



**The rise of mass secondary schooling and modern adolescence:**

**A social history of youth in southern Adelaide,**

**1901 - 1965**

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## Abstract of thesis

The rise of "modern adolescence" has been associated with the creation of secondary schools, and their availability to ever greater proportions of youth. Families from the emerging new middle class have been identified as some of the most persistent users of secondary schools in the late nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries.

The main research instrument used for exploring the association of modern adolescence with secondary schooling and their joint relationship to changing class formations and the gender order, has been the analysis of a data base of students from secondary schools in southern Adelaide. Hypotheses on the relationships between school attendance and "success" with factors including social class and gender have been tested. Analysis of the representations of modern youth in the emerging secondary schools has been linked to the argument about adolescence, class and gender from the quantitative sources. Early school magazines advocated the characteristics of modern adolescence including the idea of youth as dependent on school and family, separated from the labour market, tied to the meritocratic ideology and deferring adult gratifications in favour of future employment and cultural rewards.

Correspondence between the parents and the headmaster of one school has allowed the analysis of family strategies. Some families contested the incursions of secondary schooling; others vigorously pursued the credentials on offer. Though the word "adolescence" was rarely used by parents, its new meanings were supported most strongly by the new employed middle class.

The post-war period saw the comprehensive introduction of streaming. Along with the division of state schools into technical and high, streaming helped maintain unequal and different class and gender based adolescences. Nevertheless class declined as the dominant factor influencing the length of secondary school stay and success. The transformation of secondary schooling from an elite to a mass system was mainly responsible for this.

The argument is confirmed that for this district, the new and professional middle classes pioneered modern adolescences especially through their use of secondary education. By the 1960s that leading role was less prominent than earlier in the century as a universalization, if not democratization of modern adolescence had occurred.

## **Declaration**

I certify that this thesis does not include any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge it does not contain any material previously written or published by another person unless duly acknowledged.

I consent to the thesis being made available for photocopying and loan if accepted for the award of the degree.

June, 1994

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The Privacy Committee of the South Australian government and the then Director-General of Education, Dr K. Boston viewed my application for access to state records favourably, and I thank them for their assistance. Staffs at the Mortlock Library, Barr Smith Library (University of Adelaide) and the Public Records Office have also made my research more efficient than it might otherwise have been.

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## Introduction

Then, too, the significance of adolescence is coming to be more clearly understood, and it is realized that at this critical period of life the boy or girl needs suitable occupation, wise guidance and help more than at any other period of life.<sup>1</sup>

One year after the return of Alfred Williams, the Director of Education, from his European and American tour on behalf of the South Australian Government, the first free coeducational state high school was established. By the end of 1910, only three years later, a network of district high schools existed in the metropolitan area of Adelaide and in important regional centres. The needs of "adolescents" was only a part of the argument that Williams the reformer put forward to convince a Labor-Liberal coalition of the need for such schools.<sup>2</sup> The argument also appealed to the need for national efficiency in a time of imperial rivalry and the necessity of higher education for the people if a stable form of democratic government was to be maintained. Yet the protection and liberation of the powers of youth were constant themes.

Youth needed protection in the growing industrial cities of the modern age. Continuation schools were needed to counteract "the degrading tendencies of city life arising from overcrowding, alcoholism, and the allurements of the street."<sup>3</sup> Moral degradation and physical degeneration combined with the drudgery associated with the division of labour was contrasted with industrial efficiency and such "intellectual and ethical development among the workers as will lead them to devote their leisure to more healthy and rational enjoyment."<sup>4</sup> In the final stage of his argument, Williams alerted the parliament to a marked change which had "come over the relationships existing between parent and child."

The old-time severity has almost disappeared, less restraint is exercised upon children, who incline more and more towards early independence, and who eagerly respond to the alluring cry of the streets, and too readily resent the restraining influences of guidance and authority.<sup>5</sup>

Home influence had been weakened; the inculcation of national pride and schooling beyond the compulsory limit (12 years) was required if youth were to be inspired with "fine ideals".

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1. Alfred Williams, *Preliminary report of the Director of Education upon observations made during an official visit to Europe and America, 1907 ...*, Education Department, South Australia, Adelaide, 1908, p. 7.
  2. Price Ministry (Labor-Liberal Coalition) No. 45, 26 July 1905 to 5 June 1909.
  3. Williams, *Preliminary report*, p. 6.
  4. *ibid.*
  5. *ibid.*, p. 13.

Youth could not be reformed "while so large a percentage of our children finish their so-called education at the age of 13."<sup>6</sup>

Williams' report, with its bleak view of the present (1907), and contrasting rosy vision of the future, represented an important moment in the history of schooling and adolescence in South Australia. The decisive intervention by the state in post-elementary education was one result, but another was the introduction of a new word and concept into the public discourse about youth. The words "adolescence" and the "adolescent" have long lexical histories, but their modern usage, to describe the psychology, culture and experience of modern youth is comparatively recent, coming into more general usage with the publication of C. Stanley Hall's two volume work titled *Adolescence* in 1904.<sup>7</sup> Williams referred directly to this work, published only three years previously, in his report, crediting the idea that the adolescent years were the crucial years for the formation of the adult, to Hall.<sup>8</sup> The influence of this work was hardly unique to South Australia. Its significance across the early decades of the twentieth century throughout the English speaking world is well documented.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the conjunction of its publication and the establishment of state secondary schools gave it special status in South Australia.

While the history of new state interventions in secondary schooling and the discourses surrounding them is of importance, the focus of this work is on the social relations associated with those changes. The discussion of adolescence becomes more than an opportunity to trace its definitions over the twentieth century by newly professionalized psychologists, educators and others.<sup>10</sup> Michael B. Katz and others, argued for a notion of adolescence, rooted firmly in social structure:

In this view adolescence is a phase of prolonged institutionalized dependency, a span of years between puberty and marriage in which young people remain not only dependent on their parents but governed by a

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6. *ibid.*, p. 14.

7. G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education*, 2 vols., Sydney Appleton, London, 1904.

8. Williams, *Preliminary report*, p. 7.

9. See Dorothy Ross, *G. Stanley Hall: The psychologist as prophet*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1972, ch. 16, Carol Dyhouse, *Girls growing up in late Victorian and Edwardian England*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1981, ch. 4, John Demos, *Past, present, and personal: The family and the life course in American history*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1986, ch. 5, Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America 1790 to the present*, Basic Books, New York, 1977, ch. 8. David McCallum notes his influence in the early Australian teachers' colleges, David McCallum, *The social production of merit: Education, psychology and politics in Australia 1900-1950*, Falmer Press, London, 1990, p. 32.

10. Some of the first major examples of this activity in Australia are found in essays published in Percival R. Cole ed., *The education of the adolescent in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, 1935.

historically new social institution, mass public education. The problems created by prolonged institutionalized dependency may in fact have generated the particular forms of behaviour that the newly emergent profession of psychology labelled adolescent and elevated to universality.<sup>11</sup>

In this view, modern adolescence is defined by the changing relationships of youth to the historically emerging labour markets and education systems associated with the growth of modern cities. A series of questions may then be asked about adolescence viewed within this framework. Is the idea of "prolonged institutionalized dependence" a key to understanding the modern form of adolescence? If so, can different rates by which distinct social groups and classes appropriated or inherited the modern forms of adolescence be distinguished? How important are sex and gender to the historical constructions of modern adolescence? What relationship do the twentieth century changes in the lives of youth bear to the representations of adolescents in the culture over time? How important were the new secondary schools in forming and changing the lives of youth? How did families use, adapt to, mould, and resist the new schooling structures? What relationship did the new forms of adolescence have to new employment structures associated with burgeoning corporatism in business and the state? Such questions are not exhaustive, but they are the major questions explored over the following pages. They derive from a desire to understand the history of modern youth primarily in an historical context of changing broad social structures, but not ignoring the real issues associated with cultural representations of youth in popular, public and scientific discourses. Alfred Williams and G. Stanley Hall have served to introduce the questions, but they and their kind, are not the subject of this work. That is reserved for youth itself.

### **Writing on the history of adolescence and youth in North America and Britain**

The questions which have been raised about adolescence, secondary schooling and social structures have a history and historiography of their own. Work in at least two sub-disciplines of history have contributed to the framing of the questions, as have broader debates within social theory. In reviewing some key works from the history of childhood and youth, and the history of education, the impact and contribution of revisionist movements associated with the Marxist and feminist revivals in Western Europe, North America and Australia from the 1960s become apparent. Their influence on the historiography was to undermine some of the Whig tendencies: that history was a narrative about progress and that great men were the makers of history. The social history movement, a critical response to

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11. Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet & Mark J. Stern, *The social organization of early industrial capitalism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1982, p. 243.

the older historiographical tradition, attempted to make "the people" the new subject of research, and some version of "struggle", the historical process worthy of examination. This social history project demanded a close dialogue with sociological theory as attempts were made to develop the tools and concepts which could successfully interpret the historical experience and activity of "the people", whether organized in families and households, classes and ethnicities or sexes and genders, to name some of the possibilities.<sup>12</sup>

Philippe Ariès' *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime*, whose title was perversely translated as *Centuries of Childhood* for the English speaking market, is a major starting point in the discussion of the historiographical origins of the current study.<sup>13</sup> Unlike many of the following studies, it owed nothing to the social history revival discussed above. In France, the serious attempt to write social history informed by sociological theory was entrenched before World War II.<sup>14</sup>

Ariès discussed not only the history of childhood, but also argued for the historicity of the emergence of adolescence. Influential ideas put forward by Ariès included the centrality of "dependence" to tracing the history of adolescence. Dependence, not puberty, was the key to understanding transitions from childhood; one "could leave childhood only by leaving the state of dependence, or at least the lower degrees of dependence."<sup>15</sup> At the same time, modern adolescence was more than changed relationships to family and household economies. The first modern adolescent was Wagner's Siegfried who represented a combination of

(provisional) purity, physical strength, naturism, spontaneity, and joie de vivre which was to make the adolescent the hero of our twentieth century, the century of adolescence.<sup>16</sup>

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12. There is a wealth of literature describing these processes. Peter Burke, *History and social theory*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992 and Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1982, are good basic texts. For a short summary of the revisionist critique of the Whig historiography in education, see Pavla Miller and Ian Davey, "Family formation, schooling and the patriarchal state" in Marjorie R. Theobald & R. J. W. Selleck eds., *Family, school and state in Australian history*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1990, pp. 2-4.

13. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of childhood: A social history of family life*, Robert Baldick trl., Random House, New York, 1962 (1960).

14. The foundation of the journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre in the 1920s, and the emergence of an *Annales* school is a convenient manifestation of the influence of this older French tradition. Burke, *History and social theory*, pp. 15-16. The connection between Ariès and the *Annales* school is briefly mentioned by Richard T. Vann, "The youth of *Centuries of childhood*", *History and Theory*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1982, p. 295.

15. Ariès, *Centuries of childhood*, p. 26.

16. *ibid.*, p. 30.

Ariès also argued for the special significance of the period from the end of the nineteenth century to World War I. It was then that adolescence emerged as "a literary theme and a subject of concern for moralists and politicians."<sup>17</sup> He argued for the special influence of the school world, where increasingly "the adolescent was separated from the adult and confused with the child, with whom he shared the humiliation of corporal punishment."<sup>18</sup> The school, through its developing attempts to grade the curriculum by levels of difficulty, by increasing the differentiations between students of different ages and the creation of school "classes", substantially transformed the experience of youth.<sup>19</sup> It was in new educational institutions, the colleges, that juveniles "were submitted to different laws from those governing adults."<sup>20</sup> That French (and English) school life took on an increasingly military character from the late eighteenth century also affected the history of youth. As for soldiers, a moral value was given to uniform and discipline:

The correlation of the adolescent and the soldier, in school, resulted in an emphasis on characteristics such as toughness and virility which had hitherto been neglected and which henceforth were valued for themselves. A new concept had appeared, though as yet in embryonic form, a concept distinct from that of childhood: the concept of adolescence.<sup>21</sup>

It is not the intention here to engage in a detailed criticism of Ariès on the emergence of adolescence. Adrian Wilson's assessment, devastating in its rejection of Ariès' method and argument, concluded with the continuing assertion of the book's importance, as a first and necessary stage in an historical investigation of a new field of study.<sup>22</sup> One major problem, of which Ariès was not unaware, was that of gender and adolescence. Ariès' model for the historically emergent adolescent was indisputably male. Another problem was the failure to look to institutions other than schools in the period before the seventeenth century for evidence of adolescence as a distinct stage in the life course. The institutions of apprenticeship and the role of youth in "the urban festivals of misrule in the sixteenth century" for example, appear to provide such evidence.<sup>23</sup>

Nevertheless, if Ariès' argument that childhood and adolescence barely existed at all before the seventeenth century failed to convince, the idea that their historical forms and

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17. *ibid.*, p. 30.

18. *ibid.*, p. 262.

19. *ibid.*, pp. 148, 154, 177.

20. *ibid.*, p. 175.

21. *ibid.*, p. 268.

22. Adrian Wilson, "The infancy of the history of childhood: an appraisal of Philippe Ariès", *History and Theory*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1980, pp. 132-153.

23. Richard T. Vann, "The youth of *Centuries of Childhood*", *History and Theory*, vol. 21, no. 2, 1982, pp. 288-289. Vann reviewed work by Natalie Zemon Davis, Georges Duby, Urban Holmes and others which bear directly on the history of adolescence. (pp. 287-294.)

constructions have changed, often dramatically, has received much stronger acceptance. Then, the role of the school, especially in the period of state enforced compulsory attendance, became a central rather than peripheral issue in the history of childhood.<sup>24</sup>

In a 1986 review of recent work published on the history of childhood and youth, Harvey Graff identified four major approaches to research. Briefly listed, they were:

1. *the psychohistorical*: including work by Lloyd DeMause, John Demos and Philip J. Greven,
2. *the sociocultural*: including work by Joseph F. Kett and John R. Gillis,
3. *the "transitions in life course approach"*: including work by Glen H. Elder, Jr. and Tamara K. Hareven with related studies in social and demographic history, represented by Michael B. Katz, Mary Ryan and Mark J. Stern, and
4. *the development of social institutions and policies related to the young*: including work by W. Norton Grubb and Marvin Lazerson.<sup>25</sup>

While this division is not necessarily the best of all possible divisions, it does have the useful effect of pointing to the importance of the Northern American work in the field since Ariès, and secondly, of isolating one approach which will not be pursued in the current study. While the work of the "psychohistorical" group is of undoubted importance, especially through the influence of Erik H. Erikson<sup>26</sup>, the foundations of the present study lie in the work of Graff's other groups. The only minor exception may be through the pioneering essay by John Demos whose work on adolescence constituted something of a bridge between approaches.<sup>27</sup>

Demos recognised two historiographical trends in the literature, roughly corresponding to essentialist and constructionist approaches. (These are not Demos' words.) The former is marked by the insistence that evidence of adolescence may be found throughout history

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24. A similar point is made by R. L. Schnell who argues that because the subject of much of Ariès' work is the children and youth of the elite in French society and their schooling, it is not until the emergence of common schooling that his argument gains wider social utility. R. L. Schnell, "Childhood as ideology: A reinterpretation of the common school", *British Journal of Educational Studies*, vol. 27, no. 1, 1979, p. 13.

25. Harvey J. Graff, "The history of childhood and youth: Beyond infancy?", *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 1, 1986, p. 96.

26. Erik H. Erikson, *Identity: Youth and crisis*, Faber & Faber, London, 1968.

27. John F. Demos, "The rise and fall of adolescence" in Demos, *Past, Present and Personal: The family and the life course in American history*, pp. 92-113. The text of the essay printed here, as Demos points out (p. 93) is a later version of two earlier versions, one being John and Virginia Demos, "Adolescence in Historical Perspective", *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 31, 1969, pp. 632-638. This third version, wrote Demos, "stubbornly reasserts the main lines of my original argument". (p. 93.)

(Western at least), while the latter insists on highly specific historical emergences.<sup>28</sup> One of the ways this debate appears in the historiography is through the distinction made between the "discovery" and "invention" of adolescence. Demos tended towards the latter approach, but not completely, concluding his essay with the ideas that life stages have a history, and that modern adolescence will have a comparatively brief history.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, Demos argued that adolescence was also a function of biology, psychology and culture, the first of the categories changing relatively little over time, though he recognised the retreat of the age of puberty for boys and girls over the previous hundred years or so.

In discussing the history of youth in Northern America, Demos identified three stages which by coincidence corresponded to the turns of the centuries. Colonial youth of the eighteenth century began to assume adult responsibilities in the household and on farms from early childhood; intergenerational mixing was the norm, while "the only form of personal crisis particularly associated with youth was religious conversion."<sup>30</sup> An interest in personal crisis, the storm and stress of adolescence, is a feature of Demos' approach. This is one of the reasons for Graff including him in the "psychohistorical" school. Demos' use of the student troubles and generational conflict of the 1960s and 1970s as a point of comparison both for earlier and later descriptions of the historical experience of youth point to a possible explanation for this aspect of his work.<sup>31</sup> In Demos' argument, both Freud and Erikson provide psychological explanations, still historically based, for modern adolescence, primarily characterised by Demos by crisis and conflict. The contraction of the size of households and the stereotyping of gender roles over the last century created the conditions for Freud's oedipal conflict between fathers and sons. The growth of large cities and the increased mobility of a youthful labour force, and the increased range of choices and responsibilities for youth to grapple with, created the conditions for Erikson's crises of youth identity.<sup>32</sup> (Arguably, both these applications of psychological theory remain far more relevant to male than female youth.)

The second historical stage discerned by Demos in the history of youth belonged to the nineteenth century. This was a period of confused transition as households, labour markets

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28. Demos, "The rise and fall of adolescence", pp. 94-5. A published interview with John Boswell explores these "schools" of thought with great clarity though the subject of the interview is the emergence of the homosexual identity rather than that of the adolescent. Lawrence D. Mass, *Homosexuality as behavior and identity: Dialogues of the sexual revolution*, 2 vols, Harrington Park Press, New York, 1990, vol. 2, pp. 202-233.
29. Demos, "The rise and fall of adolescence", p. 109.
30. *ibid.*, p. 98.
31. *ibid.*, pp. 101, 109.
32. *ibid.*, p. 107.

and urban conditions changed, along with the continued exposure of children "to the emotional concerns of their elders."<sup>33</sup> Unlike boys, girls experienced decreased autonomy over the century:

... after about 1850 the force of gender stereotypes steadily increased. Girls approaching womanhood were seen through a haze of romanticization ... These images particularly implied suppression of self and suppression of sexuality - key elements both, in adolescent development.<sup>34</sup>

This trend was only assuaged by the often brief opportunities for young women to work in domestic service, teaching, nursing or the factories before reabsorption through marriage into the domestic sphere.<sup>35</sup>

As for Ariès, the beginning of the twentieth century is a crucial time for the emergence of modern adolescence. It is then that a "codification and confinement" of youth occurs.<sup>36</sup> New institutions, the high school in particular, and a multitude of youth organizations were created. They confined youth increasingly to their own peers and environments systematically planned for them. The work of psychologists, especially that of Stanley Hall coded the nature of adolescence. Peer group consciousness, youth subcultures and the emergence of adolescence as a life stage full of problems, residually existent in the nineteenth century, attained their apotheosis.<sup>37</sup>

Despite references to social class, gender and regional differences, Demos' essay on adolescence lacked a strong engagement with social groups other than white male middle class youth, mainly of the densely settled north-east of the U.S. Nevertheless his work confirmed some of the pioneering observations of Ariès on adolescence, and gave them added value by examining the experience of youth in a very different society. The ideas that modern adolescence differed from its previous forms, that school reform was a one of the important keys to the emergence of the modern youth, that the beginning of the twentieth century was the crucial moment in this emergence, and that adolescence was an historical, rather than a "natural" construction are all significant for the argument to come.

