulation of a newspaper is inverse to the demands which it makes upon intelligence and attention.

Political and economic reasons probably have something to do with this though it is doubtful whether cheapness is a large factor in the choice of a daily and the results of the recent election won in the teeth of a hostile press suggest that the political views held by the reader are not as important a determinant of choice as might be expected. It seems more ~~reasonable~~ that we should regard the matter in another way and view the quality and content of the more widely read newspapers as a symptom. Circulation figures should perhaps be linked with such things as the proportions of illiterate and semi-literate adults in our population and we should see in correct perspective the various influences in the lives of adolescents which militate against the kind of leisured consideration of major social, political and economic issues characteristic of the best kinds of journalism.

1. 'The Decay of Educational Attainments among Adolescents.' p. 26.

2. Hulton Survey. Table 13 & passim.

3. Hulton Survey, p. 26 -

Considerations of this kind serve to delimit the field of opportunity for the educationist; vis à vis the newspapers. We cannot hope to educate children by fulminating against the more superficial or violent forms of popular journalism, nor can we afford to ignore the press - or confine consideration of it to the atmosphere of the staffroom. The evidence provided by this study suggests that the habit of glancing at the family daily is established in most boys and girls prior to 13+, but it seems that, within the limitations imposed by the style, content and availability of newspapers, the 'teens are equally critical in the development of patterns of readership as they have proved to be in so many other aspects of the intellectual, emotional and social life. In the number and kinds of newspaper read and in the motives which prompt the choice, the range of variation from individual to individual, from group to group, and from age to age, seems to be marked. And these are fields in which restrictions are imposed externally. When the rise and decline of interest in the various features of the daily press is considered - a field in which greater freedom is possible - we find apparently fundamental changes with growth. Although the processes of growing interest in the newspaper as a whole and of a more adult distribution of attention, are not coterminous with the 'teens, one cannot escape the impression that, particularly with children of average and below average attainment and intelligence, the years from 13+ to 15 or 16 are a time of radical change - they seem to constitute a critical period when systematic analysis of the methods and techniques of the press and an enlightened appraisal of its good and bad features would be of value as a means of educating the boy or girl who will be to-morrow's electorate in the right and sensible use of a major instrument of our culture.

Summary of Conclusions.

The study just described is based on the replies of 1284 adolescents and adults to questions concerning their reading of daily newspapers. The questions formed part of a questionnaire on reading interests which was administered in the autumn and winter of 1944 and the early months of 1945.

Ninety-two per cent. of the questionnaires issued for use were completed and returned. The final sample consisted of 318 boys between the ages of 13.0 and 16.11; 275 girls of the same age range; 190 men between the ages of 17.0 and 40 and 142 women between the ages of 17.0 and 29.11. All these groups had a similar educational back ground, that of the elementary or junior technical school. Most of the adults, except a small proportion of the youngest ones, were in the services. Comparative groups of 194 boys and 165 girls between the ages of 13.0 and 16.11 from a selected Grammar School are also included in the sample. The socio-economic back ground and the regional provenance of all the adolescent samples was roughly similar. The adult group was more mixed in regional origins.

The major conclusions which appear to emerge are as follows:-

- (1) The habit of at least glancing daily at a newspaper seems well established by the age of 13, though in the older groups of men (20+ and 30+) 10 per cent. or more do not read a daily paper.

