Engineer, Mechanic or Carpenter: Boys Transitions to Work in the 1960s.

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Abstract

Introduction

For every man, the outcome of his socialisation is his entry into work. His first day at work signifies his 'initiation' into the secretive conspiratorial solidarity of working men... (Tolson 1987: 47-48)

The process through which boys learn their gender identities has recently been the subject of a great deal of research and is an area supported by an ever increasing body of literature (for example see Harris 1995; Connell 1995; Edley and Wetherell 1996; Mac an Ghail 1996; Nilan 2000; Haywood and Mac an Ghail 2003), and it has been argued that paid employment is linked with the very nature of men's identity (Collinson and Hearn 1994, 1996; Roper, 1994; Goodwin 2001, 1999a, 1999b; McEachern 1999). There is also now an emerging literature on how young men are socialised into work (Dennehy and Mortimer 1993; Goodwin 1999; Lloyd 1999) or how men experience the transition from school to work as a gendered process (McDowell 2001). Discussions of how men experience the transition from school to work may not appear to be new aspects of social enquiry and, indeed, it has been argued that many of the earlier studies on the transition from school to work focused almost exclusively on the experiences of young males (Roberts 1984; O'Connor and Goodwin 2002). Yet closer inspection of the literature on youth transitions reveals that the actual experiences of the boys remain hidden within broader class or education narratives. For example, in studies such as Carter 1962) and Ashton and Field (1976), the authors tended to over concentrate on structural issues at the expense of exploring the individually complex and gendered transitional experiences of the young men involved (Goodwin and O'Connor 2003a). As such, it has not usually been the transitional experiences of young males *per se* that were of interest, but the experiences of young males as members of certain class or educational groups. Where gender as an issue is specifically raised (for example Roberts 1984: 26) gender is used as 'shorthand' to describe the experiences of girls rather than to problematise the boys experiences in terms of their gender. In many respects this reflects the practice in social science research at the time of interpreting 'gender

studies' to mean the study of women (Brod 1987; Goodwin 1999). Perhaps an obvious exception to this is Willis (1977) who examined the transition process by documenting and exploring the actual transitional experiences of the boys in his sample. However, it would also be true to suggest that a class narrative underpins even this significant contribution.

Yet the recent discovery of a 'lost' school to work transition study from the 1960s affords us the opportunity to examine the gendered nature of school to work transitions for a group of young people in Leicester. Having presented the experiences of the girls elsewhere (O'Connor and Goodwin 2004) this paper seeks to contribute to the debates on the gendered nature of transition by using the data explore how young males experienced the transition from school to work. In doing so we place emphasis on their actual lived experiences of the transition process as opposed to exploring their experiences in the context of an explicit class or education debate. The lost school to work transition study is Norbert Elias's '*Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles*' project and although the data from this project is historical, secondary analysis of the 854 interview schedules reveals this a unique picture of the transitional experiences of one generation of young people in what was one of the English Midlands foremost manufacturing centres.

Following the introduction the paper is divided into three main sections. In the next section of the paper an outline of the theoretical models that have informed this research is provided. In this discussion we draw upon the work of Norbert Elias and Robert Connell in an attempt to further understand how central the transition from school to work is in constructing hegemonic masculinity around paid employment. A secondary analysis of the 1960s data is then offered which reveals how the young male workers experienced the transition process in terms of reflections on school, thinking about work, finding and adjusting work, and thinking about the future. Finally the paper concludes by

The Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles Project

Approaching what he thought was to be his final year at the University of Leicester, Norbert Elias was successful in applying for a grant £15,000 from the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR) to explore the adjustment of young workers to work and adulthood. From the archived material associated with the *Adjustment of Young Workers to Work Situations and Adult Roles* project, it is clear that Elias had developed the whole research agenda around an interest in examining the extent to

which young school leavers experienced difficulties in making the required adjustments to work and adult roles. Elias suggested that is project was