John Gillis' book, *Youth and History*, was published in 1974.<sup>38</sup> Its time frame stretched from pre-industrial Europe to the 1960s. As for Ariès and Demos, the focus of this study

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33. *ibid.*, pp. 99-103.

34. *ibid.*, p. 103.

35. *ibid.*, p. 104.

36. *ibid.*, p. 105.

37. *ibid.*, p. 106.

38. John R. Gillis, *Youth and history: Tradition and change in European age relations 1770-present*, Academic Press, New York, 1974. (This, the first edition is used here unless otherwise stated.)



remained male youth, but explicitly so.<sup>39</sup> There was a concern to demonstrate that "youth makes its own history" and to discover the "autonomous traditions of youth", though these aims required "that the history of the age group be related to that of broader societal structures and values".<sup>40</sup> As the study proceeded, the differing experiences of youth resulting from their social class emerged as the most influential of such "societal structures". Gillis argued that the middle class became the inventors of modern adolescence, and in the 1950s and 1960s, the first class to begin its abandonment. The working class sustained different traditions of youth for longer, mainly related to the need for its children to enter the work-force earlier. In the twentieth century, the combined force of compulsory schooling, labour market regulation and change and the reaching into all classes of the effects of the demographic transition allowed a convergence of middle and working class family forms, and the probability of modern adolescences for increased numbers of youth.

The notions of "dependence", "semi-dependence" and "independence" were crucial to Gillis' developing argument. They allowed him to differentiate between the status, treatment and experience of youth among different classes at different times in history. Gillis added a useful further dimension to the scale of dependence through a recognition of the gender order as well as other cultural and economic forms of dependency. So:

Patriarchal government in its many forms was a necessary agent in maintaining the long period of semidependency that constituted "youth" in the preindustrial lifecycle.<sup>41</sup>

Gillis also recognised the strength of "horizontally" organized bonds. Fraternal traditions existed at least in such institutions as the army, church and professions.<sup>42</sup> There were also the cultural traditions of rural Europe associated with the youthful festivities of "misrule".

The coming of capitalism and industrialization transformed older fraternal traditions, and through the decline of peasant economies, affected patterns of marriage and inheritance so important to the understanding of youth history.<sup>43</sup> Traditional patterns of patriarchy were broken as masters withdrew from their responsibilities for apprentices and journeymen.<sup>44</sup> Some working class youth were tied more closely, and for longer, to their families. In the professions, periods of training lengthened, beginning a long-lived process by which the middle class prolonged the youthful dependence of their male children:

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39. *ibid.*, p. xii.

40. *ibid.*, pp. ix-x.

41. *ibid.*, p. 22.

42. *ibid.*, p. 22.

43. *ibid.*, p. 42

44. *ibid.*, pp. 50-4.

Among their ranks, too precipitous an entry into the status of adulthood meant forfeiture of future opportunity. Individual success required long training and delayed gratification, and the new middle-class youth cultures, even those considered "deviant" by society, complemented this condition.<sup>45</sup>

For Gillis, it is this process which marked the origins of the invention of modern adolescence.

Gillis' modern adolescent was more dependent than most youth at any previous time in history. He was subject to an increasingly large number of parental and state controls, leading to a loss of social and political independence.<sup>46</sup> One of the institutions responsible for this dependence was the modern secondary school. Its distrust of both precocity and laggardly development among youth led to ever more comprehensive age-grading practices, which had a broad impact on youth culture in general:

Low mortality and low fertility made adolescence possible, but the real crucible of the age group's social and psychological qualities was the elite secondary school.<sup>47</sup>

Like Ariès and Demos, Gillis situated the rise of modern adolescence at the turn of the century. It was based on the institutional effects of secondary schooling, and the closely associated "militarisation" of youth through cadets, uniforms, drill and team sports, and the cult of manliness which emphasised the physical rather than spiritual prowess of youth.<sup>48</sup> From all this emerged an ideal type, the modern adolescent. He was a boy, physically active, a team player, an ambitious student; an historically formed construction became the "modern adolescent". Gillis argued that the characteristics of this ideal type were a product of the middle class alone, and furthermore they "became enshrined in medical and psychological literature as the 'natural' attributes of adolescence."<sup>49</sup> Such a process immediately marked working class youth as inferior. It was also at this stage that Stanley Hall made his entrance into Gillis' argument. His role was to expose the possible dangers and psychoses which could attach themselves to the adolescent.<sup>50</sup>

In his main discussion of modern adolescence (whose era lasted from 1900 to 1950), Gillis elaborated on a number of previously introduced themes. There was the deluge of protective legislation and the rise of organizations such as the scouts, which were devoted entirely to

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45. *ibid.*, p. 93.

46. *ibid.*, p. 98.

47. *ibid.*, p. 105.

48. *ibid.*, p. 109-11.

49. *ibid.*, p. 114.

50. *ibid.*, p. 115.

adolescents.<sup>51</sup> Umbilically linked to the rise of the ideal middle class adolescent, was the creation of the (mainly working class) juvenile delinquent.<sup>52</sup> The tendencies toward standardizing and controlling adolescents were reinforced by the conservative politics of race, empire and nationalism.<sup>53</sup> Sex segregation in schools and youth organizations was part of a process by which adulthood could be postponed. Delayed gratification of a wide range of adult privileges for middle class youth was linked to the rise of the white collar, employed middle class.<sup>54</sup> Gillis also made the link between working class resistance or lack of adaptation to modern adolescence, delinquency and forms of working class masculinity (all of which were components of Willis' ethnographic study of English male working class youth in the 1970s):

But, while the modern delinquent's behavior may be marked by assertion of male prowess and defiance of routine, it must be remembered that these are the time-honored ways of growing up in a lower-class culture that still places great value on early maturation and independence.<sup>55</sup>

Images of innocent adolescence and its opposite, predatory delinquency, according to Gillis were projections of the hopes and fears of the European middle class, "struggling to hold its own against successive waves of social and political change."<sup>56</sup>

The 1950s and 1960s saw the beginning of the end for the conformist, ideal adolescent. If economic independence was not the crucial factor, cultural independence was. Extension of political privileges, such as the vote, downwards, the emergence of political radicalism, sexual experimentation and the mobility brought by the automobile all contributed to a breaching of the isolation of adolescents, and the "walls between school and society."<sup>57</sup> While much of Gillis' argument rests on an unfounded assumption of the relative permanence of post-war high employment and affluence, much of his cultural analysis retains its worth. He argued that the middle class again were the pioneers in the production of the "post-modern" adolescent.<sup>58</sup> He argued that one of the reasons why

middle-class parents have relaxed control is the fact that residential and scholastic segregation of various class groups ensures that the peers will be of the same class.<sup>59</sup>

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51. *ibid.*, p. 133.

52. *ibid.*, p. 134, 137.

53. *ibid.*, p. 142-4.

54. *ibid.*, p. 169.

55. *ibid.*, p. 180. See Paul Willis, *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1977.

56. Gillis, *Youth and history*, p. 182.

57. *ibid.*, p. 185-6.

58. *ibid.*, p. 208.

59. *ibid.*, p. 189.

For youth of the working class Gillis finds evidence both of "catching up" to the now being abandoned version of adolescence promoted by the middle class, and continuing traditions of resistance.<sup>60</sup> His general proposition, that modern adolescence became obsolescent altogether for middle class youth in the 1960s is more problematic. In addition to the downgrading of the importance of economic independence and the assumption of prosperity already mentioned, there was also the obvious influence on Gillis' argument of the political radicalism of students in the 1960s, which was not sustained. The fact that all youth were spending increasingly long periods in full time educational institutions, secondary and tertiary, and were usually economically dependent on their parents or the state, does not receive its full consideration in the argument.

Nevertheless, the contributions of Gillis to the discussion of the historical emergence of modern adolescence were considerable. The placing of the phenomenon firmly in the context of changing demographic and social structures, especially that of class, was a major advance. Though the phrases "class formation", "family adaptive strategies" and "the construction of gender" were not his, the ideas behind them were integral to Gillis' work. In that respect he helped set the programme for future research.

Where Gillis concentrated on European youth, Joseph Kett's *Rites of Passage* is the companion volume for the history of American adolescence.<sup>61</sup> There are similarities in the arguments, especially in the identification of turning points. The early years of the twentieth century, through to the 1960s mark Kett's, as well as Gillis' age of the modern adolescent. The demographic transition and class differences were as important for Kett as Gillis.

One of Kett's major contributions was to clarify a distinction between the historical experience of youth, and the historical constructions or representations of youth. This lay behind the distinction between the "discovery" and "invention" of the adolescent.<sup>62</sup> He argued that a recognition or discovery of adolescent characteristics had a long history. What was new was the invention of the adolescent "whose whole being - was determined by a

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60. *ibid.*, p. 195. In so far as this argument represented the histories of working and middle class youth as convergent in the long term, Gillis was keen to revise that thesis in the light of the experience of the 1970s and 1980s when divisions "of class, sex and race" were laid bare. John R. Gillis, *Youth in history*, 2nd ed., Academic Press, New York, 1981.

61. Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America 1790 to the present*, Basic Books, New York, 1977. For an earlier discussion of the history of adolescence by Kett, see his "Adolescence and youth in nineteenth-century America" in Theodore K. Rabb & Robert I. Rotberg eds., *The family in history: Interdisciplinary essays*, Harper & Row, New York, 1971, pp. 95-110.

62. Musgrove was one of the first to explore the idea that adolescence was an "invention". F. Musgrove, *Youth and the social order*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1964, ch. 3.

biological process of maturation". Stanley Hall was only one of many who contributed to the invention, the idea that adolescent behaviour was "a universal phenomenon".:

To speak of the "invention of the adolescent" rather than of the discovery of adolescence underscores a related point: adolescence was essentially a conception of behaviour imposed on youth, rather than an empirical assessment of the way in which young people actually behaved.<sup>63</sup>

Much of Kett's work then was taken with the analysis of representations and the organization of youth to conform to the representations. The work of child savers in general, professionals such as educators and psychologists, youth organization founders, writers of advice manuals about adolescence for youth and parents, and novelists were the primary sources for the argument. In Kett's attempt to identify his original contribution to the growing body of work on the history of youth, he insisted that "moral values which often masqueraded as psychological laws were at the root of the concept [of adolescence], and that these moral values grew out of a particular cultural heritage."<sup>64</sup> In this he succeeded in adding an important dimension to Gillis' political economy of youth history.

Kett argued for a major link between the common resort to "institutionalizing" solutions to modern social problems and the emergence of modern adolescence:

Whatever the source ... the social perception was the same. The growth of cities, increase in population mobility, and rise of egalitarianism, combined with evidence of social order, all contributed to the conviction that moral development of the young should no longer be shaped by casual contacts with adults in unstructured situations but had to be regulated at every turn.<sup>65</sup>

Kett's defining characteristic of modern adolescence therefore built on Gillis' essential idea that modern adolescence meant lack of autonomy. Again, the high school, patronised initially by the middle class, and increasingly intrusive in its demands on the time and freedom of youth, was the most important of the new institutions.<sup>66</sup>

The disapproval expressed by such institutions of precocious behaviour and development was also part of Kett's explanation for the emergence of modern adolescence. Precocity was a sign of unstable and unprotected development. In this sense, Kett argued the possibility that girls were the first adolescents; the need to protect and isolate them from the street being generally recognised before the same need was applied to boys.<sup>67</sup> That girls often

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63. Kett, *Rites of passage*, p. 243.

64. *ibid.*, p. 7.

65. *ibid.*, pp. 125-6.

66. *ibid.*, p. 184.

67. *ibid.*, pp. 137-8.

stayed longer at high school than their brothers at the turn of the century received a possible explanation.

Kett went beyond the moral origins of modern adolescence, discussing the place of changing labour markets, the growth in importance of professional schools and credentials, and the decline of "shop training".<sup>68</sup> Like Gillis he argued that modern adolescence was pioneered by the middle class, the only class which could afford prolonged education. Most working class parents and children "remained caught up in the sort of productive-contractual relationship that had once characterized family life in all social classes."<sup>69</sup> There was a trade off in the middle class family however, one which involved the clear loss of youths' independence:

Parents who chose to sacrifice the earnings of their children to advanced education demanded that this sacrifice be repaid not in wages but in obedience to the demands of school and society.<sup>70</sup>

This new dependence of youth created a paradox, since much of the new discourse of youth centred on the theme of "manliness", which, presumably incorporated ideas about personal responsibility and independence. Kett argued that manliness decreasingly described the opposite of "childish", or putting it another way, was less likely to be a synonym for "adult-like". Instead it became a means of defining desired gendered characteristics. Manliness became the opposite to "feminine".<sup>71</sup>

In his discussion of the emergence of modern adolescence, not only through the institutions of education, but through the myriad of youth organizations sponsored by churches or late nineteenth and early twentieth century reformers, Kett consistently argued that the new institutions were essentially defensive in their nature. They were characterized above all by adult leadership, and by the demand for the passivity of youth, and their insularization from the rest of society.<sup>72</sup> Stanley Hall's psychology entered Kett's argument in the role of a theoretical legitimation for this historical trend.<sup>73</sup>

Kett argued that "in no two countries did either the experience or the institutions of adolescence take the same form."<sup>74</sup> This was certainly true for Australia in comparison with

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68. *ibid.*, p. 147 ff.

69. *ibid.*, p. 170.

70. *ibid.*, p. 170.

71. *ibid.*, p. 173.

72. *ibid.*, p. 211.

73. *ibid.*, p. 218.

74. *ibid.*, p. 216.

the U.S.A. and England where the institutions of secondary (and tertiary) education for example, took different forms. Kett argued that the displacement of the *Committee of Ten* formulation of high school aims (1893) by the *Cardinal Principles* (1918) led to the conception of the high school as a socializing, rather than academic, institution. In turn, this made the public high school an important agent for the universalization of adolescence.<sup>75</sup> That the secondary schools of Australia mainly followed English models, and for the entire period of this study chose and managed students on any basis other than the idea that a single secondary school should include all youth regardless of class, religion, "intelligence", parental wealth or academic performance, may mean that their place in the construction of adolescence was different. This may be especially so for the state high school in Australia, which tended to retain an academic mission, rather than a democratically inclusive mission, for a period long after the changes in the United States. The gap can be over emphasized however. As Kett argued for his own country: "even in 1920 most young people in America were unfamiliar with the institutions of adolescence."<sup>76</sup> Kett's argument that in "a real sense, a youth who dropped out of high school ceased being an adolescent" reinforced the importance of the high school in the discussion of how modern adolescence emerged in history.

Kett's discussion of the forces disrupting modern adolescence followed that of Gillis in many respects. New freedoms for youth, especially after the Second World War, meant a new adult orientation.<sup>77</sup> If adolescence was not being prolonged, something else was. Like Gillis, Kett began a discussion of "post-modern" youth, but it was preliminary. His main point was that the old conformity, obedience and even purity of the adult-sponsored construct of the modern adolescent was no longer the dominant characteristic of post-modern youth. The argument is not clear as to whether the representations of youth, or youth itself was the subject of the discussion.<sup>78</sup>

Dependency, semi-dependency and independence remained crucial analytic concepts, as did the turn of the century period remain the crucial era for the emergence of modern

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75. *ibid.*, p. 235-8.

76. *ibid.*, p. 245.

77. *ibid.*, p. 266.

78. Another pioneering contribution to the study of adolescence in the U.S. was Selwyn K. Troen, "The discovery of the adolescent by American educational reformers, 1900-1920: An economic perspective" in Lawrence Stone ed., *Schooling and society: Studies in the history of education*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1976. His major contribution was to link changes in the youth labour market and management and technological innovations in industry to the discovery of adolescence. See also Paul Osterman, *Getting started: The youth labor market*, The MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1980, ch. 4, for a survey of the evolution of the labour market in the U.S., the perspectives of which are useful for Australia.

adolescence.<sup>79</sup> This, the third major work on youth followed Ariès and Gillis in its concentration on white male youth however. The lack of serious engagement with the experience of women had become a major problem in the historiography, and in that sense, the founding approach of Stanley Hall continued to assert its influence. Nevertheless, with the work of Ariès, Demos, Gillis and Kett a substantial foundation had been laid for the historiography of youth and adolescence. Much of the subsequent work began the process of testing the arguments for specific geographical regions, and for shorter time periods. Some took up the problem of the near silence on women.

Michael Katz' work has significance for the present study for at least three reasons. First, his early work in the social history of education was seminal in the construction (and eventually, defence) of the revisionist critiques of the older historiography.<sup>80</sup> Second was his introduction and use of quantitative methods in the social history of youth and education; somewhat uniquely combining this with the application of left critical social theories and a critique of empiricism. Apart from these, he and his many collaborators were able to convincingly locate aspects of the history of youth and adolescence discussed so far in detailed reconstructions and analyses of the social, economic and geographic contexts of particular towns, cities and regions. The exploration of the social effects of early industrialization lent thematic unity to most of the work.<sup>81</sup>

In *The irony of early school reform*, Katz discussed the significance of an historical moment in the spread of public secondary education. At a town meeting in Beverley, Massachusetts, in 1860, the voters in attendance decided to close the local high school. After analysis of the social backgrounds of the voters, Katz questioned "the conventional version" of the

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79. *ibid.*, pp. 14, 5-6.

80. See the early works, Michael B. Katz, *The irony of early school reform: Educational innovation in mid-nineteenth-century Massachusetts*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1968, and *Class, bureaucracy and schools*, 2nd ed., Praeger, New York, 1975 (1972). The fifth chapter of *Reconstructing American Education*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1987, is a defence and review of revisionism and some of its critics some twenty years later.