- (2) Few in any of the subdivisions by age, sex, and education, appear to be readers of newspapers of the highest quality. On the other hand, readership of illustrated dailies reaches high proportions in most of the adult groups, particularly among the women and is higher generally in adolescence, among the technical and elementary children than it is among the grammar school samples.
- (3) In most groups nearly a half, or more, claim to read more than one newspaper daily. The average number read ranges between 1.4 daily (Boys Technical and Elementary 15+, Women 18+) and 2.1 daily, (Men, 17+).
- (4) Few in any groups (in none does the figure exceed 7 per cent.) state that they will not read a newspaper when the war is over. Substantial proportions (rising as high as 40 per cent. in the group of men of 20+) state that they will change their present daily for another when different newspapers are more readily available. Most of the changes indicated however are in the direction of another paper of a similar type to the one now read.
- (5) Vague approval predominates in all groups among the reasons given for a choice of paper. Special features seem to be a relatively important attraction. Only among men are political reasons given any prominence. Statements which indicate an informed and critical appraisal of the merits of the chosen newspaper are rare and are made only by members of the grammar school groups.
- (6) The number of newspapers read daily does not seem to vary markedly with age though slight peaks appear between 16 and 18 in adolescent groups of a technical and elementary school background, at 15+ in the group of Grammar School girls and among women of 20+. The number of dailies read does not appear to vary consistently with sex, though differences do occur and on the whole men read more newspapers than women. Differences with education are more marked; on the whole, grammar school boys read more newspapers, especially in the early teens than do boys from technical and elementary schools. A similar but less marked difference is found among girls of diverse educational backgrounds.
- (7) In the kinds of newspaper read there are no significant age or sex differences in the grammar school groups. In the male technical and elementary groups there is a steady increase with age in the number of illustrated papers mentioned up to the age of 17 and a decline after the age of 30 has been passed. Among girls of a similar background, no such clear development is noticeable in the teens, but the service women read many more illustrated newspapers than do the girls. Sex differences in the adolescent elementary and technical groups are marked at 14+, 15+, 16+ and 17+, due mainly to a greater readership of national dailies among the boys and of local dailies among the girls. The men as a whole differ from women of the same age range but the smaller age subdivisions shew no significant differences. Women on the whole seem to read more illustrated and local dailies and fewer national dailies than the men. From 14+ to 16+ Grammar school boys read more local and more superior dailies than do elementary and technical school boys who

read more national and illustrated dailies. Similar but less pronounced differences are shewn by girls.

- (8) A consideration of the degree of interest displayed in the various groups in certain sections of the daily press shewed that among boys, men and women, Current News of the War ranked first in importance. Among grammar school girls this item was second to Readers Letters and among girls from elementary and technical schools it came after Comic Strips, Pictures, Cartoons and Advertisements. News of Sport came high in the favour of grammar school boys and of men, Cartoons and Comic Strips in the favour of boys from technical and elementary schools. Leading and Political Feature Articles are uniformly low in interest except in the group of older men. 304
- (9) Patterns of interest in the various features of the newspaper as shewn by the composite interest scores made by the subgroups seemed to vary with sex, the differences on the whole becoming more pronounced in the older groups.
- (10) The interest patterns of boys of the same age but of different education seem to resemble each other, especially in the early 'teens, much more than do those of girls. Differences in patterns of interest between grammar and technical and elementary groups of girls are at their most marked at 16+.
- (11) In the change of interest patterns, age seemed to be the most potent factor. Among boys and men the agreement in the orders of interest in which the various items were put grew less as the age discrepancy widened. Among women little difference with age was found; among grammar school girls the changes were less marked than among grammar school boys, but a trend towards change with age was found among technical and elementary school girls. When the adolescent groups are compared with the adult samples, the changes with age between the various groups of boys and girls from elementary and technical schools and the groups of men and women are consistent and suggest a steady process of development. When however the grammar school groups are compared with the adults, there seems to be a tendency for grammar school adolescents to develop in their 'teens patterns of interest akin to those of adult groups very much older than themselves, and to grow beyond these to patterns which again diverge.

Changes with age seem to lie in an increase in interest in the newspaper generally and towards a greater interest in the more serious aspects of daily journalism.

- (12) A study of the interest scores in the various age, sex and education subgroups for the main sections of the daily press shewed:-
 - (a) high interest scores in most groups for Current News of the War. Among girls and women of technical and elementary school backgrounds the item started comparatively low, but with one check at 16+ rose in interest throughout the age range studied.

A supplementary question revealed that in all groups well over half, and in most two thirds or more, claimed to read the headlines and some or all of the war news.