...concerned with the problems which young male and female workers encounter during their adjustment to their work situation and their entry into the world of adults. When they go to work, or begin to train for work, young workers have to make a wider adjustment to a situation and to roles which are new to them, whose implications are often imperfectly understood by them and by the adults concerned, and for which they are in many cases not too well prepared. The project will differ from other studies in investigating this wider adjustment which young workers have to make in their relationships with older workers and supervisors in the factory or workshop; to the problems and to their role as workers; and to their roles as money earners in home relations and in their leisure time. (Young Worker Project 1962: 2)

Data for the project was collected between 1962 and 1964 via semi-structured interviews with a sample of young people drawn from the Youth Employment Office index of all Leicester school leavers from the summer and Christmas of 1960 and the summer and Christmas of 1962. The sample was divided up into five sub-groups and a target sample of 1150 young people was identified. From the 1150 individuals, the research team were successful in contacting 987, of whom 105 refused to be interviewed and 882 interviews were eventually completed. However, with the exception of Ashton and Field (1976) who used a sample of the cases, the bulk of the data has never been fully analysed or published (see Goodwin and O'Connor 2003). Indeed, it was only the recent rediscovery of 854 interview schedules that Elias's interest in the transition from school to work has emerged and the data has become available for secondary analysis.

A range of background work related data for the 577 boys in the sample is presented in Table 1. The data suggests that the vast majority of the boys were aged either 16 (35.2 per cent) or 18 (36.7 per cent) but with nearly 15 per cent being aged 17 at the time of the interview. Around 8 per cent of the sample were aged 19 or over whilst 5 per cent were aged 15 or under. In terms of education, the vast majority of the boys (77.2 per cent) had received less than one years further education and left school at the very first opportunity. The data presented in Table 1 indicates that over 45 per cent of the boys worked in skilled manual occupations, with a further 33 per cent working in either partly skilled or unskilled occupations. However, 15.8 per cent were working in skilled non-manual occupations and just over 5 per cent were working in intermediate occupations. In relation to standard occupation classification data, 45.4 per cent were working in craft and related occupations. Table 1 also suggests that 15.4 per cent of the boys were working as plant and machine operatives, 14.2 per cent were working in clerical and secretarial occupations and a further 11.4 per cent were

working in sales occupations. There were also small clusters of boys working in associate professional, professional and personal and protective service occupations.

Table 1 Age, Number Jobs, Social Class, Standard Occupational Classification and Education.

Variable	Number	Percentage
<i>Age</i>		
14	2	0.3
15	27	4.7
16	203	35.2
17	86	14.9
18	212	36.7
19	37	6.4
20	2	0.3
21	1	0.2
Missing	7	1.2
<i>Number of Jobs</i>		
1	363	62.9
2	128	22.2
3	53	9.2
4	16	2.8
5+	17	2.9
<i>Social Class in First Job</i>		
Professional occupations	-	-
Intermediate occupations	31	5.4
Skilled occupations (non manual)	91	15.8
Skilled occupations (manual)	263	45.6
Partly skilled occupations	93	16.1
Unskilled occupations	97	16.8
Armed forces	2	0.3
<i>Main Standard Occupation Classification</i>		
Managers and administrators	-	-
Professional occupations	2	0.3
Associate professional occupations	29	5.0
Clerical and secretarial occupations	82	14.2
Craft and related occupations	262	45.4
Personal and protective service occupations	22	3.8
Sales occupations	66	11.4
Plant and machine operatives	89	15.4
Other occupations	25	4.3
<i>Education</i>		
More than one years Further Education	130	22.5
Less than one years Further Education	445	77.2
Missing	2	0.3
N	577	