81. Most of the following references arise from work done as part of the Hamilton (Ontario) social history project. Michael B. Katz, *The people of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and class in a mid-nineteenth-century city*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1975. The essay on youth and early industrialization (chapter 7) in Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet & Mark J. Stern, *The social organization of early industrial capitalism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1982 is an expanded version of Michael B. Katz & Ian E. Davey, "Youth and early industrial organization in a Canadian city", in John Demos & Sarane Spence Boocock eds, *Turning points: Historical and sociological essays on the family*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1978, pp. S81-S119. Early essays of methodological importance were Michael B. Katz, "Who went to school?", *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 3, 1972, pp. 432-454 and Michael B. Katz & Ian E. Davey, "School attendance and early industrialization in a Canadian city: A multivariate analysis", *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1978, pp. 271-293.



founding of the high schools, that they were the "great achievement of popular democracy"<sup>82</sup>:

Contrary to the myth that views public secondary education as the fulfilment of working-class aspirations, the Beverley vote revealed the social and financial leaders of the town, not the least affluent citizens, as the firmest supporters of the high school.<sup>83</sup>

Further analysis of the enrolment suggested that "high schools were minority institutions probably attended mainly by middle class children".<sup>84</sup> While both argument and analysis have been subject to criticism<sup>85</sup>, Katz had successfully linked the history of secondary schooling to historically changing social structures through the application of quantitative methods. The method had the potential to illuminate not only the history of schooling, but the history of youth in general, as the Hamilton project soon demonstrated.

The 1978 essay by Katz and Ian Davey on youth and early industrialization in Hamilton asked as its organizing question: "Did the stages in the lives of young people alter during early industrialization?"<sup>86</sup> From a data-base whose foundation was the mid to late nineteenth century manuscript census returns, data which explored the relationship of youth to changes in residential patterns, school attendance, work, marriage, class and ethnicity was analysed. Another focus was the specific experience of working class youth, male and female. The result was to give much more substance to the arguments previously reviewed about changes in youth dependency on families and institutions; and thence, the history of modern adolescence.

In the period that Hamilton grew from being a mainly commercial to industrial city, the nature of the "life stages through which a young person passed" changed substantially.<sup>87</sup> Youth, including working class youth remained at home longer, perhaps "longer than at any previous time in Western history."<sup>88</sup> Compulsory school attendance for the majority had virtually no influence on their social mobility, nor was there a smooth increase in the time children attended school. That was related to the labour market. When there were jobs to be had, working class girls and boys left school. Periods of high unemployment saw improved school attendances. At the same time there was a youth employment problem. Many youth

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82. Katz, *The irony of early school reform*, p. 1.

83. *ibid.*, p. 19.

84. *ibid.*, p. 39.

85. Maris Vinovskis, *The origins of public high schools: A reexamination of the Beverley High School controversy*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985.

86. Katz & Davey, "Youth and early industrial organization in a Canadian city", p. S81.

87. *ibid.*, p. S117.

88. *ibid.*, p. S116.

(somewhat pejoratively labelled as "idle") were neither at school nor in paid employment.<sup>89</sup> With increased industrialization social class became progressively more important, by comparison with ethnic origin, as a predictor of how long youth would remain in the parental home, as it did for the length of school attendance.<sup>90</sup> Katz and Davey concluded by relating their findings to the history of adolescence in a manner that sustained the arguments of Gillis and Kett:

The prolonged dependency of young people upon their parents and their increased education in specialized age-segregated institutions formed the basis for adolescence. Adolescence, we would argue, may be defined as a phase of institutionalized dependency that came to characterize the experience of youth in the 19th century.<sup>91</sup>

The work of Katz and his collaborators was complemented by historians of "the life course" and the new effort to analyse the relationship between the histories of youth and families and demographic and social change.<sup>92</sup>

Given the concentration by Katz, Davey, Doucet and Stern on the problem of youth and the period of early industrialization, much of their discussion centred on the effects of the introduction of public elementary systems. However, in the nineteenth century, especially after the Civil War, the number of high schools began to multiply in the U.S., though throughout the period they remained institutions for a minority of the people. There was a need for a revisionist study of the high school, to build on the work of Katz in *The irony of early school reform*. It was eventually met by, among others, David Labaree.<sup>93</sup> Though Labaree did not directly address adolescence, he raised questions about the relationships between the high school and social and economic structures, which are also major issues of

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89. *ibid.*, p. S93-S96.

90. *ibid.*, p. S101-S105. Significantly, for the future of the argument there was a gender complication to this conclusion. The children of widows, regardless of social class, tended to stay home longer as well (p. S102).

91. *ibid.*, p. S117. This formulation of the nature of adolescence is an early version of that which is quoted from Katz, Doucet & Stern, *The social organization of early industrial capitalism*, p. 243 at the beginning of this introduction. (See page 2)

92. On youth and the life cycle, see two essays by Glen H. Elder, Jr, "Adolescence in the life cycle: An introduction" in Sigmund E. Dragastin & Glen H. Elder, Jr eds., *Adolescence in the life-cycle: Psychological change and social context*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1975, ch. 1, and "Family history and the life course" in Tamara K. Hareven ed., *Transitions: The family and the life course in historical perspective*, Academic Press, New York, 1978, ch. 1. See also, Tamara K. Hareven, *Family time and industrial time*. For a study which introduces a prominent demographic perspective, see Mark J. Stern, *Society and family strategy: Erie County, New York, 1850-1920*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1987. (Especially ch 4.)

93. David F. Labaree, *The making of an American high school: The credentials market and the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838-1939*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1988. The standard pre-revisionist historical account of American high schools is Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School 1880-1920*, rev. ed., University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1969 (1964).

the present work. His use of quantitative methods, as well as the development of a theoretically complex argument about secondary schooling, social reproduction and labour markets gave *The making of an American high school* considerable historiographical significance.

The central problem of the book was the relationship between the American high school and the conflicting claims of market demand and political pressure. Later these phrases are redefined as "capitalism" and "democracy".<sup>94</sup> Labaree presented the Central High School, Philadelphia, as an "exemplary" school for the purposes of case study. It was distinctive and innovative in its origins and operation; its purposes were clearly framed by a version of republican and meritocratic ideology. Labaree traced the history of the school through changing social class expectations of it, and the forces associated with the growth of modern bureaucracy, curriculum reform and changes in the professional status of teachers. His analysis for example, of the decisions to move away from a common curriculum to an internally stratified curriculum within a comprehensive framework is suggestive for understanding the history of secondary schools, and youth well beyond Philadelphia. If the previous discussions about adolescence were correct in their assertions that high schools were the key institutions for its emergence, it is likely that mere attendance is only one of the issues of relevance in establishing the nature of the connection. One such issue is the way that secondary schools have differentiated between students, and consequently given them very different experiences of schooling, and arguably, modern adolescence itself, sometimes within the same institution.

Labaree built a data-base of students and their households using school enrolment data (including parent occupation) linked to the federal manuscript census. This enabled him to underlay much of the book's argument with substantial knowledge of which social groups used the school, how those groups used it differently, and what some of the outcomes were as a result of that use. Consequently, the argument confidently participated in recent debates about the historical formation of the American middle class. Labaree focused on the threat to the nineteenth century proprietorial middle class as the growth of corporations and an employed white collar middle class progressively menaced the economic viability of small businesses. High school attendance and the high school diploma became a valued form of "cultural property" as fathers could no longer guarantee the continuing value of small farms or small businesses in the planning of their children's futures.<sup>95</sup> Later in the nineteenth century, the decision by the school to displace its terminating "modern" curriculum with a

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94. Labaree, *The making of an American high school*, p. 174.

95. *ibid.*, p. 34.

Latin centred college preparatory curriculum as the employment market became glutted with high school diplomas was interpreted as part of the same process.

Labaree described his book as an "essay on the historical sociology of the American high school."<sup>96</sup> Its special contribution was to sustain a very plausible argument about the relationship of the different forms of public secondary education to market and class demand. At the same time the fact that the school was an all male institution for the period of the study made insufficient impact on the argument.<sup>97</sup>

Books by Joel Perlmann and Reed Ueda also explored urban social and educational history through the analysis of changing patterns of participation in secondary schooling. Like Labaree's work, these studies were set in the industrial north-east of the United States.<sup>98</sup> Perlmann's *Ethnic differences* concentrated on the 1880-1920 period, typified by mass immigration and a dramatically increased role for schooling in the lives of Americans.<sup>99</sup> Perlmann asked questions about the origins of social inequality, and the relative contribution of a range of factors including social class and ethnic origin to that inequality. Using quantitative methods, including the analysis of a data-base sampling the population of Providence, Rhode Island, he was able to analyse the relationship between a wide range of factors and social mobility from generation to generation. Prolonged schooling was an important issue for the discussion. Perlmann's findings, that high school attendance was a significant factor in upward social mobility for the relatively small proportion of working class youth who enrolled before the 1930s, and that the middle class used high schools much more than the working class was tempered by his conclusion that ethnicity was also a significant factor. Perlmann concentrated on the Irish, Jews, Italians and Blacks in his study. Ethnicity did not prove to be anything like a consistently powerful factor across the groups, which led him into a wary discussion of the cultural constituents of ethnic identity. In

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96. *ibid.*, p. 3.

97. One reviewer pointed to a related problem, that the very large Jewish presence among the student body was overlooked since ethnicity did not appear as an analytic category. See Noel Ignatiev, *Journal of Social History*, vol. 24, no. 2, 1990, p. 438. See my review of this book in *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1993, pp. 93-4. Two other American studies in the tradition of revisionist social history which put gender at the heart of their analyses of work and secondary schooling are John L. Rury, *Education and women's work: Female schooling and the division of labour in urban America, 1870-1930*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1991 and David Tyack & Elisabeth Hansot, *Learning together: A history of coeducation in American public schools*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1990.

98. Joel Perlmann, *Ethnic differences: Schooling and social structure among the Irish, Italians, Jews, and Blacks in an American city, 1880-1935*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988 and Reed Ueda, *Avenues to adulthood: The origins of the high school and social mobility in an American suburb*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987. (Philadelphia, Providence and Boston are the respective settings for the studies by Labaree, Perlmann and Ueda.)

99. Perlmann, *Ethnic differences*, p. 3.

discussing Blacks, Perlmann came to the unequivocal conclusion that it was primarily racial discrimination by the Yankee middle class, rather than any internal ethnic identity issue, which caused the very low rates of upward social mobility for that group.<sup>100</sup> In a broader conclusion, Perlmann sustained a complex view of the relationship between schooling and historically changing social structures. To account for ethnic differences, especially in their relation to schooling and economic attainment, neither "culture nor discrimination nor class origins in the American city can alone provide a credible summary".<sup>101</sup> In an earlier article, Perlmann discussed the effect of curriculum reform and tracking on secondary education.<sup>102</sup> The introduction of intelligence testing, vocational curricula and tracking were all related to social class relations. The power of the innovations in high school organization varied over time however. For example, the

evolution of tracking must be understood in the context of access to secondary schooling generally. When access was very limited, social differentiation among curricula had a different meaning than it did when access increased.<sup>103</sup>

David Hogan's *Class and reform*, a study of schooling in Chicago during the Progressive era also argued the connection between curriculum, course and school differentiations, the stratification of school students, and the making of the social classes of modern North America.<sup>104</sup> With the work of Hogan, Perlmann and Labaree, the high school, emerged as an institution whose role in the transformations associated with the development of modern industrial and capitalist society extended far beyond the construction of adolescence. The quantitative methodologies used by these historians allowed many of the social effects of secondary schooling to be charted.

David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot's *Learning together*, though a general history of coeducation in elementary and secondary schools in the U.S. developed an argument about the role of gender in the organization and operation of the high schools during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Its effect was to point to the great popularity of the high schools, from well before 1900 for girls, and to revise conclusions which suggested that the curriculum taken by girls and boys was highly differentiated.<sup>105</sup> Tyack and Hansot also

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100. *ibid.*, p. 202.

101. *ibid.*, p. 219.

102. Joel Perlmann, "Curriculum and tracking in the transformation of the American high school: Providence, R.I. 1880-1930", *Journal of Social History*, vol. 19, no. 1, 1985, pp. 29-55.

103. Perlmann, "Curriculum and tracking", p. 48.

104. David John Hogan, *Class and reform: School and society in Chicago, 1880-1930*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1985.

105. Tyack & Hansot, *Learning together*, pp. 114 & 137.

argued that alongside the vocational utility of the high school in training girls to be teachers, the high school years

probably represented a moratorium between the parental and the conjugal family, a safe and productive way to spend youthful years, free from the dangers of the workplace and rich in cultural and human associations.<sup>106</sup>

This argument, with its parallel discussion of the widespread fear that prolonged secondary schooling might be bad for boys, and may have even "feminized" them, was an important insight into the complex cultural and gender politics of the emerging ideal of the modern adolescent.<sup>107</sup>

Though Ueda's *Avenues to Adulthood* was less theoretically innovative (making a rather unproblematic idea of social mobility the core of the argument) than the work of Labaree and Perlmann, it also belonged to this group of recent studies of secondary schooling, at least on the grounds of comparable methodologies, including the quantitative. For Ueda:

The turn-of-the-century high school was the cradle of a new regime of transition to adulthood. The institutional culture was an alternative passage for maturation that competed with the Victorian domestic culture of the middle class and the ethnic kin-centred culture of the working class.<sup>108</sup>

This newly emerged high school-centred youth culture facilitated upward social mobility, associated with the "rise of the new white-collar men ..."<sup>109</sup> Relying on a sense of the interconnectedness of a variety of economic, demographic and social factors that owed much to the works previously discussed, Ueda also argued a now increasingly familiar proposition:

Increasing investment in high school education stimulated and participated in a tightly woven complex of social processes - residential segregation, expansion of bureaucratic employment, voluntary and religious association, family limitation, prolonged and insulated child dependency, home ownership, and strategic intergenerational mobility - that were the behavioural components of Yankee households in the late-nineteenth-century suburb.<sup>110</sup>

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106. *ibid.*, p. 143.

107. *ibid.*, p. 145.

108. Ueda, *Avenues to adulthood*, p. 150.

109. *ibid.*, pp. 152 & 222.

110. *ibid.*, p. 220.

Like the present study, Ueda focused on the suburbs of a city (Sommerville, part of greater Boston), and also, took an interest in the cultural representations of youth through study of the high school magazine.<sup>111</sup>

Though the history of adolescence and youth has certainly been addressed in major English studies, there has been little recourse to some of the newer methodologies of social history.<sup>112</sup> This is not to deny the more general influence of a range of historians including E. P. Thompson, Lawrence Stone, Michael Anderson, Richard Johnson, Eric Hobsbawm, and Brian Simon as well as the specialist historians of youth, John Springhall, Frank Musgrove and others. One English work has, however, been of critical importance in exploring the history of the emergence of modern youth. The book by Carol Dyhouse, *Girls growing up in late Victorian and Edwardian England*, at last directly addressed the issues of girls, youth and adolescence which so much of the previous work had not.<sup>113</sup>

For Dyhouse, not only dependency, but the sexual division of labour were the crucial analytic concepts. In her discussion, evolving definitions of masculinity and femininity were also important. That the masculinity of middle class men, and increasingly, working class men became bound up with particular forms of domestic life, based on the respectability arising from being able to support wives and children in some degree of comfort, and not engaged in paid work, profoundly affected the nature of the dependency of women.<sup>114</sup> In her extended discussion of the work and influence of Stanley Hall, she explored the idea of female dependence further. Unlike boys, for whom adolescence could be seen as a transition from dependence to independence, adolescence for girls, in the work of Hall, was a period of reconciliation to perpetual dependence.<sup>115</sup> Dyhouse went the step further to differentiate between the classes. If there was some truth in the idea of permanent dependence and

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111. See Ueda, *Avenues to adulthood*, ch. 6 in particular. The chapter is titled "The origins of high school youth culture".

112. One of the closest works to the spirit of the present study at this time is W. E. Marsden, *Educating the respectable: A study of Fleet Road Board School, Hamstead, 1879-1903*, Woburn Press, London, 1991. The school population under study was much younger, and the school elementary rather than secondary. The work of Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850*, Hutchinson, London, 1987 is an exemplar of the application of new methods. (Its major concern is not youth of course.) Pioneering English works on youth and adolescence include Frank Musgrove, *Youth and the social order*, (1964), J. Springhall, *Youth, empire and society: British youth movements, 1883-1940*, 1977, Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or rebels? An oral history of working-class childhood and youth 1889-1939*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1981 and more recently, John Springhall, *Coming of age: Adolescence in Britain 1860-1960*, Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 1986.

113. Carol Dyhouse, *Girls growing up in late Victorian and Edwardian England*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1981.

114. *ibid.*, p. 6.

115. *ibid.*, pp. 117-8.

adolescence for middle class girls and women, there was little truth in it for working class females at the turn of the century. Their contributions to mothering and the running of households from very early ages, and its corollary, a shortened period of childhood, meant that "many of these women never experienced anything resembling a state of adolescence at all."<sup>116</sup> Dyhouse, like Kett before her, used contemporary literature such as manuals of advice to youth, in the attempt to trace the development of historically persuasive constructions and representations of female adolescence. The common argument that "adolescence constituted a period of extreme difficulty for girls"<sup>117</sup> caused problems in justifying higher education for girls. For example, bookishness was often perceived as a direct threat to the child bearing potential of girls.<sup>118</sup> The debates of this period in England over the relationship between female adolescence, higher education, health and femininity constituted the foundations of a discourse taken up in the speech night addresses of many of the female headmistresses of girls' colleges and schools in South Australia and discussed in the present study.

Social class was held responsible for real differences in what constituted the nature of the "problem" of female adolescence. For middle class girls, the desire for independence and the possible rejection of marriage and particularly maternity, constituted the problem.<sup>119</sup> For working class girls, the problem was different. They grew up too soon, experiencing adult responsibilities (and vices) at an early age. They were all too subject to physical deterioration and general degeneracy. Nevertheless the class differences responsible for separate definitions of the problems had a common source, that being an overriding fear of female autonomy.<sup>120</sup>

The organization, aims and curriculum of girls' secondary schooling, their differences from those of boys' schooling, the nature of adult sponsored girls' voluntary organizations such as the Girl Guides, the influence of first wave feminism on changing and interpreting the experience of female adolescence were among other areas discussed by Dyhouse relevant for this study, but raised at a later stage. Dyhouse's contribution to the historiography was to make the centrality of sex and gender to understandings of youth and adolescence absolutely explicit. While Dyhouse discussed the issues for the turn of the century, other contemporary studies have developed the arguments about adolescence and femininity. Barbara Hudson's

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116. *ibid.*, p. 119.

117. *ibid.*, p. 132.

118. *ibid.*, pp. 134-5, 154-5.

119. This is in the context of contemporary debates about national efficiency, eugenics, race suicide, survival of the fittest and so on, where the middle class, it was often argued, had an historic responsibility to reproduce given substantial "degeneracy" in the working class.