- (b) Comparatively high interest scores among girls and women for Gossip and Domestic News, and comparatively low ones for men. On the whole there seems, with increasing age, to be an upward trend of interest in this feature in all groups.
- (c) Moderately high interest scores among grammar school girls and boys for the Leading Article and scores steadily rising with age, for boys and girls, men and women of technical and elementary school background.
- (d) A rise with age with some fluctuations, in all groups in the interest scores for Political Feature Articles.
- (e) Interest in Feature Articles of General Interest seems to be highest in the grammar school groups but there is a rise, with slight fluctuations, in the scores made by the other groups of boys and men, girls and women, throughout the age range.
- (f) In all groups interest in the Comic Strip and Cartoons stands comparatively high at 13+. With some fluctuations, the scores returned by all groups for this item decrease with advancing age, though they remain comparatively high even at 16+.
- (g) Interest in Advertisements, higher among girls and women than among boys and men, shewed a rise in the mid 'teens in all groups followed by a steady decline with some fluctuations.
- (h) Interest scores for Pictures are fairly high in all groups and at all ages.
- (i) Sports News stands high for boys and men and comparatively low for girls and women of technical and elementary school background, though grammar school girls, with some fluctuations, seem to take more interest in it. Among men, the interest score rises fairly steadily with age.
- (j) With some fluctuations, interest in Readers' Letters rises in all groups throughout the age range studied. It is highest among grammar school girls, next highest among grammar school boys, lowest among boys and men of technical and elementary school background.
- (k) Interest in the Military Correspondent is moderately high among grammar school boys and girls and among boys and men from technical and elementary schools. Interest is low among the groups of adolescent girls from technical and elementary schools but the groups of service women shew a sharp increase in interest.
- (l) The Humorous Paragraph stands highest in favour in the grammar school groups though interest declines somewhat after 14-. In the technical and elementary groups there is a rise from 13 to 16+ or 17 followed by a slight decline in the case of the men.

13. The whole study draws attention to the importance of the daily newspaper in the lives of adolescents and adults. The evidence suggests that the early and middle 'teens are as crucial in the development of newspaper reading habits as they are in other directions. There is little evidence to suggest that adolescents of an elementary or technical school background can, unaided, in their teens form serious, critical attitudes towards the popular press. Even the grammar school boys and girls, exceptionally favoured by innate intelligence and by education, do not seem to have formed by 16+ ideal attitudes towards the press. The study suggests that although newspaper reading habits are to some extent the product of environmental conditions, much could be done by specific training in schools both to improve the newspaper reading habits and attitudes of adolescents and indirectly to influence the content of the daily press.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The help of those, colleagues and others, who were kind enough to collect much of the material on which this study is based, is acknowledged in detail in the text. It remains for the writer to express his grateful thanks to Miss E.M. Smith who carried out the preliminary analysis of the girls' questionnaires and some of those from the adult groups, and to Mr N. Jackson who was kind enough to check many of the calculations.

APPENDIX I.

The three forms of the questionnaire used in this survey are appended here. Form A. was used for all boys and girls still attending school. It was administered to whole forms or classes at a time preceded by careful oral descriptions of the purpose of the survey. In those cases in which the writer was unable personally to supervise its administration, a letter of explanation was sent giving precise instructions. Form B. was used for those adolescent groups who had left school, with the exception of the group of Army Boys. It was administered under the direction of Mr C.J. Graham who so thoroughly entered into the spirit of the enquiry that he made several valuable observations on the form of questionnaire to be used. Form C. was used with all the service groups. In some cases it was administered by the investigator himself and in others by colleagues on the instructional staff of the training wing who had observed its administration and who were further instructed orally.

FORM A.

Do not write your name anywhere on this paper.

Are you a boy) or a girl) ? Write your age in years and
 man) woman)
 months here.....yrs.....mths.

The questions are not about what you have to read in day or evening school or about what you have to do for homework. They are about what you read willingly in your own spare time.

Answer each question as carefully and truthfully as you can. There is no great hurry to get it finished and if you are in any doubt about what any of the questions mean, ask someone to explain it to you.

In some cases you will find several answers given with the question. All you have to do then is to choose the answer which gives your opinion and underline it.

Do not forget that this is not a test or examination and there are no right answers. We want to know what you read and your own opinion. Do not therefore worry what anyone else is putting down; your opinion is as good as theirs.

Remember, too, that no one who knows you will read your answers: so say just what you like. Now go ahead and answer these questions fully and truthfully.

1. Which Daily Newspapers do you read ? Write down their names here:-

2. Below are the main parts of a newspaper. First of all go through the list below and cross out those parts which you never read. Then, in the brackets in front of those which are left, put (1) opposite the part in which you take most interest; (2) opposite the next most interesting; and so on.