The Context of Boys' Transitions to Work in 1960s Leicester

As we have reported elsewhere (see O'Connor and Goodwin 2004) Leicester's economy in the 1960s was dominated by engineering, textiles and clothing and footwear manufacture. Engineering was Leicester's leading employer, employing 67,960 employees in 1967, followed by textiles and clothing and footwear manufacture, employing 55,970 and 16,500 respectively. However, it would be incorrect to view these industries separately as the manufacturing concerns of these three industries were closely connected. For example, the British United Shoe Machine Company was concerned with producing machinery and tool parts for the City's footwear manufacturers. The buoyancy of these industries meant that Leicester in the 1960s was characterised by high levels of employment, prosperity and opportunity. As Books and Singh (1978) report Leicester's economy of the 1960s was characterised by high employment and the availability of relatively well-paid manufacturing jobs meant that unemployment remained at around 1 per cent. Despite the domination of Leicester's economy by three main industries, it is interesting to note that many of the city's firms in the 1960s were actually smaller than one hundred employees. For example, Keil *et al* (1963) report that over 30 per cent of the total numbers of those employed worked in firms with less than one hundred people, and these small organisations attracted 44 per cent of the total numbers of school leavers during the period 1960 to 1962. Keil *et al* suggest that

the fact that so many young entrants to industry get their initial experience in firms of under 100 employee affects both their attitudes to work, and the quality of their industrial training... (Keil *et al* 1963: 411)

Like most of the towns and cities in the Britain, whose local economies were dominated by such manufacturing industries, Leicester has witnessed a massive decline in the traditional industries that provided employment for the local community. Although a relatively small amount of hosiery and textile manufacture still takes place within the city, many of the large companies associated with these industries, such as Corhas, British United Shoe Machine Company and Byfords, have long since disappeared.

In terms of education 1960s Leicester had a mixture of secondary modern schools, technical schools and grammar schools catering for around 80,000 school children. From the mid 1960s to the early 1970s it is reported that the percentage of pupils attending secondary modern and grammar schools remained fairly constant at 73 per cent and 27 per cent respectively (Brooks and Singh 1977). According to Ashton and Field (1976), those young people unable to obtain a place at a grammar school were unlikely to leave school with any qualifications and would leave as soon as possible at age 15. In 1960, there were 1750 school leavers who left school aged 15 and with no qualifications and by 1962 this figure had increased to 2053.

Lloyd's (1999) found that most felt that school failed to prepare them for work. They also regretted not working harder at school, not realising the consequences of this until it was too late.

Boys' Transitions to Work

Reflections on School

The young workers were asked if they wished if they had stayed longer at school. Of those who answered the question, 66 per cent said no, 24 per cent said yes and 7 per cent said that the sometimes wished that they had stayed longer at school.

Breadwinner ideology over one quarter of the boys survey specifically mentioned that going out and earning money was the main reason that they wanted to leave school.

Wanted to leave so could get out and earn own money. (Joiner Improver 1964, A126)

Looking forward to it very much, I always wanted to go to work and to earn my own money. (Apprentice Printer 1964, A459)

I wanted to leave school. I grew fed up - the attraction of earning my own money also helped. (Articled Clerk 1963, B162)

The thought of looking into the future and thinking about earning money and being better off was exciting. (Motor Mechanic 1963, C84)

Couldn't wait – 126 of the boys said that they were glad to leave and a good proportion of these said that they couldn't wait to leave school

Couldn't wait - that's just how I felt - because I could get some money for a weeks work. [do you think it would have been worth giving up the money and staying longer now?] Yes, now (how long did it take you before you started thinking that?) about 6 months [Any of your friends feel the same?] Yes, the ones I go out with [what sort of reasons do they give?] They say its easier to go to school than it is to go to work, say if they were paid to go to school they'd go to school instead of going to work. (Labourer 1963, A71)

Well, I were pleased you know, I mean at the time I were glad I were leaving. Well I've not regretted it now really. I was pleased when I was leaving, so there! (Delivery Boy 1964, C232)

I were glad. I felt big. (Welder's Mate 1963, A743)

Hoping for the day to come and glad of it. (Trainee Heating Engineer 1964, A929)