120. *ibid.*, p. 138.



essay on the subject is important for its explication of adolescence and femininity as discourses in conflict, through to the present day.<sup>121</sup>

If Dyhouse was able to make gender, and the construction of femininity a central issue in discussions of youth and adolescence, others problematized masculinity. Paul Willis' ethnographic study, *Learning to Labour* persuasively established the connections between the construction of working class masculinity and resistance to schooling, while Christine Heward's *Making a man of him*, showed how compliance with the wishes of parents and school earlier in the century was crucial in the construction of middle class masculinity.<sup>122</sup>

Dependence remained a major theme, though much less obviously, in Harry Hendrick's *Images of Youth*.<sup>123</sup> Dependence emerged as one of the solutions proposed by middle class reformers to the "boy labour problem" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In discussing his methodology, Hendrick disclaimed any notion of writing "history from below", setting out to explore the perceptions, policies and actions of reformers to deal with this one aspect of general social crisis in Edwardian England.<sup>124</sup> The boy labour problem was not only about unskilled work, dead-end jobs, the decline of apprenticeship and economic inefficiency:

When reformers referred to the "boy labour" issue, no one doubted that they were also expressing concern about alleged indiscipline, precocious independence, immorality, potential delinquency, lack of self-control, thriftlessness, and so on.<sup>125</sup>

Hendrick argued that the making of working class adolescents more dependent, eventually on institutions sponsored by or part of the state was the common strategy of reform. Reformers were optimistic "about their ability to make youth more dependent and subservient and, therefore, less threatening."<sup>126</sup> Much of Hendrick's work discussed the various institutions, successful and unsuccessful, conceived for this programme. They

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121. Barbara Hudson, "Femininity and adolescence" in Angela McRobbie & Mica Nava eds., *Gender and generation*, Macmillan Education, London, 1984.

122. Paul Willis, *Learning to labor*. (See also Christine Griffin, *Typical girls? Young women from school to the job market*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1985, a study which asked similar questions of working class girls as Willis had of boys.) Christine Heward, *Making a man of him: Parents and their sons' education at an English public school 1929-50*, Routledge, London, 1988. The collection, Michael Roper & John Tosh eds., *Manful assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, Routledge, London, 1991 is a more recent major contribution to the literature.

123. Harry Hendrick, *Images of youth: Age, class, and the male youth problem, 1880-1920*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990.

124. *ibid.*, pp. 9, 250.

125. *ibid.*, p. 81.

126. *ibid.*, p. 252.

included the voluntary youth organizations, attempts toward vocational guidance and labour exchanges, and compulsory part-time continuation schooling.

The word "adolescent" continued its enigmatic career in Hendrick, meaning, for him, all youth between the ages 13 and 14 through to 18 and 19, regardless of their dependent status.<sup>127</sup> This allowed him to put aside the idea that modern adolescence was defined by economic and institutional dependency, and further allowed him to concentrate on working class youth alone (which in Edwardian England retained a semi-autonomous status through early school leaving and access to paid work). Nevertheless, Stanley Hall and his English adherents and counterparts also played a major role in Hendrick's analysis. The new social sciences, especially psychology, produced new definitions and descriptions of adolescence, which were essential in the formulation and legitimation of the middle class reform programmes:

In providing a vocabulary for identifying and examining young people, psychology not only helped to "discover" adolescence, but also to produce a new and generally incapacitating image of youth.<sup>128</sup>

The new study and definitions of adolescence contributed to potential new technologies of control.

Hendrick's aim in *Images of Youth* was not specifically to explore the social experience and social relations of working class youth, but rather, to find a place for the turn of the century reform discourse on boy labour within the broader debates over national efficiency, race hygiene, new liberalism and reform in general.<sup>129</sup> Consequently the work is limited in the range of questions it asked about the transformation of age relations. His work on youth also demonstrates the different terms of the argument about adolescence between North America and Britain and Australia. Institutions for the schooling of youth were far more developed in North America with the consequence that for the turn of the century period, secondary schooling plays a less prominent part in the arguments about the "youth problem". At the same time the link between the discourse of middle class reform and social experience was strongly asserted.<sup>130</sup> It is this assertion which demanded rather more in the study of a conscious dialogue with the social theory associated with the workings of ideology within the context of class and gender relations.

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127. *ibid.*, p. 2.

128. *ibid.*, p. 116.

129. *ibid.*, pp. 237-40, 250.

130. *ibid.*, p. 250.

## Australian writing on the history of youth

The Australian literature on the history of youth and adolescence is very limited, though a rapidly expanding literature on "youth subcultures" is widening the range of questions discussed.<sup>131</sup> An essay by Graeme Davison on the relationship between urban children and urban reform early in the twentieth century introduced the idea of an "age of adolescence".<sup>132</sup> More recently, a major study by Lesley Johnson concentrating on the 1950s, and using some of the perspectives of Foucault has advanced the field enormously.<sup>133</sup> Significantly this first major monograph on the history of youth and adolescence in Australia, was about girls, and contributed to feminist debates about female identity and its relationship to dependence. Johnson explored the discourses surrounding "growing up" in popular culture, and in schools. One of her conclusions was that the discourses were profoundly gendered, including the discourse of adolescence. The secondary school "became concerned with systematizing and augmenting sex differences" while consumer culture "increasingly defined a femininity absorbed in a presentation of body and self."<sup>134</sup> Johnson's work was also significant for its positive response to post-structuralist as well as feminist approaches to issues of historical method and subject.

The work on the earlier stage of life, childhood, is more plentiful. Studies by Jan Kociumbas, Kerreen Reiger and Robert van Krieken have laid a stronger foundation for an historiography of childhood than exists for youth for the post-1880 period.<sup>135</sup> The work of the "Adelaide revisionist school" associated with Ian Davey has also concentrated on children, especially those of the working class whose lives were profoundly affected by the introduction of compulsory elementary education.<sup>136</sup> In reviewing the Australian literature

131. For important review articles on the historiography of childhood and youth in Australia, see Penelope Hetherington, "Childhood and youth in Australia", *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 18, 1986, pp. 3-18 and Mary McDougall Gordon, "Australia and New Zealand" in Joseph M. Hawes & N. Ray Hiner eds., *Children in historical and comparative perspective: An international handbook and research guide*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1991. One of the recent historical studies of Australian youth subcultures is Jon Stratton, *The young ones: Working-class culture, consumption and the category of youth*, Black Swan Press, Perth, 1992.

132. Graeme Davison, "The city-bred child and urban reform in Melbourne 1900-1940" in Peter Williams ed., *Social process and the city*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1983, pp. 143-174.

133. Lesley Johnson, *The modern girl: Childhood and growing up*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1993.

134. *ibid.*, p. 152.

135. Jan Kociumbas, *Children and society in New South Wales and Victoria, 1860-1914*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sydney, 1983. Kerreen M. Reiger, *The disenchantment of the home: Modernizing the Australian family 1880-1940*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1985. Robert van Krieken, *Children and the state: Social control and the formation of Australian child welfare*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1992.

136. For example, Ian Davey, "Growing up in a working class community" in Grimshaw, *Families in colonial Australia*, pp. 163-172. Kerry Wimshurst, "Child labour and school attendance in South Australia, 1890-1915", *Historical Studies*, 19: 76, 1981, pp. 388-411. Pavla Miller, "Efficiency,

on the history of adolescence one needs therefore to look at related work, whose main focus is usually not youth, but whose content and argument nevertheless have some bearing on the present study.

The earliest academic studies relating to youth did not have strong historical components. The Carnegie Corporation sponsored Australian Council for Education Research (A.C.E.R.) was responsible for most of these studies which attempted to bring progressive perspectives to Australian educators and educational systems. *The education of the adolescent in Australia* of 1935 was one of these.<sup>137</sup> Its editor, Percival Cole collected contributions ranging from studies of curriculum and teacher training to the administration of secondary schools in Australia; there was also a chapter on the psychology and sociology of adolescence.<sup>138</sup> Cole clearly outlined a modernizing version of the history of secondary education and its significance for adolescents:

But the greatest transition of all is gradually being made, from an old view of life to a new view of life, from an old educational theory to a new educational theory, from old types of school to new types of school. The old view of life was that individuals or families are responsible for themselves; the new view of life is that organized society must share the responsibility with them. The old view of education was that the classes should have as much of it, and the masses as little as possible. ...

The new view of education is that since Nature has provided a period of immaturity and plasticity extending throughout adolescence, no part of this period should be left entirely to the operation of chance influences.<sup>139</sup>

The production of the earliest sociological studies of youth coincide with the end of the period discussed in this thesis. W. F. Connell and collaborators produced a study of Sydney youth in 1959. Sensitive to sex difference and the idea of adolescence, it had as one of its main tasks, the sketching of the "main interests" of youth, and the attempt to impart more knowledge about contemporary youth to their educators in particular.<sup>140</sup> Such early studies do not constitute historiographical foundations for the study of youth as do the European

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stupidity and class conflict in South Australian schools 1875-1900", *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 3, 1984, pp. 393-410. Ian Davey, "Growing up in South Australia" in Eric Richards ed., *The Flinders history of South Australia: Social history*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1986, pp. 371-402.

137. Percival Cole ed., *The education of the adolescent in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1935.

138. See H. T. Lovell, "Psychological and social characteristics of adolescence" in Cole, *The education of the adolescent in Australia*, pp. 48-86.

139. Cole, *The education of the adolescent in Australia*, p. xi.

140. W. F. Connell, E. P. Francis, Elizabeth E. Skilbeck and others, *Growing up in an Australian city: A study of adolescents in Sydney*, A.C.E.R., Melbourne, 1959. Another sociological study commissioned by the A.C.E.R. also had the "interests" of adolescents as its focus. N. M. Oddie & D. Spearritt, *Some activities of Australian adolescents*, 3 vols., A.C.E.R., Melbourne, 1958-1959.

and North American works discussed above. Nevertheless they do have the utility of pointing to the character of the dominant discourse about adolescence in the enlightened educational and academic literature for the great part of the twentieth century in Australia, and with which revisionist historiography in particular, had to come to terms.

Studies of the history of Australian secondary education provide the greatest body of modern work relevant to the concerns of the present study. Bob Bessant's analysis of the reasons leading to the establishment of state high schools in Victoria pointed to the strength of the national efficiency debate in Australia, and the fear of British Empire decline by contrast with the rising fortunes of Germany and the United States.<sup>141</sup> He also discussed reasons for the elitist nature of the early high schools, a theme taken up in later work, where early industrial and agricultural intentions failed to be realized, except, and later, in separate technical schools.<sup>142</sup> Bessant argued that social class differences constituted the main cause of differing secondary school systems, enrolments, opportunities and outcomes. The new high schools met labour market demand in the rapidly growing white collar employment sectors. They

met the increasing demand for workers in the lower and higher clerical/managerial positions in industry and commerce, as well as for some professional/semi-professional occupations. From these schools came the staff for the offices, banks, insurance companies, retail stores and factories, as well as the teachers for the expanding school system.<sup>143</sup>

Bessant also pointed to reasons for the character and culture of the new high schools. The strength of the public examination system run by the University of Melbourne and the collapse of alternative curricula as a result worked against democratic forms of schooling. He used the concept, if not the word, of hegemony to explain the transmission of English public school rituals and culture, first to private and corporate schools and then to the state high schools in Victoria. Prefects, games, assemblies; athleticism and character formation in pursuit of leadership qualities and attention to "duty" and "service" all had a part to play.<sup>144</sup> Bessant also linked the practical application of the new social sciences in Australia, especially through the A.C.E.R. to the technology and effects of educational

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141. Bob Bessant, "The emergence of state secondary education" in J. Cleverley & J. Lawry eds., *Australian education in the twentieth century: Studies in the development of state education*, Longman, Melbourne, 1972, p. 124.

142. *ibid.*, pp. 125-6; see also Bob Bessant, *Schooling in the colony and state of Victoria*, Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 1983, pp. 68-70.

143. Bessant, *Schooling in the colony and state of Victoria*, p. 70.

144. *ibid.*, p. 45; Bob Bessant, "The influence of the 'public schools' on the early high schools of Victoria", *History of Education Review*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1984, pp. 45-47.

differentiation.<sup>145</sup> The conjunction of intelligence testing, streaming, and different kinds of state and non-state school systems represented a "sophisticated and contrived" means of meeting "the needs of the Victorian capitalist economy".<sup>146</sup>

Though this work did not directly address the issue of transformations in the lives of youth, it clearly had implications for the ways that youth were to be managed and differentiated by the institutions of education in the twentieth century. Bessant's later collection, *Mother state and her little ones*, did take up the direct questions, attempting to "link the history of children and youth in Australia with notions of social control and socialisation ...".<sup>147</sup> The interpretation of the history of youth which emerged from Bessant's introductory essay emphasised the power of the state and ruling class to successfully control, organize and socialize working class youth. He concluded with an interpretation of adolescence which is very familiar:

Lengthening this period of dependency and institutionalisation was to become one of the main aims of the educational reformers. It fitted in well with the demands of the growing professional "middle class" dependent on credentials for their bargaining power in the labour market. ... Mother state was extending her control over her little ones.<sup>148</sup>

The interpretation is dependent on rather static conceptions of social class however. The working class appears mainly passive in these accounts; the potential for adaptive strategies, not only through resistance, but through creative accommodation and the pursuit of upward social mobility through schooling find little place in the discussion.<sup>149</sup>

Key texts of the feminist revisionist historiography for twentieth century Australia are Jill Matthews' *Good and mad women* and Kerreen Reiger's *The disenchantment of the home*.<sup>150</sup> While adolescence is not a central concern of either work, there is some discussion of femininity, sexuality and female adolescence in both. Matthews' argument is constructionist.

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145. Bessant, *Schooling in the colony and state of Victoria*, pp. 113 ff.

146. *ibid.*, p. 152.

147. Bob Bessant, "Children and youth in Australia 1860s-1930s" in Bob Bessant ed., *Mother state and her little ones: Children and youth in Australia 1860s-1930s*, Centre for Youth and Community Studies, Melbourne, 1987, p. 7.

148. *ibid.*, p. 28.

149. The essay by David Hogan, "Education and class formation: the peculiarities of the Americans" in Michael W. Apple ed., *Cultural and economic reproduction in education: Essays on class ideology and the State*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1982, pp. 32-78 makes a substantial contribution to the discussion of such issues.

150. Jill Julius Matthews, *Good and mad women: The historical construction of femininity in twentieth-century Australia*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1984 and Kerreen Reiger, *The disenchantment of the home: Modernizing the Australian family 1880-1940*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1985.

"Woman is a social being, created within and by a specific society."<sup>151</sup> She argued that new forms of schooling interfered with parental control over their children's learning, and by implication, families themselves. Like Reiger, Matthews regarded the activities of the new professionals, whose work was based on the new social sciences, as the key to interventions in and surveillance of family life.<sup>152</sup> Her discussion of female adolescence emphasises the oppressive stages through which normal girls should have progressed towards acceptably feminine adulthoods. These gender order patterns were relatively stable, despite evidence of contestation, from early in the century to the late 1950s.<sup>153</sup> Matthews and Reiger asserted the legitimacy of approaches which insisted that gender was an essential component in understanding the historical emergence of modern adolescence in Australia, and that the influence and power of the new disciplines, such as psychology, and their use by professional nurses, educators, doctors, guidance counsellors and others were similarly essential.

David McCallum's *The social production of merit* continued the exploration of the relationship between the new social science, psychology, and educational practice in Australia.<sup>154</sup> Beginning with a discussion of Australian forms of liberal ideology in education, within which the concept of "merit" played a key role, McCallum traced the rise of "scientific" methods of selection in the newly emerged state system of secondary education.<sup>155</sup> His work constituted a detailed exploration of the theory and practices fostered by the ideology of progressive educational theory in Australia. McCallum's work is of great relevance to the present study, especially for its discussion of relationships between differing experiences of adolescence and differentiated forms of secondary schooling.

Pavla Miller was also sensitive to the workings of intelligence testing and streaming as part of the technology of reproducing social difference, and social inequality in her *Long Division* and other writings.<sup>156</sup> Her work represented a sustained revisionist re-writing of the social

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151. Matthews, *Good and mad women*, p. 5.

152. *ibid.*, pp. 83-4; Reiger, *The disenchantment of the home*, p. 3.

153. Matthews, *Good and mad women*, p. 199.

154. David McCallum, *The social production of merit: Education, psychology and politics in Australia 1900-1950*, Falmer Press, London, 1990.

155. See also Tim Rouse, *Australian liberalism and national character*, Kibble Books, Melbourne, 1978 and Michael Roe, *Nine Australian progressives: Vitalism in bourgeois social thought*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1984, for the broader debate on the introduction of scientific progressivism, including eugenic ideas into Australian social policy. An older essay of mine attempted to analyse the adaptation and legitimisation of the "new liberalism", with its state interventionist thrust in Australia. Craig Campbell, "Liberalism in Australian History: 1880-1920" (1973) in Jill Roe ed., *Social Policy in Australia: Some perspectives 1901-1975*, Cassell Australia, Sydney, 1976, pp. 24-33.

156. Pavla Miller, *Long division: State schooling in South Australian society*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1986. See also, Pavla Miller, "Efficiency, stupidity and class conflict in South Australian

processes of South Australian educational institutions and practices. The oppressive relations of gender, class and race, and their interactive effects, formed the substance of her historical analysis. She also included age relations as part of her discussion:

... around the turn of the century, a complex set of social developments led to an anxious scrutiny of the passage between childhood and adulthood, and began extending to all classes the model of the dependent child and the adolescent which had first been adopted by the wealthiest sections of society.<sup>157</sup>

Though her argument on age relations is less thoroughly developed in *Long Division* than in other work co-written with Davey<sup>158</sup>, it was of great historiographical significance beyond South Australia, also the site of the present study, because of its attempt to link "three theoretical traditions - marxist theory, the sociology of knowledge and feminist theory - to the social history which these theories helped to enrich."<sup>159</sup> Miller's work is important for this study for two reasons. First, its theoretical significance, and second, its analysis of South Australian society and education. An example of the second is the implications of her observation that it was not until the 1960s that the great mass of South Australian children had any sustained contact with secondary schools. There was no sudden or radical change in age relations in the first half of the century as most children continued to leave school as soon as the compulsory leaving age was reached.<sup>160</sup>

Alison Mackinnon used the Advanced School for Girls (South Australia's first state established secondary school of 1879) as a means to study relationships between gender, secondary schooling and women's work at the turn of the century.<sup>161</sup> As a consciously revisionist study, it made use of the quantitative methods pioneered by Katz and his collaborators in Canada and the U.S. as well as applying feminist theory to her subject. As she described it, her contribution to the historiography was an examination of the "link between social class background, girls' schooling and women's work" which had "not until now been systematically dealt with in an historical context".<sup>162</sup> Her conclusions regarding the secondary schooling of middle and working class girls at the turn of the century were

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schools, 1875-1900" and "Technical education and the capitalist division of labour", *ANZHEJ* *Journal*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1982, pp. 1-17.