- () Current news of the war.
- () Gossip and Domestic News (that is Home Page, Household Hints etc.
- () Leading Article.
- () Political Feature Articles.
- () Feature Articles of General Interest.
- () Comic Strips.
- () Cartoons.
- () Advertisements.
- () Pictures.
- () Sports News.
- () Readers' Letters to the Editor.
- () Military Correspondent.
- () Humorous Paragraphs.
- () Anything not listed above. Write it down briefly here:.....

3. Write here a few lines explaining very briefly why you are interested in the first two you have chosen in Question 2.

1st Choice.

2nd Choice.

4. Do you usually read the war news other than the headlines? Put a line under one of the following answers to show what you generally do:-
 (i) I read the headlines only; (ii) I always read the headlines and all the War News; (iii) I read the headlines and sometimes some of the news; (iv) I rarely read either the headlines or the news.
5. Will you continue to read a daily Newspaper after the War? Yes: No.
- 6a. If you are going to read a daily Newspaper after the war, which one will you choose? Write it down here:
- b. Write down the reasons for your choice here:
7. Other than newspapers, what magazines, illustrated papers, comics and so on do you read? List them here:-
- 8a. Have you got any books of your own? Yes/No.
- b. About how many have you got?
- c. Write down here the titles and writers of three of them. (If you cannot remember the name of the writer or the title, put down the subjects with which the books deal)
- 9a. Do you belong to a lending library? Yes/No.
- b. If you do belong to a library, underline (in the following list) the kind or kinds from which you borrow books:-
 Public Library (County or Town)
 A Chain Library (2d. or 3d. a volume a week.)
 A Subscription Library (Smith's or Boots' or any similar one.)
 A Book Club.
 Any other kind of Library - Say what kind here.....

10. The following is a list of kinds of books on which you are asked to shew what kinds you are fond of. Remember this only concerns what you like - not what you have to read. Cross out those which you never read; then put one line underneath those which you read occasionally; put two lines under the kind or kinds which you read fairly often: and put three lines under the kinds which you read very often.
1. FICTION. Detective, Historical; Adventure; Humorous; Westerns; Thrillers; Love Stories; Stories of Family Life.
2. NON-FICTION. Travel; Scientific; Religious; Biographical; Fine Arts; Essays; Applied Arts.
3. DRAMA. Modern full length plays; One Act Plays; Shakespeare; Other Plays by older writers.
4. POETRY. Modern Poems. Poems by Poets now dead.
5. TECHNICAL BOOKS. Name here the subject(s) on which you read books including any which have to do with hobbies of yours:-

11. Write down here the names of any books or magazines which you have read during the last two weeks:-
- a. BOOKS.
- b. MAGAZINES.
12. About how many books and/or magazines do you read right through during a week ?.....books.....magazines.
13. Are you encouraged to read at home ? Underline one of these answers:-
- (i) Yes, I am encouraged to read as much as possible.
 - (ii) My parents do not mind whether I read or not.
 - (iii) My parents do not like me to read at home.

FORM B.

Do not write your name anywhere on this paper.

Are you a boy) or a (girl ? Write your age in years and
man) (woman ?
months here yrs.....m.

These questions are about what you read willingly in your own spare time. Answer each question as carefully and as truthfully as you can. There is no hurry and if you do not understand any question, ask for an explanation. In some cases you will find several answers are provided with the question. All you have to do then is to choose the answer which gives your opinion and underline it.

Do not forget that there are no right answers. We want to know what you read and your own opinion. Do not therefore worry what your neighbour is putting down; your opinion is as good as his. Remember, too, that no one who knows you will read your answers: so say just what you like.

Now go ahead and answer these questions carefully and truthfully.

1. Which daily Newspaper or Newspapers do you read ? Write them down here
2. Below are the main parts of a newspaper. First of all go through the list and cross out those parts which you never read. Then, in the brackets in front of those which are left, put (1) opposite the part in which you take most interest; (2) opposite the next most interesting; and so on.

(Current News of the War.
)	Gossip and Domestic News (that is Home Page, Household Hints, etc.
(Leading Article.
)	Political Feature Articles.
(Feature Articles of General Interest.
)	Comic Strips.
(Cartoons.
)	Advertisements.
(Pictures.
)	Sports News.
(Readers' Letters to the Editor.
)	Military Correspondent.
(Humorous paragraphs.
)	Anything not listed above. Write down what it is here.....