Regrets

I wanted to get away and earn the money. I suppose everyone does. Once I'd left and been at work a couple of years I started thinking - we didn't really take advantages of it. (Sewing Machine Mechanic 1963, C365)

Mixed feelings really - sort of happy in a way - sorry to leave it because I knew what I was leaving - because I'd been around with these blokes and knew what I

was in for - but had the money to think of. Thought marvellous when had £2-10-0 for first wages but not a lot better off after paying M. Used to get out a lot but go out a lot now. (Apprentice Toolmaker 1964, C66)

Glad to leave but wish I hadn't now- [pause] thought I could have better time at work [pause] got on to you at school a bit and thought it would be better. (Trainee Joiner 1964, A218)

I didn't want to leave, I would have liked to go to school still as part time, I think it ought to be compulsory to go to school for perhaps two days a week and to work for the rest of the time for a while, it's too big a step straight of school to work. (Baker's Mate 1964, A304)

Oddly enough it didn't hit me till the day. The headmaster's speech showed the finality of it you know. I suddenly realised your whole life was going to be changed completely. As soon as you walk out of the gates you are no longer leading the school life which is very different to the working life. You don't know what's ahead of you and you think it's quite a frightening thought for a second or so. (Trainee Commercial Artist 1963, C661)

Seemed great 2-3 months before but on the day felt funny not coming back here again. Don't know about sentimental but in a way sorry and in a way glad. On the way to being an adult and hoping I get the right job. Most of us felt pleased we were leaving, probably, didn't show that we would have liked to have gone back, felt pleased mostly. (Police Cadet 1963, B290)

A few of the boys also indicated that they were anxious or even frightened of leaving school going to work for the first time

I was anxious, confused, worried. I think we're all like that on leaving school. (Trainee Knitter 1963, C601)

I suppose I was a little bit frightened of leaving school [Prompt: Why?] It would be the first major step I took. (Cable Joiner 1964, A352)

I was frightened. It was a big change. At school you have nothing to bother about, but at work you may get the sack. (Apprentice Plasterer 1964, C355)

Thinking About Work

Was there any job you wanted to go into when you were at school ?

Last year at school it was always I wanted to be a plumber [P]. Because been with dad and seen it and it appealed. It seemed to suit me down to the ground and I didn't find out about anything else. (Apprentice Plumber 1963, C747)

Shoe factory. Father told me about shoe work he says women will do everything in that trade before long and men will become redundant - no opportunities. (Apprentice Welder 1963, C667)

I was good at metal work at school, my dad was in it and my brothers. (Fitter 1963, A508)

Yes, I always fancied the engineering. Well I think because it were put in to my head by my brother and because I enjoyed the metal work classes at school. (Machine Tool Fitter 1963, C112)

Interested in engineering and my father is an engineer. (Apprentice Engineer 1964, B187)

I decided it would be something to do with engineering. I didn't want to be an ordinary clerk, I didn't fancy going into a shop or anything like that. (Apprentice Draughtsman 1963, B161)

Mechanic. I liked pulling things to bits and sticking them back together again. (Garage Mechanic 1963, A70)

I have always been interested in cars, I used to like wood - carving and clay modelling, I like doing things with my hands. (Apprentice Motor Mechanic 1964, A805)

Most said thing like good at woodwork and metal work as a justification for entering the trades.