157. Miller, *Long division*, p. 89.

158. Pavla Miller & Ian Davey, "Family formation, schooling and the patriarchal state" in Marjorie R. Theobald & R. J. W. Selleck eds., *Family, school and state in Australian history*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1990, pp. 1-24.

159. Miller, *Long division*, p. xvii.

160. *ibid.*, p. 157.

161. Alison Mackinnon, *One foot on the ladder: Origins and outcomes of girls' secondary schooling in South Australia*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1984.

162. *ibid.*, p. 2.



one of the beginning points for this study.<sup>163</sup> With Marjorie Theobald's revisionist essay on the older private schools for girls and the "accomplishments" curriculum, Mackinnon's work laid a foundation for the substantial understanding of mid to late nineteenth century girls' secondary education in Australia, without which analysis of twentieth century developments would be that much more difficult.<sup>164</sup>

There is no substantial revisionist historical study of boys' secondary education, especially for the private and corporate sector, both of which were so much more significant in Australian educational history by comparison with North America.<sup>165</sup> The co-authored monograph *Learning to lead* did not make use of the quantitative methods which could have illuminated the relationship of Australia's corporate secondary schools (boys' and girls') to the changing formations of class and gender.<sup>166</sup> Its achievement was to trace the reproduction and adaptations of English traditions of schooling in Australia, especially the elements identified as "Arnoldian" as well as to identify patterns of curriculum, organizational and system change over the past two hundred years. The Arnoldian tradition, as identified by Geoffrey Sherington and his collaborators in this work, and in the works of J. A. Mangan among others, is important for the history of adolescence in Australia. The role of sport for example, as an instrument for the definition of masculinity and character in the years of school-moulded adolescence demonstrates the influence of the English public school tradition.<sup>167</sup> Of the many histories of boys' private and corporate schooling, Sherington's *Shore: a history* is the most informed by quantitative methods. The narrative is underpinned by an extensive survey of enrolments with reference to the residence of students, fathers' occupations, boys' future occupations and changing historical success rates in winning public examination credentials.<sup>168</sup>

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163. For example, her analysis of the enrolment decline for middle class girls at the Advanced School for Girls as the new corporate schools began to open. The most important of these was the Methodist Ladies College (1902) which is part of this study. Mackinnon, *One foot on the ladder*, p. 110-11.

164. See Marjorie R. Theobald, "Mere accomplishments? Melbourne's early ladies' schools reconsidered" in Alison Prentice & Marjorie R. Theobald eds., *Women who taught: Perspectives on the history of women and teaching*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1991.

165. The foundation study, written within a nationalist and celebratory tradition is C. E. W. Bean, *Here, my son: An account of the independent and other corporate boys' schools of Australia*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1950.

166. Geoffrey Sherington, R. C. Petersen & Ian Brice, *Learning to lead: A history of girls' and boys' corporate secondary schools in Australia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1987.

167. *ibid.*, pp. 49-55. See also J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981 and *The games ethic and imperialism: Aspects of the diffusion of an ideal*, Viking, Harmondsworth, 1986.

168. Geoffrey Sherington, *Shore: A history of Sydney Church of England Grammar School*, Sydney Church of England Grammar School, Sydney, 1983. See also Sherington, "Families and state schooling in the Illawarra, 1840-1940", in Theobald & Selleck, *Family, school & state in*

In concluding this brief survey of some of the Australian historical work pertinent to the present study, I return to an essay by Davey written about family, schooling and childhood in a working class district of Adelaide, in which the origins of the present study are also to be found. Davey finished the essay with a discussion of the 1915 Education Act, arguing that its central feature "was the imposition of a dependency model of childhood through its insistence on full-time regular attendance and its attempt to strengthen the nexus between school and work."<sup>169</sup> He then argued that the aim of the act "was to reproduce the social order in a more 'scientific' and 'efficient' manner and its effect was to establish the institutional machinery for the invention of the working class adolescent."<sup>170</sup> A note then asserted that:

In fact the extension of dependency well into the teens does not become a reality for the vast majority of working-class children until the massive expansion of secondary schooling after World War II.<sup>171</sup>

These comments provided a basis for some of the main questions of the thesis. They were especially amenable to testing with quantitative methods. They also begged the question of broader class and gender relationships. How extensive was the experience of modern adolescence for middle class, as well as working class children, and could modern adolescence be part of the process by which the working and middle classes were reconstituted during a period in which South Australia moved from an agriculturally based to industrial economy? These comments also helped determine the major institutional site of the search for the history of modern adolescence; that is, through the development of the secondary school.

### **Historiographical and theoretical traditions**

In reviewing some of the major studies from which the present work derives, it has become apparent that the theoretical traditions which helped form the questions of this study are those which inspired the revisionist critique of the Whig historiography, and that tradition which, in turn, inspired the critique of the early works of revisionism on the ground of

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*Australian history*, pp. 124-131, in which developing secondary education, changing local economy and high school attendance are linked, partially through the quantitative analysis of enrolment records.

169. Ian Davey, "Growing up in a working class community: School and work in Hindmarsh" in Grimshaw, *Families in colonial Australia*, p. 172.

170. *ibid.*, p. 172.

171. *ibid.*, endnote 10, p. 217.

blindness to gender in particular. Social theory often remains a source of suspicion to historians, especially those still working in the empiricist tradition, where theory is seen as an obstacle between the historian and an authentic or analytically open response to the subject. My argument is simply that social theory is always present in the questions historians bring to their work, and that the making of the theory explicit should lead to a greater self-consciousness, and therefore control over the process of analysis, as well as to inform the analysis with a potentially very wide range of useful analytic tools.<sup>172</sup> Theory appears in this work in at least two forms. First, it appears as general propositions responsible for the framing of the kinds of questions asked. This theory is best described as that revisionism which inspired much of the social history written in the past quarter century, which privileged class and gender analysis, both deriving from Marxist and feminist traditions of social thought and action. That much of the work in these traditions favoured universal narratives of causation and universal theories of social change is a problem which post-structuralist critics have pointed to. Nevertheless, awareness of the problems does not lead to the rejection of theory or the idea of structure in social analysis. The issue is rather, in Anthony Giddens' terms, the deconstruction of the crude narratives and theories; and that in "explaining social change no single and sovereign mechanism can be specified ..."<sup>173</sup> Second, theory appears in a very utilitarian form. Workers in sociology, social history and the social sciences in general constantly generate theories of causation and explanatory models which are variably adaptable to other times and social circumstances.<sup>174</sup> Often they lack the tendency towards the over-arching nature of Marxist and feminist class and gender analysis. In this group, I include, for example, the work of Hareven and Elder on life courses and life cycles<sup>175</sup>, or Caldwell and Ruzicka on the demographic transition<sup>176</sup>, or Davey and Miller on the origins of compulsory elementary schooling<sup>177</sup>, or Gillis, Kett, and Katz and Davey on the role of the loss of a degree of economic and social autonomy for the emergence of modern adolescence.<sup>178</sup> These more limited theories which attempt to explain historical phenomena often owe much to over-arching theory and may complement it, but at

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172. See Anthony Giddens, *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 358-60 for a review of this and other issues in the relationship between social theory and history.

173. *ibid.*, p. 243.

174. Burke, *History and social theory*, p. 1, makes a similar distinction between over-arching and more limited theories.

175. See Tamara K. Hareven ed., *The family and the life course in historical perspective*, Academic Press, New York, 1978, Introduction & ch. 1.

176. Lado T. Ruzicka & John C. Caldwell, *The end of demographic transition in Australia*, Department of Demography, Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 1977.

177. Pavla Miller & Ian Davey, "Family formation, schooling and the patriarchal state" in Theobald & Selleck eds., *Family, school and state in Australian history*, pp. 1-24.

178. Gillis, *Youth and history*, ch. 4; Kett, *Rites of Passage*, ch. 6; Katz & Davey, "Youth and early industrialization in a Canadian city".

the same time elements may be detachable, and useful in a range of circumstances. Similarly, theories about social life from other traditions which owe their intellectual origins to Emile Durkheim or Max Weber, or more recently Michel Foucault and those described as post-structuralists, may be useful in the explication of broader themes, whose thrust may well remain neo-Marxist and feminist.<sup>179</sup>

There is always a problem with discussions of theory detached from application; it is only in the application in the succeeding chapters that this seemingly eclectic approach may be seen to have worked, or not. At this stage the intention is simply to signal a broad tradition within which the present study sits, and that within that tradition theories about the workings of class and gender will be foundational. It is appropriate, therefore to discuss not only these in some further detail, but also my approaches to one of the institutions of importance to the study; that is, the family, and then other theoretical concepts of analytic importance, those being theories of ideology, social discourse and representation.

The importance of class theory in modern social analysis derives from its crucial role in Karl Marx's general theory of historical and future social transformations. As it was adapted by the inheritors of the Weberian tradition, class tended to lose its primacy in explanations or descriptions of social structures, social inequality and oppression. It became one category among many, with, for example, the ideas of social status and stratification in the 1950s achieving considerable strength.<sup>180</sup> The work of left and new left historians, especially in England, revived class analysis as a vital tool for the new social history project.<sup>181</sup> One cannot ignore the role of E. P. Thompson in this. His insistence on the ideas that classes were always in a process of formation, that classes were not categories, but descriptions of process and relationship, and by implication, that there could be no pre-determined model of class, class action and consciousness, liberated historians from sterile arguments about why working classes, wherever they were being constituted, had or had not fulfilled their

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179. Mariana Valverde addresses the question of resolving contradictions between these traditions in "Poststructuralist gender historians: Are we those names?", *Labour/Le Travail*, no. 25, 1990, p. 228.

180. See Gareth Stedman Jones, "From historical sociology to theoretical history", *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1976, pp. 301-2. For a later restatement of similar themes, including the argument that the effect of stratification theory involves a suppression of historical process, see R. W. Connell, *Which way is up? Essays on class, sex and culture*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1983, p. 97. R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving, *Class structure in Australian history: Poverty and progress*, 2nd ed., Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1992, p. 4 also discusses the problems of the older "structuralist class analysis".

181. For a useful version of this process, see Gareth Stedman Jones, *Languages of class: Studies in English working class history 1832-1982*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 4-7.

supposed historic destinies.<sup>182</sup> Such arguments also opened the historical analysis of class to a new concentration on the middle classes as an area of enquiry. They also allowed the possibility of exposing Marxist inspired class theory to criticism on the basis of inadequate understandings of other sources of oppressive power relations, based on gender, ethnicity and race.<sup>183</sup> If classes were now to be seen as potentially expressing an enormous range of creative responses to their historical circumstances, then classes could become once more a genuine subject of historical enquiry, rather than preconceived idealist forms. In this study, the process of class formations and adaptations are a part of the explanation for new social institutions, the varying participation rates of different social groups in them, and the different kinds of adolescence which were advocated and lived in the southern suburbs of Adelaide. The economic context of these processes is the developing forms of capitalism in the region within which these suburbs are situated, from a mainly agrarian and commercial to a rapidly growing industrial form of capitalism.

The definitional distinction usually made between sex and gender is neither entirely clear nor uncontested in either the academic literature or the wider world.<sup>184</sup> But here it will be taken that sex relates to the common perception of biological distinctions between men and women, and gender the social and cultural distinctions.<sup>185</sup> The idea that gender is a social construction, unlike sex, becomes useful in discussing changes not only in the gender order of society, but also in the construction of masculinities and femininities. R. W. Connell and his collaborators argued that schools were deeply implicated in the production of the

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182. See E. P. Thompson, *The making of the English working class*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, pp. 9-12. For an early assessment of its influence in Australia and the role of class in Australian historiography see Stuart Macintyre, "The making of the Australian working class: An historiographical survey", *Historical Studies*, vol. 18, no. 71, 1978, pp. 233-253. Also see Greg Patmore, *Australian Labour History*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1991, ch. 1 for a more recent discussion. See also Hogan, *Class and reform*, pp. xiv-xx, for an argument in favour of an "expanded categorical approach to the analysis of class politics". Hogan argues against Thompson's over-emphasis of the role of class consciousness as opposed to other forces of class structuration.

183. As an example of this, and while acknowledging E. P. Thompson as a seminal intellectual in the new social history, Davidoff and Hall criticized the lack of sexual specificity in his work. See Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 30. See also, Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the politics of history*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1988, p. 71. Scott criticises Thompson when he is sexually specific. On the related point of ethnicity, David Hogan, again acknowledging Thompson, argues the crucial place of ethnicity in the discussion of the history of class in the U.S. See Hogan, "Education and class formation", p. 41.

184. That sex, for example, is better represented by two overlapping normal curves of biological characteristics on the same continuum than simple poles, male and female, is argued by Matthews, *Good and mad women*, p. 11.

185. See Louise A Tilly, "Gender, women's history, and social history", *Social Science History*, vol. 13, no. 4, 1989, pp. 448-453 for a useful account of the developing definition and use of gender in American historiography. For Australia see the introductory essay by the editors in Kay Saunders & Raymond Evans eds., *Gender relations in Australia: Domination and negotiation*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Sydney, 1992, pp. xvii-xxiv.

masculinities and femininities of their students.<sup>186</sup> The formation of gendered identities is important for the discussion of adolescence not only in the general sense, but because of the special role that secondary schooling has played in the development of modern forms of adolescence.

The idea of "the gender order" allows for more complex analysis in the historically varying power relations between men and women, and makes one less reliant on the polarised categories of patriarchal and non-patriarchal.<sup>187</sup> Matthews argued that the specific nature of any gender order in time and place was "constantly in process, being formed and changed." The specific strength of patriarchy in any particular society was subject to argument.<sup>188</sup> Analyses of changes in the sexual division of labour, and the degree to which the lives of male and female youth were bound by the need to prepare for or undertake such differentiated labour is encouraged by this idea of gender order.<sup>189</sup> The literature (and polemics) on the relationship of gender order to the analysis of class relations is enormous. Rather than attempting to review it, the formula articulated by Anne Phillips is offered at this stage as the basis of the succeeding argument:

We live in a class society that is also structured by gender, which means that men and women experience class in different ways, and that potential unities of class are disrupted by conflicts of gender. To put the emphasis the other way round: we live in a gender order that is also structured by class, which means that women experience their womenhood in different ways, and that their unity as women is continually disrupted by conflicts of class. Draw in race to complete the triangle and you can see how complex the triangle becomes.<sup>190</sup>

Gender order is another powerful theoretical concept which enables the discussion of the complexities in the emergence of modern adolescence.

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186. R. W. Connell, D. J. Ashenden, S. Kessler & G. W. Dowsett, *Making the difference: Schools, families and social division*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1982, pp. 93, 174-5.
187. Scott criticises theories of patriarchy on the grounds that they fail to connect with other sources of social inequality and that they rest on an a-historical foundation of the physical differences between men and women. Scott, *Gender and the politics of history*, p. 34. For a defence of the idea of patriarchy, and a refutation of the charge of "essentialism" see Chris Beasley, "The patriarchy debate: Should we make use of the term 'patriarchy' in historical analysis?", *History of Education Review*, vol. 16, no. 2, 1987, pp. 13-20.
188. Matthews, *Good and mad women*, p. 14.
189. Matthews' idea of gender order is adopted by Connell in his major study of gender. See R. W. Connell, *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 98-9, 134-9.
190. Anne Phillips, *Divided loyalties: Dilemmas of sex and class*, Virago, London, 1987, p. 12. See also Judith L. Newton, Mary P. Ryan & Judith R. Walkowitz eds., *Sex and class in women's history*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1983, pp. 1-11.

Despite the enormous interventions by states into the organization of families over the last century and more, of which compulsory schooling is but one of the multitude, families remain crucial institutions for the shaping of modern forms of adolescence. The review of the literature above confirms this proposition. Nevertheless, the family is not an institution easily described, nor is its history unproblematic.<sup>191</sup> Demographic historians have punctured certain myths such as the prevalence of extended families in pre-industrial Western societies, and given us a much clearer view of how households have been constituted over time. Their approach is only one of several however. Michael Anderson discussed three others: the "sentiments approach", the "household economics approach" and a "psychohistorical approach" in a review of the historiography in 1980.<sup>192</sup> The common upshot of the various approaches is the idea that families, as institutions, do have a history; they are not "essential" institutions, unchanging in form, function or operation since the beginning of human society.<sup>193</sup> The great demographic transition of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made for smaller families in the twentieth century. Factors such as the changing means and modes of production, the changing gender order and the demands of states in the organization of their populations, affected the structures and strategies of families. It may well be useful to consider families as workshop social institutions in which the broader social patterns and forces of class and gender relations, and the interventions of the state and other institutions are played out and reconstituted. Davidoff and Hall argued a related idea: "It was the family which mediated between public and private and connected the market with the domestic."<sup>194</sup> So it is that family related concepts such as the household economy or family adaptive strategies play a part in the history of adolescence.<sup>195</sup> Historians of the family as well as those of childhood and youth have shown for many regions and times the historicity of the changing roles of youth within families. The varying necessity of direct contributions to family economies and the role of youth in the reproduction of families' class

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191. See Connell, *Gender and power*, pp. 121-5, for a summary of some areas of complexity. They include the workings of the sexual division of labour in families and households, the power structures in general within families and the emotional relations, each of which may or may not contradict one another. See also Reiger, *The disenchantment of the home*, pp. 11-21 for a discussion of the role of the family in recent social theory, including post-structuralism and critical theory.
192. Michael Anderson, *Approaches to the history of the western family 1500-1914*, Macmillan, London, 1980.
193. For an Australian version of the argument, see Michael Gilding, *The making and breaking of the Australian family*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1991, pp. 1-8. His flexible definition of the family is that it "cannot be defined by fixed criteria, such as kinship and co-residence. Rather, the family is a social ordering of kinship and co-residence. The ordering occurs at the socio-political level in order to affix relations of obligation and dependence. In turn, this ordering is reworked by ordinary people to meet the contradictory demands of everyday life." (p. 8.)
194. Davidoff & Hall, *Family fortunes*, p. 32.
195. See Phyllis Moen & Elaine Wethington, "The concept of family adaptive strategies", *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 18, pp. 233-51 for a comprehensive review of the historical and sociological literature on this subject.

relations are obvious examples of the ways families may profoundly steer the social experience of youth. At the same time, families, like most social institutions, experience internal conflict deriving from inequalities of power, related especially to gender and age differences.<sup>196</sup> Families need not only to be seen as historical; adaptive, mediating and socialising institutions, but as institutions within which unequal power relations, if not conflict, are also a part.