3. Write here a few lines explaining very briefly why you are interested in the first two you have chosen in Question 2.
1st Choice.

2nd Choice.

FORM B. Continued.

4. Do you usually read the war news other than the headlines? Put a line under one of the following answers to show what you generally do:-
- (i) I read the headlines only (ii) I always read the headlines and all the War News; (iii) I read the headlines and sometimes some of the news; (iv) I rarely read either the headlines or the news.
5. Will you continue to read a daily Newspaper after the War? Yes: No.
- 6a. If you are going to read a newspaper after the war, which one will you choose? Write it down here:
- b. Write down the reason for your choice here:
7. Other than newspapers, what magazines, illustrated papers, comics and so on do you read? List them here:
- 8a. Have you got any books of your own? Yes/No.
- b. About how many have you got?.....
- c. Write down here the titles and writers of three of them. (If you cannot remember the name of the writer or the title, put down the subjects with which the books deal)
- 9a. Do you belong to a lending library? Yes: No
- b. If you belong to a library, underline (in the following list) the kind or kinds from which you borrow books:-
- Public Library (County or Town)
- A Chain Library (2d. or 3d. a volume a week.)
- A Subscription Library (Smith's or Boots' or any similar one.)
- A book Club.
- Any other kind of Library - say what kind here.....
-
10. The following is a list of kinds of books on which you are asked to shew what kinds you are fond of. Remember that what you read in night school or for homework does not count; you must think of what you do willingly extra at home. Cross out those which you never read; then, put one line underneath the kind which you read occasionally; put two lines under the kind or kinds which you read fairly often; and put three lines under the kind you read very often.
1. FICTION. Detective; Historical; Adventure; Humorous; Westerns; Thrillers; Love Stories; Stories of Family Life;
2. NON-FICTION. Travel; Scientific; Religious; Biographical; Fine Arts; Essays; Applied Arts.
3. DRAMA. Modern full length plays; One Act Plays; Shakespeare; Other plays by older writers.
4. POETRY Modern Poems. Poems by Poets now dead.
5. TECHNICAL BOOKS. Name here the subject(s) on which you read books, including any which have to do with hobbies of yours.

FORM B. Continued.

11. Write down here the names of any books or magazines which you have read during the last two weeks:-

a. BOOKS.

b. MAGAZINES.

12. About how many books and/or magazines do you read right through during a week? books,magazines.

13. Are you encouraged to read at home? Underline one of these answers:-

- (i) Yes, I am encouraged to read as much as possible.
- (ii) My parents do not mind whether I read or not.
- (iii) My parents do not like me to read at home.

FORM C.

DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ANYWHERE ON THIS PAPER.

SEX..... COURSE..... AGE..... MARRIED/SINGLE

EDUCATION

1. Which Daily Newspaper or Newspapers do you read? Write them down here: -

2. Below are the main parts of a newspaper. First of all go through the list below and cross out those parts which you never read. Then, in the brackets in front of those which are left, put (1) opposite the part in which you take most interest (2) opposite the next most interesting; and so on.

- () Current News of the War.
- () Gossip and Domestic News (that is Home Page, Household Hints etc.)
- () Leading Article.
- () Political Feature Articles.
- () Feature Articles of General Interest.
- () Comic Strips.
- () Cartoons.
- () Advertisements.
- () Pictures.
- () Sports News.
- () Readers' Letters to the Editor.
- () Military Correspondent.
- () Humorous Paragraphs.
- () Anything not listed above. Write down what it is here.....

.....

3. Write here a few lines explaining very briefly why you are interested in the first two you have chosen in Question 2.

1st Choice.

2nd Choice.

4. Do you usually read the war news other than the headlines? Put a line under one of the following answers to show what you generally do: -

- (i) I read the headlines only; (ii) I always read the headlines and all the War News; (iii) I read the headlines and sometimes some of the news; (iv) I rarely read the headlines or the news.