Only 2 boys in B sample said that they wanted to be a motor mechanic

The boys were also asked was there any job you didn't want to go into when you were at school ? Along with dustman, solidier r anything that the boys perceived to be dead end or boring 153 said there were no jobs that they did not want

125 boys identified that they did not want to work in a factory

I didn't fancy working in a big factory. I don't think I'd be able to stand that. It's too big you're like a number. (Sheet Metal Worker 1964, C726)

Just made my mind up I weren't going into a factory that's all. Just didn't fancy it that's al. Seemed a bit of a hard life as you got older. [F] My influence drove you on. Having a father been on the factory floor it influences you against it , in a way, I doctined him against the bench work. What I've seen of the factory life always beneficial to be on the salaried side of things. (Trainee Cost Clerk 1964, A666)

Factory. I didn't want to stay indoors. (Boot and Shoe Worker 1964, A836)

Factory. I couldn't be closed up. I would get fed up with it - the same monotonous noise. I couldn't do the same job day after day at a machine. I like to do things constructive. (Junior Clerk 1964, B340)

The factory we went round, shoe machinery. Dirty, damp, noisy machinery - little kids doing mans work getting low wages - men pulling a lever and getting £20 a week it was like a workhouse. (Apprentice Printer 1963, B182)

Not into a factory. Because factory jobs to me were always dead end jobs. (Shop Assistant 1963, B232)

Being stuck indoors, restricted , fresh air

54 boys identified that they did not want to work in a office

An office. Too much sitting down and paper work. (Factory Worker 1963, A386)

An office job. I just think it's boring and I think its far more satisfying to do something with your own hands and then see the results of it. (Motor Mechanic 1964, B281)

I didn't want to work in an office. I thought - I'd been cooped up in a school since I was five, an office wasn't much difference I couldn't sit at a desk all day, I wouldn't be happy. (Apprentice Lithograph Painter 1964, B112)

Office. Never liked going in white shirt - never wear one at night (P) Would in an office to look respectable - I like wearing sports shirts and casual things like that. (Apprentice Engineer 1964, C179)

48 boys said engineering

Engineering. The screech of the file on a piece of metal sends shivers up my spine- I couldn't stand that sort of noise all day. (Hosiery Worker 1963, A594)

Engineering didn't appeal to me because I suppose I am not practical enough. (Office Worker 1964, B107)

We went round to factory and it seemed to me a drab sort of job and the noise was really intensive - and it made me wonder how they could stand it - it seemed endless to me going round that factory - it didn't seem very interesting. (Hosiery Worker 1964, C502)

29 boys identified that they did not want to work in a shop

Shop. There's no trade behind it. (Apprentice Bricklayer 1963, A357)

Shops. I've nothing to gain from it. If I left a shop I could only go to another shop - you have nothing to know you've lived to know something - you've sold something that's all. (Clerk 1963, A473)

Shop. I couldn't stand it. It would be monotonous - working at the same place all day. If an awkward customer came in I could not keep my temper. (Apprentice Plasterer 1964, C355)

Shop - that's what I hated. Boring - was a grocery boy - that shop bored me - hated that job because it was so routine - job I've got is different every day. (Apprentice Foundry Worker 1964, C653)

Table 3 Boys Career Aspirations and Actual Numbers Entering at First Job

Job Description	Job Aspirations*	Actual First Job Destination
Engineering	62	92
Mechanic	46	31
Electrician	34	28
Joiner/Carpenter	29	12
Draughtsman	24	12
Navy (merchant and Royal)	20	1
Factory Worker	18	69
Painter and Decorator	18	16
Police	15	1
Farming	15	2
Office Work (e.g. clerk)	14	62
Artist (commercial)	13	1
Printer	12	14
RAF	11	0
Accountant	7	6
Plumber	7	7
Railway worker	7	6
Radio and TV technician	7	4
Army	6	0
Footballer	6	0
Architect	6	0
Builder/labourer	5	8
Bricklayer	5	5
Shop worker	7	42
Journalist	5	0
Butcher	4	6
Doctor/Dentist	4	0
GPO	4	3
Lorry Driver/driver's mate/van boy	4	9
Fire officer	4	0
Chef	3	1
Hairdresser	3	1
Insurance sales	3	0
Teacher	3	0
Advertising	2	0
Gas Fitter	2	4
Gardening	2	1
Jockey	2	0
Work with animals	2	0
Solicitor, Air Steward , Fishing	1	10
Miner, Actor , Chemist, Researcher, Warehouse, Projectionist, Probation Officer, Waiter, Lab Assistant, Scientist, Window cleaner.		
No opinion	155	

* Note: some respondents mentioned more than one job and all preferences were counted, hence the total here is are greater than the number of male respondents.