The argument in this study depends on a distinction made between social experience and social representations. On the issue of social "experience" and in the context of his discussion of working class formation and schooling, Hogan wrote about "class experience" as a crucial ingredient of theories about class culture and cultural production.<sup>197</sup> Such experience was the experience of daily life, especially that deriving from the connection with institutions which included families, schools and labour markets. Class cultures are created from the making of such experience meaningful.<sup>198</sup> Social experience as discussed in this study refers to more than the experiences involved in the making of classes and class cultures. It also becomes a necessary element in the discussion of gender and age relations. This is no covert version of the base and superstructure causal dichotomy; in fact, the opposite since representations of youth, through the influences of powerful discourses and ideologies are often the source of explanation and causation.<sup>199</sup> Because the concepts of representation, discourse and ideology play an important role in the argument, they need some further definition. Recent discussions of ideology have tended to define it as any system of ideas which interpret and mould social experience. This is a definition which insufficiently distinguishes ideology from discourse although both words are used in so many different circumstances that clear definitional or usage differences are hardly possible. Nevertheless, for ideology I wish to retain the idea of "interestedness" as a key to its understanding, a concept especially helpful in discussing the argument and language used when social groups attempt to legitimise their interests in the broader polity. This understanding of ideology, with emphasis on its interestedness and legitimising purpose

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196. See Miller & Davey, "Family formation, schooling and the patriarchal state", pp. 9-14, for an argument which incorporates a complex analysis of the changing structures and dynamics of Australian working and middle class families into a broader argument about the creation of new forms of state and schooling.

197. Hogan, "Education and class formation", p. 35. In his later general discussion of class, the term "class experience" is displaced by a more analytical discussion of class relations and class relationships. See Hogan, *Class and reform*, p. xvii.

198. *ibid.*, p. 36.

199. Valverde, "Poststructuralist gender historians: Are we those names", pp. 227-8 argued the compatibility of certain kinds of discourse analysis with E. P. Thompson's approach to the writing of social history.



derives from Karl Mannheim among others.<sup>200</sup> At times, suggestions that particular discourses and propositions about youth were elements of a particular ideology, sometimes hegemonic, will be discussed.<sup>201</sup> Here, a particular discourse becomes the generalised or not necessarily interested set or system of ideas and logics, rather than ideology. Ideologies usually spawn discourses but discourses may or may not be assumed into, or contribute towards the generation of ideological systems. That a social science discourse about intelligence, population and race was assumed into a wider ideology of eugenics and racism during the early and mid-twentieth century is an example of my use of these terms.<sup>202</sup>

Representations of individuals, social groups, events, institutions and so forth, coherently or systematically conceived are constituents of discourses and ideologies. In the study of the history of adolescence, representations of youth have played an integral role. Hendrick's study of the "boy problem" in England was appropriately titled *Images of Youth*. Stanley Hall's great study, it could be argued, founded a psychological discourse about adolescence, by representing (male) youth as susceptible to religious enthusiasm, subject to storms and stresses, and being capable at once of both high minded moral action, and wilful cruelty and even vice.<sup>203</sup> Such representations of adolescence may or may not have borne much resemblance to the social experience of most youth, but as the twentieth century wore on, the representations became part of the professional knowledge and scientific discourses of educators, social workers and the makers of juvenile social policy in general. But representations of youth appeared more widely than among this group. The new boys' secondary schools, building on the traditions of English public schools, had the Victorian cult of athleticism as a source for their public representations of the masculinity of boys in their care. Similarly girls' schools had the Victorian cult of domesticity and sacrifice as a source for the representation of the femininity of their students. Connecting the representations and social experience of modern youth is an issue for the present study, and

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200. Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and utopia: An introduction to the sociology of knowledge*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1960 (1936), pp. 36, 49-50. See also Burke, *History and social theory*, p. 95, Steve Baron and others, *Unpopular education: Schooling and social democracy in England since 1944*, Hutchinson, London, 1981 and Tim Dant, *Knowledge, ideology and discourse: A sociological perspective*, Routledge, London, 1991, pp. 5-8.

201. See also Christine Griffin, *Representations of youth: The study of youth and adolescence in Britain and America*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1993. Griffin developed a similar theoretical approach to the issues of discourse and ideology. "... I have tried to show how specific discourses operate in the ideological domain." (p. 7.)

202. The Australian debate over environment and heredity in the early twentieth century discussed by Carol Bacchi may be interpreted within this framework. Carol Bacchi, "The nature-nurture debate in Australia, 1900-1914", *Historical Studies*, vol. 19, no. 75, 1980, pp. 199-212.

203. Hendrick, *Images of Youth*; Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*. See also, the summary of Hall's approach to adolescence in Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, p. 326.

theoretical work on the workings of class and gender in and through families and schools will assume the greater part of the burden of the argument.<sup>204</sup>

It is in the method of the study that the preceding discussion will become concrete. At the same time there are many issues of theory which have barely been touched on here. They include critiques which could be made of the applications of social control, correspondence, reproduction and resistance theories to the experience of youth in schools and society, all of which the revisionist scholarship on education and youth has used in the past twenty five years.<sup>205</sup> Nor has it directly addressed the important question of the agency of youth in making its own history. Later chapters will continue and extend the discussion.

### **Historical method**

The analysis of historical material illuminating the social experience of youth, the representations of youth, and the construction of modern adolescence is at the heart of the research design and methodology of this study. This discussion is a brief outline rather than a technical description. The latter is approached in the appendixes which cover topics including descriptions of the data-bases, coding and code books and the use of multiple classification analysis.

The study has been limited to a reasonably small geographical area which had substantial social and economic diversity at the same time. For much of the 1901-1965 period, the population of the Adelaide districts of Unley and Mitcham lived in a range of semi-rural, suburban and urban settings. Quantitative and non-quantitative methods have been used to study the youth who received their secondary schooling in the area.

The brunt of the study relies upon the analysis of one major and two minor data-bases. The first of these contains details of every known person to have been enrolled in a secondary school, or school with a distinct secondary department in the Australian census years of

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204. In outlining this approach, one is obliged to acknowledge its critique as well. See Stedman Jones on the use of "social experience" as a working category and a different approach to ideology (*Languages of class*, p. 20). See also Scott, *Gender and the politics of history*, ch. 3 for a reply to Stedman Jones. Valverde reviews the debate in "Poststructuralist gender historians", pp. 230-1.

205. The list of such works is very great. Landmark studies include Samuel Bowles & Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976; Willis, *Learning to Labor*; Katz, *The irony of early school reform*.

1901, 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954 and 1961.<sup>206</sup> Constructed from a range of sources, the case file for any particular youth may include information on the period of school attendance, birth date, residential address, sex, the highest level of schooling achieved, public examinations passed, subjects studied, immediate post-school occupation, school form, I.Q. score, university graduation, the occupation of the head of the household from which the student came, the previous school, and a number of other items. (Information on each does not always exist for all students.)<sup>207</sup> Up to six separate sets of records have been linked to complete a file on each of some six and a half thousand students. The records include the attendance registers, vocational guidance cards and a variety of other student files from secondary schools, the published lists of students in Public Examination Board manuals and the graduation lists of South Australia's two universities (to 1965).<sup>208</sup> The information has been gathered with a view to maximising the possible insights into the structures within which youth experienced their moment in history. Coding of this information has been performed where necessary so that bi-variate and multivariate statistical procedures could be engaged.

The second of the data-bases was constructed from the students in one school who were enrolled over a period of five years in the 1950s. Some of the information of the first data-base is present, with the addition of details likely to illuminate the role of youth in family strategic planning for the future through education. Information on the occupational choices of each parent and child, and the birth order of the child were the main additions.<sup>209</sup>

The third of the data-bases took the first for one school, adding information on the organizations and clubs students belonged to, and the hobbies and interests listed when they entered the school. Analysis of this was designed to help with the discussion of the role of adult-sponsored and supervised activity in the years of adolescence, which the research literature suggests was a major factor in the emergence of modern adolescence.

In the major data-base, the census years were chosen so that the information derived could be set in the context of the broader district and state population patterns. Census data provided the possibility of assessing the degree of idiosyncrasy of the local data against that of the State, or metropolitan area of Adelaide as a whole, though to a very limited degree. In

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206. There are exceptions where records do not appear to exist for three schools in the area for those dates, but the records are available for proximate years, and have been substituted. (See Appendix A.)

207. See Appendix B, the code book for the main data base for the full list.

208. See Appendix A for full details.

209. See Appendix A for full details.

Australia, by comparison with North America, this is the best that can be made of the early censuses. The studies of Labaree, Ueda and those associated with Katz discussed above, all benefited from access to the manuscript census.<sup>210</sup> This is destroyed in Australia, so the published summative statistics are the only information available. At the same time it must be stated that even the limited census data available is often problematic. Work by Desley Deacon has demonstrated the contribution of adopted categorizations of "employment" for women for example, towards developing state and social policies.<sup>211</sup>

There is a considerable literature, not only on the use of quantitative methods in general, but on particular problems relating to the nature of the information generated and the use that may be made of it.<sup>212</sup> One of these is introduced at this stage. In the data-bases of this study, occupational categories are used as a major means of generating knowledge about social class. Such a process does not fit easily into the theoretical understandings of class developed in the previous section. One means of making the information more amenable has been to check all occupations about which substantial doubt exists in terms of relationship to the ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Butchers, carpenters and bootmakers are but three examples where confusion exists without further information. Occupations have been checked against the South Australian business directories.<sup>213</sup> In most cases it has been possible to identify and recode those ambiguous occupations when their possessor was recorded as a business owner. At the same time it has usually not been possible to distinguish between small and large owners, the very and the less powerful in society. For that reason for example few arguments are developed about adolescence and the intentions of a ruling class. I have attempted to compensate for the inadequacies of occupation based hypotheses about class by interpreting the knowledge generated in the light of other information, such as educational behaviour, and modify conclusions drawn when class as "category" rather than class as "relationship" and "process" is all the research is able to produce.<sup>214</sup> Similarly, the sex of students or household heads often forms the basis for discussions of gender.

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210. Labaree, *The making of an American high school*; Ueda, *Avenues to adulthood*; Katz, *The people of Hamilton, Canada West*; Katz & Davey, *Youth and early industrialization*.

211. Desley Deacon, "Political arithmetic: The nineteenth-century Australian census and the construction of the dependent woman", *Signs*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1985, pp. 27-47.

212. See C. F. Kaestle, "Research methodology: Historical methods" in John P. Keeves ed., *Educational research, methodology, and measurement: An international handbook*, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1988, pp. 39-40 for an excellent review of the issues. Another discussion including comment on the misuses of quantitative methods and "objectivity" is found in Michael B. Katz, *Reconstructing American education*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1987, pp. 137-144.

213. A procedure discussed by David Hogan, "Whither the history of urban education?", *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 4, p. 531.

214. Hogan discusses such issues, criticizing Thompson for an over-vigorous rejection of categorical approaches to class in "Education and class formation", p. 35.

The data-bases were designed to enable the quantification of certain elements of the social experience of youth, but other research tools and materials were needed to interpret, qualify and give insight into the human relationships under study. The qualitative material was also the main source of insight into the representations of youth and adolescence.

In one of the schools in the study an archive of major historical significance was discovered. It held the day to day correspondence between families and the school for the period immediately after World War II into the 1960s. Because many of the students boarded at the school, the correspondence concerning particular children was often considerable, covering a great range of topics. Immediately evident was the articulation of the role that schools had to play in family plans for their children. Also evident was the issue of the behaviour of youth given a wide range of school, family and other pressures. Analysis of this correspondence provided a unique means of humanising the study, and giving families, and youth authentic voices in the process of adolescence. It was possible to ask how much did those defining characteristics of adolescence, so clearly outlined in the historiography, appear in this considerable correspondence devoted to the activities of youth.

The other major textual source was the magazines produced by the schools. School magazines are problem texts. They have no single author; they clearly fulfil institutional functions as well as record the activities and express the thoughts of individuals within the institutions. They are edited idiosyncratically, often from edition to edition and from institution to institution. There is usually tight editorial control, if not direct censorship involved in their making.

Yet they also represent youth, usually in a highly idealized form, in a way which maximises the desired good effect schools are meant to have on youth. It is worth the effort to identify and describe these idealized representations, for they are part of historical discourses about youth and adolescence. As part of these analyses, near silences are also looked for. Social classes and families; failure, resistance and rebellion for example are rarely written about explicitly. Yet the analysis of these texts occasionally reveals insight into these areas, as well as the idealizations. The magazines are prime sources for the discovery of representations at work, through discourses and ideology. The ideology associated with Arnoldian "character formation", and the rise of meritocratic practices are two examples of ideologies associated especially with the changing constructions of masculinity and adolescence which are traceable over the period of the study through this source.

The research design also allowed for the analysis of one source of official or state comment on the history of youth in the area and South Australia as a whole. Especially in the early years of the century, the reports of the Minister of Education, his Inspectors and Directors directly addressed the issues of schooling institutions and practices and their intended effects on youth. These sources not only represented youth, often with the voices of the new professionals and social sciences, but give insight into the foundations of the state institutions which were invented to change them.

### **Thesis organization**

The present study is organized into eight main chapters with introduction and conclusion. The first chapter establishes an historical context, concentrating on the Unley and Mitcham districts, their demographic, economic and social characteristics over the period preceding and during the study. It concludes with a discussion of schooling and youth at the turn of the century. The second chapter begins the analysis of the data-base, asking the major question of who went to secondary schools in the period before World War II. Class formation and gendered identities and order are discussed in the context of the contribution of secondary schooling to the making of modern adolescents. The third chapter extends the analysis to the question of "success" in the secondary schools, enabling a discussion of the relationship between adolescence and meritocracy. The fourth and fifth have youth and adolescent representations for the pre-war period as their major themes.

Chapter six, like chapter five, is a transitional chapter, devoted to families and their adaptive strategies, as they either used, resisted or coped with secondary schooling. The relationship between the experience of youth, adolescence and the power relations within families, and between families and schools are its themes. The seventh chapter moves into the post-World War II era, asking similar questions to those of chapters two and three. The effect of mass participation in secondary schooling on adolescence is discussed, along with the technologies of differentiation between students which bloomed in the 1950s. The eighth chapter corresponds for the post-war period to the fourth and fifth, concentrating again on representations, but also looking at the membership patterns of institutions for adolescents other than the secondary school. An important question here is whether the 1960s saw the beginning of the end of the modern adolescent. The thesis conclusion seeks to make sense of the inter-relationships of schooling, adolescence, class and gender as they developed over the first sixty or so years of the century.

## **Conclusion**

The historiography of adolescence and youth discussed here has exerted considerable influence on the questions I have sought to ask and answer. They have also had a critical influence on the research methods and social theories engaged for the study. I attach a continuing importance to the research priorities of the revisionist and social history projects. This is made apparent in this study from my attempt to understand the history of youth especially in terms of changing class and gender formations, as well as the nature of changing age relations.



## Chapter 1

### Schools, youth and society

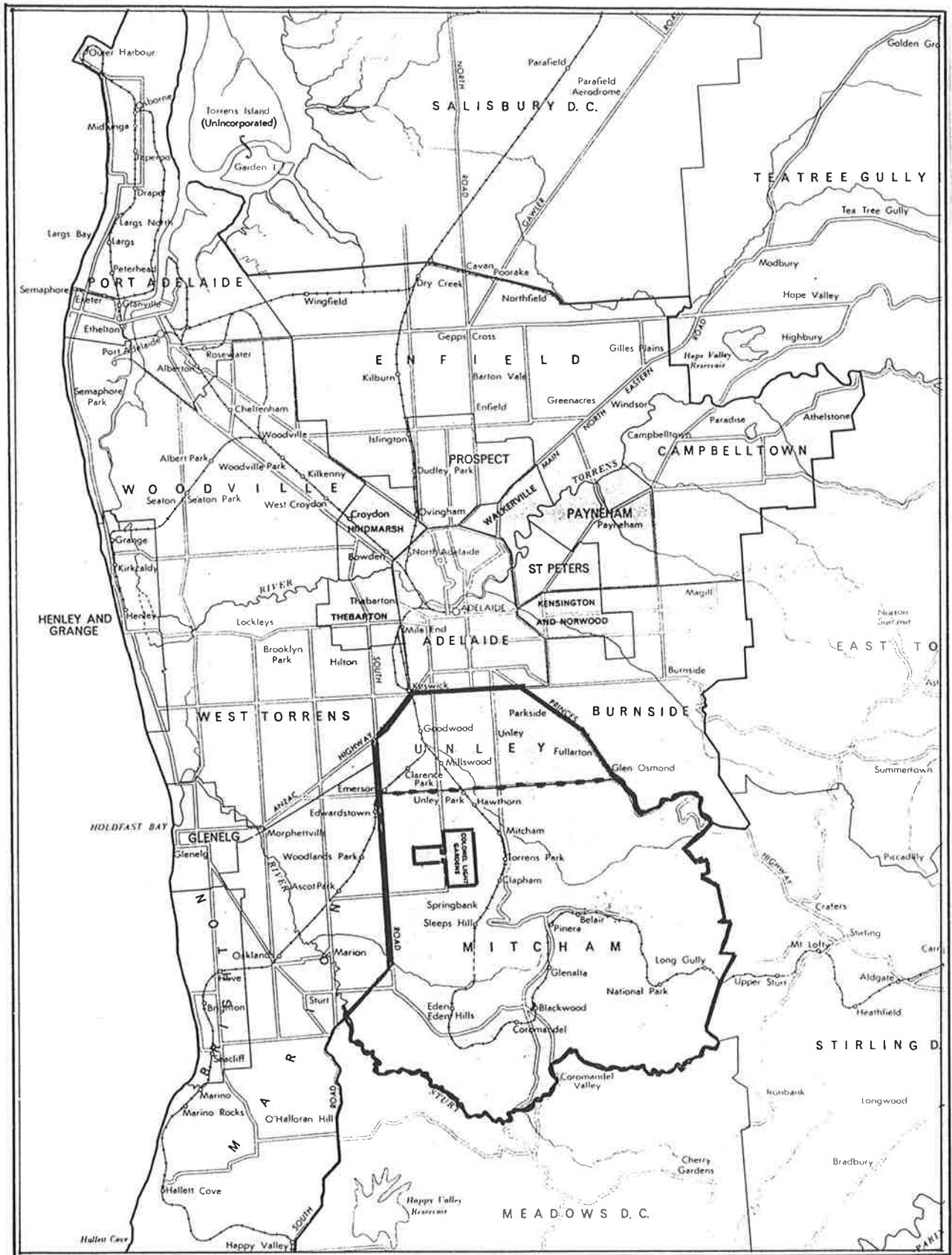
To the south of Adelaide is a long range of lofty hills, which forms a beautiful view from town, the road to them is across a plain (3 miles) studded with wattle trees, & here & there belted with peppermint gums. These hills are lightly wooded to the tops, which command an extensive view of the country around ...<sup>1</sup>

This landscape, described five years after the white settlement and proclamation of the colony of South Australia continued to exist in parts in 1901. But by then certain transformations had also taken place. The original population, the Kurna people who had been a substantial presence in the 1830s, had all but disappeared from the area. From the first surveys in the late 1830s the southern Adelaide plains and hills had been taken up rapidly by pastoral lessees, farmers, miners and land speculators. Settler capitalism and Aboriginal lives were mainly incompatible. The 1901 census recorded a mere four Aboriginal people left in the area. The figure is better interpreted as a symbolic statement of the fact of genocide, than an accurate measure of the surviving Kurna.<sup>2</sup> Those three miles of plain had also changed by 1901, with densely populated suburbs close to the city of Adelaide, the beginnings of an industrial region to the west, and villages, farms, estates, market gardens and a national park stretched into the hills where some acres of native bushland also survived. The Aboriginal name for the area where the hills and main creek met the plain, Wirraparinga, and other such names were all but forgotten, as dreams of England renamed the district: Mitcham, Unley, Malvern, Goodwood, Highgate, Parkside, and Edwardstown; and dreams of English education named some of the streets: Rugby, Eton, Winchester, Cambridge and Oxford. By the early 1960s suburbs filled the plain and spread from the old hills towns and villages.