5. Will you continue to read a daily Newspaper after the War? Yes: No.

6a. If you are going to read a newspaper after the war, which one will you choose? Write it down here:

b. Write down the reason for your choice here:

7. Other than newspapers, what magazines, illustrated papers, comics and so on do you read? List them here:
- 8a. Have you got any books of your own? Yes/no.
- B. About how many have you got?.....
- c. Write down here the titles and writers of three of them. (If you cannot remember the name of the writer or the title, put down the subjects with which the books deal)
- 9a. Do you belong to a lending library? Yes/No.
- b. If you do belong to a library, underline (in the following list) the kind or kinds from which you borrow books :-
Public Library (County or Town)
A Subscription Library (Smith's or Boot's or any similar one)
A Book Club
A Chain Library (2nd or 3rd a volume a week.)
Any other kind of Library - say what kind here
10. The following is a list of kinds of books on which you are asked to show what kinds you are fond of. Cross out those which you never read; then, put one line underneath the kind which you read occasionally; put two lines under the kind or kinds which you read fairly often; and put three lines under the kind you read very often.
1. FICTION Detective; Historical; Adventure; Humorous; Westerns; Thrillers; Love Stories; Stories of Family Life.
2. NON-FICTION. Travel; Scientific; Religious; Biographical; Fine Arts; Essay; Applied Arts.
3. DRAMA. Modern full length plays; One Act Plays; Shakespeare; Other plays by older writers.
4. POETRY Modern poems. Poems by poets now dead.
5. TECHNICAL BOOKS. Name here the subject(s) on which you read books, including any which have to do with hobbies of yours.

11. Write down here the names of any books or magazines which you have read during the last two weeks:-

(a) BOOKS.

(b) MAGAZINES.

12. About how many books and/or magazines do you read right through during a week ?booksmagazines.

13. Were you encouraged to read at home ? Underline any of these answers:-

(i) Yes. I was encouraged to read as much as possible.

(ii) My parents did not mind whether I read or not.

(iii) My parents did not like me to read at home.

14. a. Do you think that Service Life has altered in any way your reading habits. Yes/No.

b. Do you read more or less than before joining the Army ?

c. Do you read anything different from what you read previously ?

d. Indicate here any changes in your reading not indicated above:

APPENDIX 2

The Effects of Military Service on the Reading of the Adults.

In the form of questionnaire used with the service groups an additional question, No. 14, was inserted. The various parts of this question were aimed at finding out whether the subjects in the service groups thought that the army had changed their reading habits, whether they now read more, the same or less than they did previously, and whether the kind of material which they read was similar to that they used to read or different. ~~Adde were~~ asked to state the nature of the changes which had taken place in their reading.

The question was the last one of a somewhat extensive questionnaire and perhaps for that reason, fairly high proportions - 21 per cent. of the men, and 16 per cent. of the women - failed to answer it.

Of those who did, seventy per cent. of the men and sixty-two per cent. of the women considered that service life had led to an alteration in their reading habits. Sixty-eight per cent. of the men and seventy-two per cent. of the women considered that they now read less than before. Seventeen per cent. of women and twenty-six per cent. of men considered that they now read more than before they were called up.

Among the kinds of change mentioned, most of the references are to books, - changes to lighter books that need less concentration and complaints of the inaccessibility of books. One or two refer to a developing taste for non-fiction. There are many remarks about the lack of time to read, lack of quiet and comfort and the inability to concentrate upon anything requiring attention. On the positive side there is emphasis on a growing interest in news and politics, in books and articles on the War, or on the Services. Among the older men there are comments upon the greater accessibility of a variety of newspapers.

The writer may perhaps be permitted to amplify these facts by his private observations. Life in the base camp from which these samples were drawn for the man or woman in the ranks was not on the whole conducive to serious concentration upon reading. To obtain quiet it was frequently necessary to walk a mile or more to the nearest Army Education Corps study centre; N.A.A.F.I./Y.M./Y.W.C.A. canteens were always centres of noise - clattering cups, conversation and radio; the Nissen sleeping huts accommodated upwards of twenty men any or all of whom might be "at home" in the evenings, conversing, cleaning equipment or playing games. Under such circumstances it is small wonder that most men and women stated that they read less since joining the forces; nor is it surprising either, that the quality of what they read be comparatively low. On the other hand the facilities provided for guided reading, for borrowing books, the stimulus of lecture courses, the mixing in the ranks of many men and women of good intelligence and education, and, in favoured cases, the increase of leisure, provided, for some, conditions conducive to a widened cultural life - if they were prepared to make the effort to get it.