Finding Work

Traditionally young men have been introduced to the workplace by their fathers often finding them jobs in the industries in which they themselves worked. However, in those families where fathers were not working (or absent), or where their son's wanted to work in different sectors, fathers could not carry out this role...However...the young men rarely sought/received direction from their mothers... (Lloyd 1999: 28)

The boys fathers and appeared to be central in helping the boys find work and gain entry into workplaces – this appeared to be particularly true when the boys entered apprenticeship of craft and trade type jobs. Also factory work. Fewer of the boys with a years further education relied upon their family

My dads in the job and I've been interested in it since I was at school. My dad got the job for me. (Apprentice Joiner 1963, A821)

Me dad knows this man at work. His mate and his dad worked there and got me the job. (Boot and Shoe Worker 1964, A907)

Dad works there - works on machines so got me a job. (Wood Machinist 1963, A846)

[Mother] *Father took him round to a number of places and he couldn't get a carpenters job so he decided to be a plumber. After he had started to work at Freer's a letter came from a firm offering a carpenters job but he decided to stay in plumbing, as he liked it. Boy agreed.* (Apprentice Plumber 1963, A462)

Through my father. [Mother] - *He couldn't have got in otherwise, it was difficult to get a job.* (Motor Mechanic 1964, A801)

My dad took me down to the manager in 1960 to Mr Holmes, and it was arranged that I should start 2 weeks after leaving school. (Trainee Mechanic 1963, C130)

Other male relations

I was taken round the firm when I left school, and besides that my father works there, my uncle works there and my step granddad used to work there. (Apprentice Engineer 1964, B227)

My uncles in the same trade, well same firm, not same trade and he told me bits about it, I knew people who was in there and they raked me into it - not talked me into it, explained what it was, took a liking to it and went for an interview and had another interview with another firm and chose between which I liked and I took this job I've got now. (Apprentice Fitter 1964, A767)

23 boys said that they got to know about the job through their mother
157 said that it was the YEO
46 saw adverts in the paper

Adjusting to Work

– adjustment to relationships with older workers and supervisors; adjustment to job problems; adjustment to role as workers; adjustment to role as ‘money-earner’ in home relations; and adjustment to role as ‘money-earner’ in leisure time.

The vast majority of the boys in the sample worked in all male environments, where women they tended to be working ‘in the office’ of the canteen. However, around 70 of the boys worked with mainly female colleagues. These boys tended to be working in hosiery or boot and shoe factories . None of the boys reported to having a female boss.

Thinking About the Future

What do you think you will be doing in ten years time

Only 41 out of the 577 males indicated that they thought that in ten years time that they would be married with children. This compares to over half of the girls sample who assumed that marriage and children would form part of their immediate future (O’Connor and Goodwin 2002)

Married with a family, I shall be a knitter by then, don’t want to go to another job, not now. (Trainee Knitter 1964, A565)

I hope I have got my own business and I hope I shall be married. (Shop Assistant 1964, A789)

Might be dead- [pointing to my CND badge]. Don’t know, get married for a start- when I’m about 30. Have some kids...(Apprentice Plumber 1963, A263)

I’ll be married. I hope. To be reasonably well off although you can’t be well off when your married. (Apprentice Lithographer 1964, A770)

Married, with children. Probably be a sales representative for the company. (Order Clerk 1964, B113)

Happily married and sitting in front of fire with my feet up [laughter]. (Knitting Machine Mechanic 1964, C356)

I hope to be married. I hope to have a house of my own a good steady job and a good wage. (Sewing Machine Mechanic 1963, C365)