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1. James Allen to his sister, 18 July, 1841, quoted in Colin Kerr, *'A Exelent Coliney': The practical idealists of 1836-1846*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1978, p. 130.
  2. For European descriptions of Kurna activity in the Mitcham area in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see W. A. Norman, *The history of the City of Mitcham*, Corporation of the City of Mitcham, Adelaide, 1954, p. 8, Christine Chinner, *Mitcham village sketchbook*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1974, pp. 8-10 and Alexandra Marsden, "The development of the City of Mitcham", *Historical Society of South Australia: Newsletter*, no. 32, July 1980, pp. 5-6. See also *Census of South Australia, 1901*, SAPP 1902, no. 74, p. 72. [SAPP abbreviation for *South Australian Parliamentary Papers*.]



Figure 1.1: Metropolitan Adelaide, about 1960



Source: Australian census, 1961, vol. 4, part 1.

## Youth in the population of Mitcham and Unley

The youth who lived in the Mitcham and Unley districts in the period of the study were overwhelmingly white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. If united by relatively homogeneous ethnic and religious origins, they were also divided by the social and economic circumstances of their immediate families and surroundings. The children and grand-children of the richest man in early twentieth century South Australia, Robert Barr Smith, led very different lives to the children of families living in the Rose Lane cottages down the hill from the great estate of Torrens Park. They had no private tutors or governesses, nor theatres built for their amusement, nor, if they were boys, schooling at Geelong Grammar School, St Peter's College or Cambridge University.<sup>3</sup> In the district there were children of stock brokers and strippers of wattle bark, children of boot makers and market gardeners. If one moved beyond the Protestant ascendancy, there were also the children of the admittedly few "Syrians", Jews, Chinese and rather more Roman Catholics. Some lives were urban, while others were strongly rural. If substantially uniform ethnic and religious origins made this district less varied than some, at the same time economic activity, geographical location and social class provided the basis of still substantial diversity.

Most of the youth in this study lived in the Unley and Mitcham local government areas of Adelaide. Those who did not, came for varying periods of secondary education into the schools of the area. Mitcham and Unley had originally been part of the one large district council in the mid nineteenth century. By 1901 their boundaries were settled with one major, though impermanent exception. After World War I, a special corporation was established to govern a new "garden suburb", Colonel Light Gardens, carved out of the larger Mitcham district, and named after the founder of the city of Adelaide. Though separately governed from 1919 to the end of the time period for this study, Colonel Light Gardens was eventually re-united with Mitcham in 1975. (See Figure 1.1 above.) For the purposes of this study, the Mitcham district incorporates Colonel Light Gardens. Unley, the closest district to the city centre, quickly achieved "city" status in 1906, while the much more sparsely settled Mitcham waited for the same distinction until 1947. The population growth of the two

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3. On the education of the Barr Smith children, see Elizabeth Riddell, "The Barr Smiths: Four generations of landed gentry", *The Bulletin*, 6 March, 1979, pp. 56-60. On the theatre at Torrens Park, M. I. Legoe, *A family affair*, [the author], Adelaide, 1982, pp. 10-11. See also Ken Preiss & Pamela Oborn, *The Torrens Park Estate: A social and architectural history*, [the authors], Adelaide, 1991.

districts, with that of the greater metropolitan area of Adelaide as a whole, and the populations of Unley and Mitcham combined as proportions of it, is shown in Table 1.1.<sup>4</sup>

Table 1.1

**Populations of Unley, Mitcham and metropolitan Adelaide (N)  
for each census year**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Unley</i>	<i>Mitcham</i>	<i>Adelaide</i>	<i>Proportion</i>
1901	18 152	4 296	162 261	0.14
1911	23 773	5 035	189 646	0.15
1921	34 093	9 188	255 375	0.17
1933	40 999	21 730	312 619	0.20
1947	44 164	28 297	382 454	0.19
1954	40 077	37 871	483 508	0.16
1961	40 280	46 793	587 957	0.15

Source: *Census of South Australia, 1901 & Australian censuses, 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954, 1961*

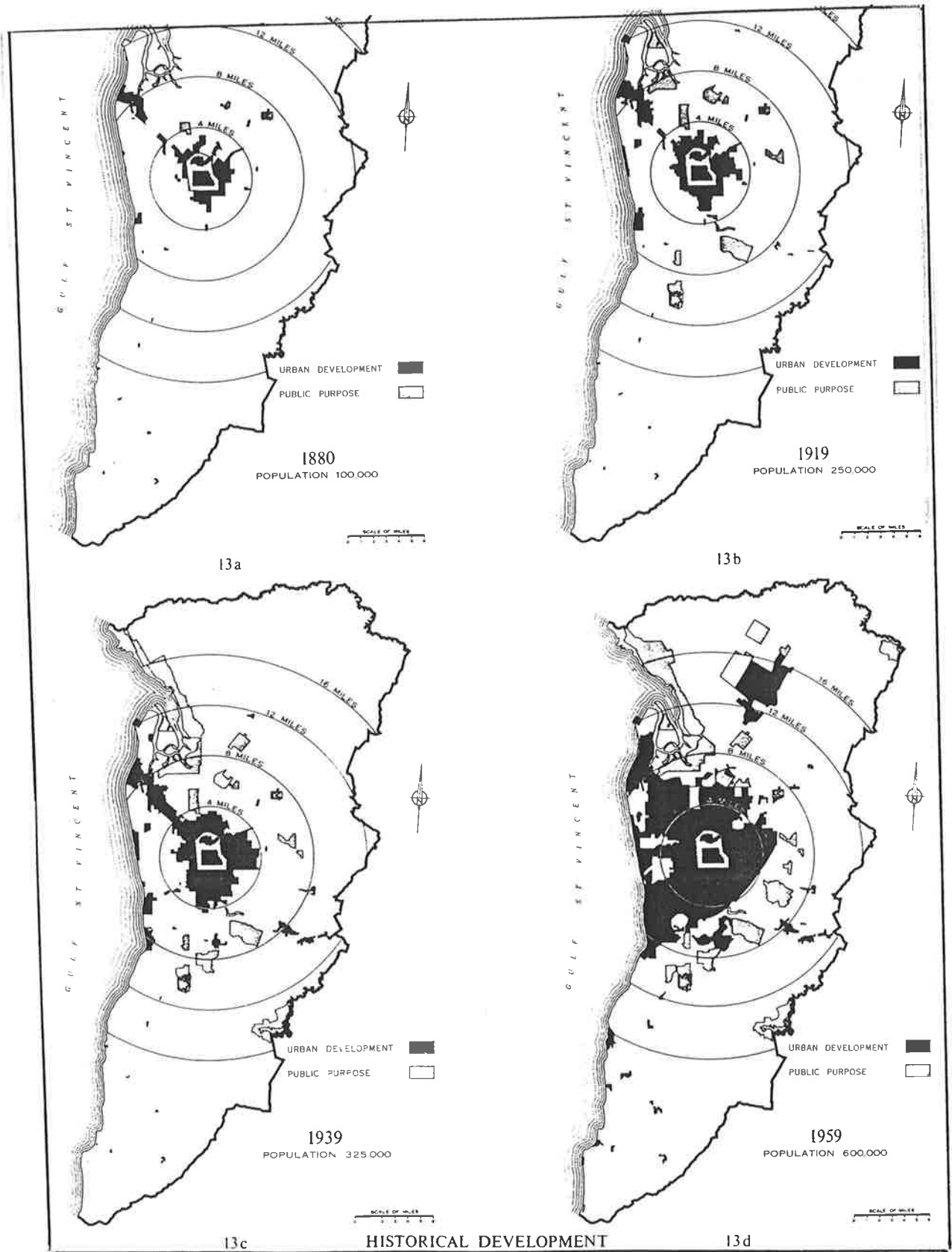
With its older suburbs, Unley only doubled its population in the first sixty years of the century, while Mitcham made the transformation from villages, estates, farm lands and bush to suburbs during the same period. Its population leapt from four to forty six thousand. Though Figure 1.2 below, represents the spread of suburbanization for the whole of the metropolitan area, the development of the southern districts is clearly seen.

This general population growth also indicated increasing numbers of youth. The proportions of youth to adults varied with demographic movements over the period. Table 1.2 shows for each of Unley and Mitcham the numbers of 10 to 19 year-old youth (inclusive)<sup>5</sup>, and the numbers of those youth for every 100 of the adult population (21 years and over).

4. This and following tables use the Australian census reports. Depression and war interrupted the taking of the census, which explains the irregular gaps between them. National censuses were taken in 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954 and 1961.

5. These age groupings are determined by census categories of five year intervals (10-14 and 15-19) for local government areas.

Figure 1.2: Urban spread in Adelaide metropolitan area



Source: "Report on the Metropolitan area of Adelaide, 1962", SAPP 1963, vol. 3, pp. 30-31.

Table 1.2

**Youth populations of Unley and Mitcham (N) and ratio to the adult population  
for each census year**

Year	<i>Unley</i>		<i>Mitcham</i>	
	<i>Age 10-19</i>	<i>Youth/100 adults</i>	<i>Age 10-19</i>	<i>Youth/100 adults</i>
1901	4 391	47.4	1 089	52.0
1911	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
1921	5 803	27.0	1 642	30.3
1933	6 892	24.3	4 380	33.0
1947	4 954	15.4	3 695	19.3
1954	4 865	16.5	5 905	24.2
1961	6 144	21.7	8 622	29.9

Source: *Census of South Australia, 1901 & Australian censuses, 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954, 1961.*

The numbers of youth in Unley remained relatively stable with peaks recorded in the censuses of 1933 and 1961. In both cases the better economic conditions of the previous decade and immigration flows were reflected. As for Unley, the effect of the Depression was shown in Mitcham's low 1947 figures. The lowest ratio of youth per 100 adults occurs in the 1947 figures for the same reason. The tail end of Australia's demographic transition is also seen in these figures. The 1901 and 1921 youth/adult ratios show a remarkable drop. Even the 1961 high ratios, in part a product of the post-World War II baby boom, failed to reach anywhere near the 1901 ratio. These population statistics suggest that the relative rarity of youth in the second quarter of the twentieth century and beyond, and the concomitant declining size of families was more than likely to lead to changes in the treatment of youth, by both state and families. (At the same time, the obverse hypothesis, that the state was in part responsible for the demographic transition and the re-valuing of youth as a result of the introduction of compulsory elementary schooling for example, needs also to be taken into account.<sup>6</sup>) The experience of youth itself was likely to have changed in the twentieth century for demographic reasons, without taking into account the host of other cultural and technological changes associated with this century.

Examination of the sex ratios of youth (see below, Table 1.3) shows a consistent bias in favour of girls in the Unley district, while a similar pattern is reversed in Mitcham after World War II.

6. On this question see Lado T. Ruzicka & John C. Caldwell, *The end of the demographic transition in Australia*, Australian National University, Canberra, 1977.

Table 1.3

**Sex ratio for youth in Unley and Mitcham:  
Females per 100 males for each census year**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Unley</i>	<i>Mitcham</i>
1901	105	109
1911	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
1921	106	107
1933	106	104
1947	107	96
1954	105	100
1961	102	96

Source: *Census of South Australia, 1901 & Australian censuses, 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954, 1961.*

Though the disparities were not large it is possible that the "rarity" of youth already mentioned for the 1930s and 1940s was slightly more pronounced for boys of the period, considering the assumption that male youth had the life-long responsibility of bread-winning before them.

In the preceding paragraphs, youth has been discussed and quantified as an unproblematic term. Quantification has led to the use of the combined five year age categories (10-14, 15-19) used by the census takers for most of the century. Yet there is no special virtue in beginning at 10, nor finishing at 19, the latter adding a clumsy element to census categorisation since adulthood began at age 21 for these pre-1966 censuses. The 20 year olds were unclaimed territory. Similarly at the other end, 10 and 11 year olds were still at (compulsory) primary school for the period, and few had experienced puberty.<sup>7</sup> There seems little point in making the attempt to establish hard age boundaries for youth, defined as the period between childhood and adulthood. When one reviews the literature on the question, the range of definitive markers bounding youth and adolescence offered are not only numerous but also contradictory.<sup>8</sup>

7. On historical evidence concerning the retreating age of puberty, see Peter Laslett, "Age at menarche in Europe since the eighteenth century" in Theodore K. Rabb & Robert I. Rotberg eds., *The family in history: Interdisciplinary essays*, Harper, New York, 1973, pp. 28-47

8. The question of boundaries is discussed in Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, p. 2. While recognising the problems, he defines boundaries at 13/14 and 18/19. John Modell took a different approach. He regarded chronological age as a cue for a series of transitions over which individuals often had considerable control. The timing of transitions to adult status were dependent on ethnicity, class and gender, on the one side, and events such as the timing of school leaving, the undertaking of military service, and marriage on the other. See John Modell, *Into one's own: From youth to adulthood in the United States 1920-1975*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989, pp. 12-32.

Looking to the law adds no clarity. Constance Davey's study of the law and children in South Australia exposed the very wide range of different ages at which protections, special treatments and responsibilities were assumed or disposed of.<sup>9</sup> For example the 1872 Destitute Persons Relief Act defined the upper age limit of a "neglected child" at 16. This was extended to 18 for girls, but not boys in 1881.<sup>10</sup> In 1899, the age of consent was lifted from 16 to 17, while boys below the age of 13 were prohibited from selling newspapers, race cards, matches and similar items. Tobacco was not to be sold to under 16 youth from 1904.<sup>11</sup> While juvenile offenders could be punished with up to 25 strokes of a birch rod as a maximum from 1872, it was not until 1921 that a child could not enter an adult prison, and 1941 before special juvenile courts were established for the under 18 year olds. The Second Hand Dealers Act of 1919 prohibited dealers buying from under 18 year olds, but the Pawnbroker's Act allowed youth 15 and over to pawn. Sixteen was established as the magic age by which youth could buy a driver's licence for a motor car (and 14 for motor cycles) in 1921.<sup>12</sup> Rights to shoot fire-arms, drink alcohol, frequent a billiard hall, marry without parental consent, leave school, enter an apprenticeship were a few of the other host of age determined rights regulated by the state from the late nineteenth century. These prohibitions and rights not only varied on the basis of gender; there was little consistency of any sort between them. Somewhat remarkably, into the 1950s there was no lower limit on marriage itself, one of the more popular signals for the attainment of adulthood. There was only the provision that marriages before the ages of 14 (a boy) and 12 (a girl) could be dissolved easily.<sup>13</sup>

Age relations then, according to law were complex, inconsistently regulated, and subject to differentiation on the grounds of gendered social assumptions. While 21, the voting age, was usually the popular marker for entry into full adulthood, the truth was that a large number of legally sanctioned transitions had occurred for years previously. More significant was the movement towards *more* regulation and an *upward age creep* for their application. It is in the period of confusion and upward creep of these age markers that another aspect of the definition of modern adolescence may be sought. There is no clear reason for adopting any particular age boundaries for the period discussed as youth or adolescence (which in this study is considered even more a cultural construction than the idea of youth). As this brief

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9. Constance M. Davey, *Children and their law-makers: A social-historical survey of the growth and development from 1836 to 1950 of South Australian laws relating to children*, [the author], Adelaide, 1956.

10. *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

11. *ibid.*, p. 23.

12. *ibid.*, pp. 49-51.

13. *ibid.*, p. 88.

discussion of state regulation has shown, the boundaries were subject to cultural and political determination, and this life stage, with others, was historically constructed.

### Youth, ethnicity and religion

Age relations are dependent on far more than legal prohibitions and rights. The ethnicity and religious affiliations of the people of Mitcham and Unley have already been alluded to. In Australia, Deacon has written about the effect of state (especially census) imposed categories on people and their governance.<sup>14</sup> Her comments are also apposite to the counting of the races in Australia, where the categories "full-blood" and "half-caste" among others functioned as a means of measuring a proud progress towards pre-1960s national ethnic engineering and racial cleansing. The populations of Unley and Mitcham were exemplary. (See Table 1.4.) That parts of Unley were more urban than suburban was undoubtedly responsible for the slightly lower levels of purity. At no census for which Colonel Light Gardens, the model modern garden suburb was tested for racial purity, was less than 100% European full-bloodedness reported.

Table 1.4

**Populations of Unley and Mitcham according to census race categories (N):  
1921, 1933, 1947**

Category	1921		1933		1947	
	Unley	Mitcham	Unley	Mitcham	Unley	Mitcham
European (full-blood)	34 032	9 179	40 938	21 727	44 078	28 231
Non-European (full-b)	52	3	44	0	58	10
Half-caste	9	6	17	3	28	56
Total	34 093	9 188	40 999	21 730	44 164	28 297

Source: *Australian censuses, 1921, 1933, 1947.*

While census information on "race", birthplace and religion separately fail to provide a complete picture of ethnicity, taken together, they are very useful. They allow the conclusion that except for the last few years of the study, ethnic difference was a minor factor in the influences which gave diversity to the historical experience of youth. Tables 1.5 and 1.6 should therefore be read in conjunction with 1.4 above.

14. Deacon, "Political arithmetic : The Nineteenth-century Australian census and the construction of the dependent woman", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1985, pp. 28-9.



Table 1.5

**Population according to birth-place (%):  
Unley and Mitcham: 1901, 1933, 1961**

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Unley</i>			<i>Mitcham</i>		
	<i>1901</i>	<i>1933</i>	<i>1961</i>	<i>1901</i>	<i>1933</i>	<i>1961</i>
Australia & New Zealand	79.0	88.3	79.3	80.4	88.2	85.3
United Kingdom & Ireland	19.0	10.4	7.1	17.6	10.8	8.0
Europe (not UK & Ireland)	1.1	0.7	12.1	1.4	0.5	5.5
Asia	0.2	0.3	1.0	0.2	0.1	0.5
Africa	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.3
North America	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.2
Other	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.1
Not known	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	18 152	40 999	40280	4 292	21 730	46 793

Source: *Australian censuses, 1901, 1933, 1961*

Apart from the decline in the number of British and Irish born, the only major change over the sixty years was the rise in the numbers of non-British European migrants after World War II, when in 1961 they reach 12% and 5½% of the populations of Unley and Mitcham respectively. The major European population groups in 1961 for Unley were: Italian-born (1,294), Greek (876), German (670) and the Netherlands (469). For Mitcham they were German (661), Netherlands (444), Italian (201) and Greek (86).<sup>15</sup> The availability of older and cheaper housing in parts of the Unley area, before the gentrification process began in the inner city suburbs, meant that substantial southern European migrant communities could be firmly established. Australia's post-war immigration programme began immediately after the war, and by 1961 an increasing number of youth from European migrant families were entering secondary schools in the area.