I should think I'll be married, have kiddies, me own house - I want to buy me own house, buy an old house and do it up. (Signmaker 1964, C726)

However, for some of the boys interviewed, marriage was obviously a preferred outcome for the boys mothers

Suppose I'll be married. [Mother] - will be. Yes I never thought about that. (Clerk 1963, A611)

I don't know. [Mother] – I hope he's married. (Hosiery Worker 1964, A814)

Future aspirations appear to be mediated by education. Of those with less than one years further education, 30 per cent suggested that they would be still working in the same job or in the same firm in ten years time. Eighteen per cent suggested that they did not know what they would be doing in ten years time. This compares to only 17 per cent of those with more than one years further education suggesting that they would be in the same job or firm and only 11 per cent suggested that they did not know what they would be doing in ten years time. There also appears to be slight age differences when one compares 16 and 18 year old respondents. Slightly fewer (26 per cent) of the 16 year olds reported that they would be in the same job in ten years time as compared to the 18 year old respondents (30 per cent). However on 14 per cent of those aged 18 suggested that they did not know what they would be doing in ten years time compared to 20 per cent of those aged 16. Of those in unskilled occupations 25 per cent indicated that they did not know what they would be doing in ten years time as compared to only 1 per cent of those in intermediate occupations.

Work A and C tend to have supervisory or managerial aspirations of want to own their own business.

It seems to be either staying where they are or starting a new firm...or moving on within the same type of work

Wouldn't really know, if I'm still there reckon I'll be on the bending- if I don't get the stack, which I don't think I will have- I'll be on the bending, I'll be all right (Trainee Cutler 1964, A132)

I think I will be a foreman. I can try anyway. (Boot and Shoe 1964, A716)

I want a nice cushy job. (British Rail Porter 1964, A475)

10 years time? Should hope to be a plumber then start up business of my own. (Trainee Plumber 1964, A541)

Hope to have own business if enough money (Shop Assistant 1964, A645)

I hope to go in the Army and get a skilled trade when I'm 17 1/2. I wanted to go in before but mum wouldn't let me. I would really like to own my own garage if I had the money to start with, and then I could employ my dad when he is out of a job (Barrow Boy 1963, A620)

Hope to have my own business (Driver's Mate 1964, A304)

Still be in the sheet metal trade, by that time I'll be skilled chap from the unions point of view will be. (Sheet Metal Worker 1964, C236)

This one is a typical

I don't know, the same job I hope. (Metal Worker 1964, A255)

I should think at the same factory. (Engineering Apprentice 1963, A374)

Probably the same job as I am doing now. (Hosiery Worker 1963, C78)

Want to drive a lorry. (Hosiery Worker 1964, A836)

The same job that I am in now I should think. But I want to go to another firm after I have passed my apprenticeship. (Lathe Turner 1964, C288)

B boys seemed to have more aspirations to move on within their job in terms of promotion and opportunities and have professional aspirations.

When I qualify and do my 3-4 years practical experience I will have a very good well paid job. (Trainee Accountant 1963, B260)

A manager in a good hotel or an assistant manager in an excellent hotel. (Hotel Barman 1963, B237)

Hope by that time I will have specialised in something probably CID or traffic work - hope to get on the motorcycles for a short time and then CID. (Police Cadet 1963, B290)

A director of the firm I hope. (Apprentice Electrician 1964, B307)

Like to think I'll be working myself up to be a fully qualified cost accountant. Will still be learning the ins and outs of cost accounting - people don't want you unless you know the background to the job. (Costing Clerk 1963, B33)

I hope I will have qualified and still be in practice at that age perhaps on at least £1000 a year - I might even have branched out into industry by then. I'll have weighed it up - industry or practice. (Articled Clerk 1964, B159)

Conclusion

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Notes

[1] In the quotations the following symbols have been used, – denotes pauses, ... denotes excised text, *** denotes deleted names of people or places, [] denotes text added by authors.

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