Analysis of religious affiliation across the sixty years clearly identifies for the earlier period, the limited presence of the Irish originated population. Few Roman Catholics before the war in Adelaide had other ethnic origins. The post-war Greek Orthodox religious affiliations similarly indicated the strength of the Greek presence. (The Italian migrants are harder to detect by this method since their religion is mainly shared with the Irish Catholics.) As for South Australia as a whole however, the size of the Protestant denominations, particularly

15. *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1961*, vol. 4, part 1, no. 2, pp. 10-11.

the Church of England and the Methodist Church, indicate the numerically dominant group. (Table 1.6.)

Table 1.6

**Population according to religious affiliation (%):  
Unley and Mitcham: 1901, 1933, 1961**

	<i>Unley</i>			<i>Mitcham</i>		
	<i>1901</i>	<i>1933</i>	<i>1961</i>	<i>1901</i>	<i>1933</i>	<i>1961</i>
<b>Total Protestant</b>	<b>86.0</b>	<b>73.5</b>	<b>65.1</b>	<b>82.5</b>	<b>74.0</b>	<b>73.8</b>
Church of England	33.6	34.0	27.8	34.9	33.6	31.6
Methodist	25.1	20.3	19.5	24.8	21.3	23.9
Presbyterian	5.7	4.9	3.8	3.3	4.4	3.7
Baptist	9.1	4.7	3.3	10.9	5.5	4.0
Congregational	4.9	2.6	1.6	1.5	2.5	1.7
Lutheran	1.7	1.0	3.8	1.7	0.7	3.1
Salvation Army	1.1	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.6
Church of Christ	3.1	2.7	2.3	2.1	3.5	3.3
Other Protestant	1.7	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.0	1.9
<b>Roman Catholic</b>	<b>9.2</b>	<b>10.5</b>	<b>19.1</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>10.2</b>	<b>13.1</b>
<b>Greek Orthodox</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.7</b>
<b>Other Christian</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>1.6</b>
<b>Jewish</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>0.2</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.3</b>
<b>Other non-Christian</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.1</b>
<b>No religion specified<sup>16</sup></b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>14.8</b>	<b>10.4</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>14.9</b>	<b>10.4</b>
<b>Object to question</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>N=</b>	<b>18 152</b>	<b>40 999</b>	<b>40 280</b>	<b>4 292</b>	<b>21 730</b>	<b>46 793</b>

Source: *Australian censuses, 1901, 1933, 1961*

### **Economic development and the employment of youth**

At the turn of the century, many employment opportunities existed within the boundaries of Unley and Mitcham. Agriculture remained a substantial activity toward the outer limits, from which the journey to the city was often arduous. (The completion of the railway through the district into the hills, and beyond as part of the main Adelaide to Melbourne line in the 1880s

16. Two categories have been collapsed into one here, those who said they had no religion at all, and those whose responses were non-specific.

made daily commuting to the city easier for many.) There were also the predictable small breweries, brick works, quarries and an olive processing plant in the Mitcham area for example, which also offered local employment.<sup>17</sup> The 1901 Statistical Register for South Australia was one of the last to record any agricultural or pastoral production in Unley. The adoption of corporate city status by Unley in 1906 marked the end of the district's recognition, statistically, as an agricultural producer. Nevertheless, even as the most built up area of the Mitcham and Unley district, and adjacent to the city centre, Unley had some 6,000 sheep and 700 cattle in 1901. The uses to which back yards were often put is indicated in the 34,000 poultry recorded.<sup>18</sup> Mitcham had substantial numbers of livestock through to the 1960s (over 3,000 sheep in 1961), although, as Table 1.7 shows, the area under crop declined most rapidly in the 1920s when substantial subdivisions of farms for suburban development took place.

Table 1.7

**Land under cultivation and rural production (select items) in Mitcham for each census year**

	1901	1911	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961
Land in crop (acres)	2321	2048	1828	998	975	847	830
Grain produced (bushels)	450	100	0	649	812	1584	na
Peas & potatoes (acres sown)	25	103	38	52	15	10	9
Wattle bark (tons)	23	71	na	na	na	na	na
Orchard (acres)	447	984	991	503	395	261	168
Market garden (acres)	246	81	97	66	98	76	67

Source: S.A. *Statistical Register*, 1901, 1911, 1921-2, 1933-4, 1946-7, 1953-4, 1961-2.

The development and improvement of transport, private and public, and especially the roads and railway, meant that employment within the district was probably available for a minority throughout the twentieth century. Despite the industrial area around the western boundaries of Mitcham, and some light industry in Unley itself, the character of the district increasingly became dormitory-suburban, with patches of retail commercial activity, centred especially on the main roads and around the old village centres.<sup>19</sup> This character prevailed despite the post-World War II industrialization of Adelaide. Tables compiled for metropolitan Adelaide planning purposes in 1961 showed the relative position of the Unley and Mitcham district in

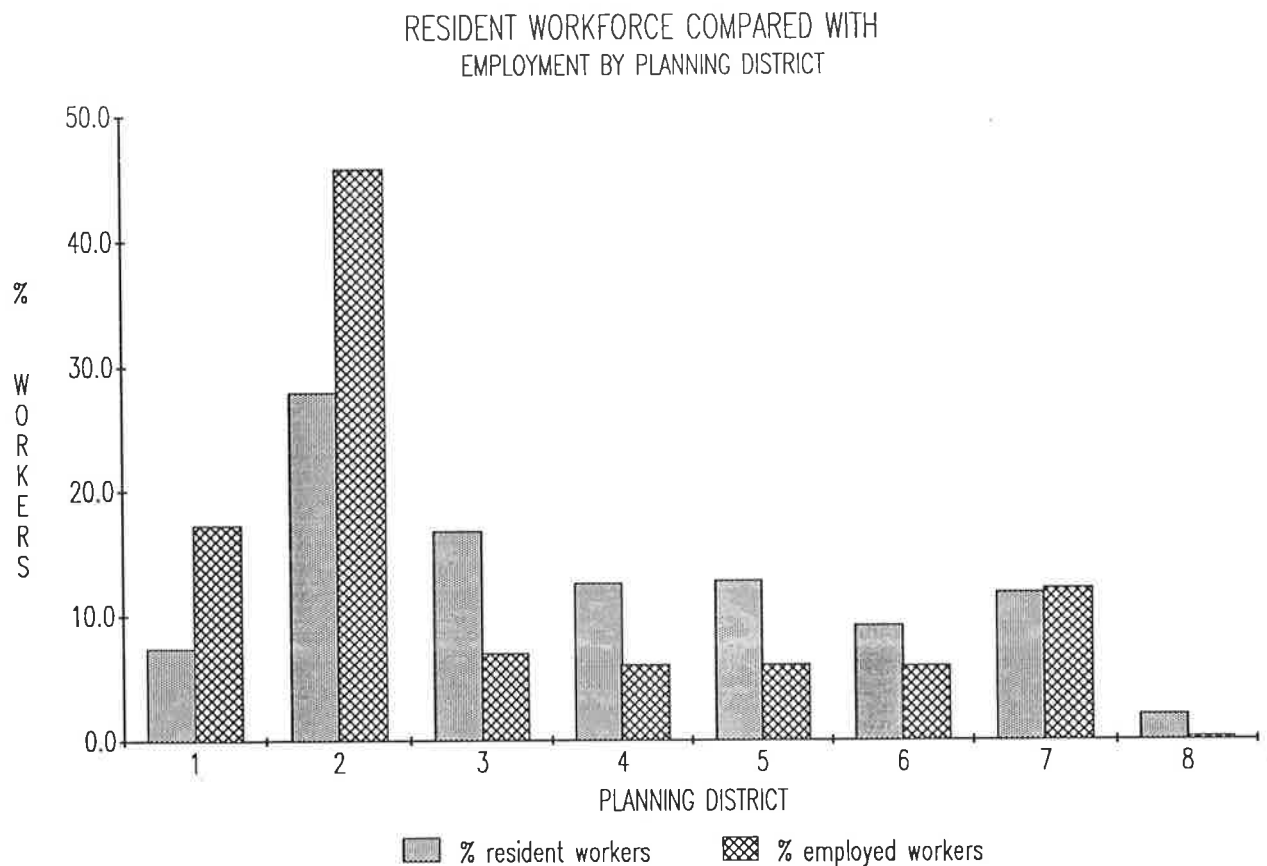
17. Alexandra Marsden, "The development of the City of Mitcham", p. 9.

18. S.A. *Statistical Register*, 1902. (Table 34, Section III, pp. 5-7.)

19. Though this was not the case for Mitcham itself where the old village was by-passed as a commercial centre for Lower Mitcham, on one of the main roads from Adelaide to the hills (Belair Road).

comparison with other areas of the greater city in the late 1950s. The disparity between the resident manufacturing work-force in each district in conjunction with the number of manufacturing jobs in the same district is shown by Figure 1.3 below. Unley and Mitcham are represented by District 5. (See the following Figure 1.4 for the definition of the planning districts.)

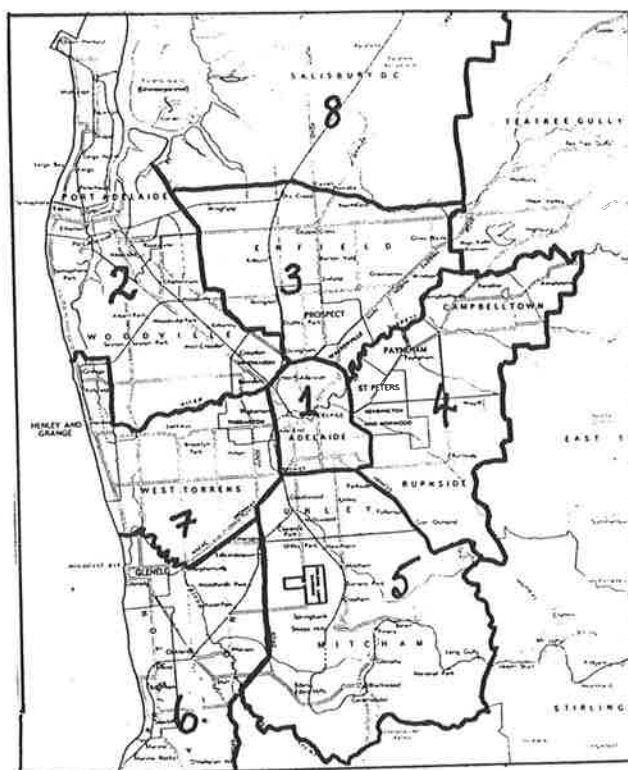
Figure 1.3:



Source: "Report on the Metropolitan area of Adelaide, 1962", *SAPP 1963*, vol. 3, p. 147

Figure 1.4: Planning Districts of Adelaide (1961)

- 1 Adelaide
- 2 Hindmarsh  
Port Adelaide
- 3 Enfield  
Prospect  
Walkerville
- 4 Burnside  
Campbelltown  
Kensington & Norwood  
Payneham  
St Peters
- 5 Colonel Light Gardens  
Mitcham  
Unley
- 6 Brighton  
Glenelg  
Marion
- 7 Henley & Grange  
Thebarton  
West Torrens
- 8 Salisbury



Source: "Report on the Metropolitan area of Adelaide, 1962", *SAPP 1963*, vol. 3, p. 147

What Figure 1.3 shows is the degree to which, at least in manufacturing industry, the resident work force was employed outside the district. Adelaide itself, and the west of the city (Districts 1 and 2) were the most likely to absorb the non-resident work force. Statistics from the same study, measuring workshop floor space in the planning districts showed Unley and Mitcham to possess less than 6% of the total.<sup>20</sup> The most substantial employers in manufacturing for Mitcham and Unley were makers of clothing and textiles, jewellers and workers of precious metals, joiners and other industries associated with timber. Together they accounted for just over 50% of the local manufacturing employment. These statistics need to be put in the context of the larger employment pattern. Table 1.8 does this on a broad industry basis for the total employed population for the district over the last forty years of the study. What it does not do is show how much of the employment was within the district. Because the major financial, commercial and legal companies were based in the city centre, it is very likely that the pattern of commuting to work outside the district seen for the manufacturing work force was replicated in other employment sectors.

20. *SAPP 1963*, vol. 3, p. 146.

Employment patterns have an impact on the lives of youth in at least two respects. First they indicate the distribution of parental occupation, and allow a discussion of the extent to which these may have been reproduced by their children. Second, and related, they show historical movements in the kinds of employment available for youth. This allows a discussion of the changing structures of opportunity. Employment patterns also indicate the class character of districts and the degree to which gendered assumptions and discriminations were used to distribute opportunity. Tables 1.8 and 1.9 need to be read in conjunction with one another. For understandable reasons the census makers balked at attempting to measure class and status directly, but together, they show the broad areas of employment, and the relative proportions of employer, self-employed and employee.

Table 1.8

**Population according to occupation group (%):  
Unley and Mitcham (combined): 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954, 1961**

*(a) Male*

<i>Industry</i> <sup>21</sup>	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961
Professional & public service	7.1	6.2	8.0	8.5	8.7
Domestic	1.6	1.9	2.5	2.2	2.2
Commercial & finance	18.4	20.0	14.4	15.6	14.7
Transport & communication	6.0	6.0	7.0	5.8	5.1
Industrial	28.2	25.3	27.6	28.6	25.5
Primary production	5.6	3.6	1.6	1.2	0.9
Unspecified	1.5	9.5	4.7	0.3	0.6
Dependants/not applicable	31.6	27.5	34.2	37.8	42.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	19 727	28 695	33 840	36 733	41 322

21. From 1921 to 1961 the description and content of some of these categories changed. For example, one area of major change was that of "Domestic" where "Amusements, hotels etc." replaced the earlier emphasis on "Supply of board and lodging, and personal service". Clearly the rapid decline of domestic service in particular is masked by the one category for the forty years. Similarly the decline of railways employment and the rise of new transportation and communication technologies is masked in the "transport and communication" category.

(b) Female

Industry	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961
Professional & public service	4.2	4.5	5.1	5.9	7.2
Domestic	5.0	6.4	2.6	2.3	2.2
Commercial & finance	5.0	5.9	5.5	6.8	6.8
Transport & communication	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.7	0.6
Industrial	4.8	3.7	4.4	4.2	3.6
Primary production	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Unspecified	0.2	9.0	1.7	0.1	0.4
Dependants/not applicable	80.3	70.0	79.8	79.9	79.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	23 554	34 034	38 621	41 218	45 751

Source: Australian Censuses, 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954, 1961.

Table 1.9

**Population according to occupational status (%):  
Unley and Mitcham (combined): 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954, 1961**

(a) Male

Occupational status	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961
Employer	5.0	4.2	4.9	4.4	4.0
Self-employed	6.4	5.8	3.9	4.5	3.8
Unpaid assistant	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
Wage or Salary earner	46.7	38.9	55.2	52.7	48.1
Unemployed	4.3	14.7	1.4	0.5	1.8
Not in work force	36.9	36.1	34.2	37.8	42.3
Not stated	0.6	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	19 727	28 695	33 840	36 731	41 322

(b) Female

<i>Occupation status</i>	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961
Employer	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.7
Self-employed	1.9	1.4	0.9	1.0	0.9
Unpaid assistant	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Wage or Salary earner	15.6	16.8	18.3	18.3	18.5
Unemployed	0.7	2.4	0.3	0.2	0.6
Not in work force	81.2	78.9	79.8	79.9	79.2
Not stated	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	23 554	34 034	38 621	41 218	45 751

Source: *Australian censuses, 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954, 1961.*

From Tables 1.8 and 1.9, the strength of gender as an arbiter of participation, status and location within the paid work force is immediately apparent. The underlying structures of gender differentiation ensured that most female youth over the period of the forty years of the census figures available, would spend a major part of their lives in domestic and dependant circumstances, either as children, youth or wives and mothers. Except for a slight dip in the Depression figure, the percentage of female non-participation in the work force remained relatively constant, at about 80%, though the lack of discrimination between children, youth and adults meant that changes in dependency ratios between these groups were hidden. Readings of gender differentiation in the work force are not as straight forward as the census may lead one to believe however. Deacon's analysis of the struggles between late nineteenth century Australian statisticians over the categorisation of female work explained that process which led to the regressive splitting of the population in two, either as bread-winners or dependents. It retained its currency well into the twentieth century.<sup>22</sup> The undervaluing of the labour of women on farms, small businesses and in private homes when combined with successful attempts to exclude women from substantial areas of industrially regulated employment, and the legal determinations beginning with the Harvester Judgement which considered married women as dependents, all meant that not only the language and categorisation of the censuses conspired to over-value male work.

For men, the growing strength of the professions and public service occupations over the forty years appeared to be less affected than other areas by the influences of Depression and World War II. Taken with employment in the commercial and financial sectors, the

22. Deacon, "Political arithmetic", pp. 29-35.



percentage of males employed in these middle class occupations fluctuated between 20 and 25%. The balance between them shifted however, with the professions and public service employment gaining in relative share. Participation in this area of employment was increasingly dependent on the credentials won from secondary and tertiary educational institutions.

Employment in manufacturing, building and related "blue collar" industry for men remained reasonably stable in percentage terms, with an expected decline for the Depression and an increase in the post-war period. What the figures hide is the changing character of employment, with sharp declines in the unskilled labourer category, and the rise in numbers of factory workers, skilled and operative in the post-war period. For women, the lowest participation figure is in 1961, coinciding with the baby boom, and the period immediately prior to many of the barriers to married female employment being removed. As one would expect, with the increased pace of suburbanization and technological change over the period, the numbers employed in primary industry, whether agricultural, pastoral, mining, quarrying and the like declined from near 6% to less than 1% by 1961.

For women, the professions, public service, commerce and finance were also an increasing source of recognised employment over the forty years, though the nature of the work available within those categories was differentiated by gender. Nevertheless, they were also areas dependent on the gaining of increasing levels of post-primary education. For men and women in the 1921 to 1961 period, and there is little reason to doubt the probability of applicability for the twenty years previous to that, labour market opportunities for Unley and Mitcham residents, whether adults or youth, favoured increasing levels of education. The numbers of available white collar jobs rose over the period.

The occupational status statistics (Table 1.9 above) fail to differentiate between middle and working class employees. They do show a forty year decline in the percentage of men who had their own businesses, whether as employers of others, or self-employed. This is significant since a distinction will be made between a middle class of employees, and a proprietary middle class throughout the study. Though small, the corresponding statistics for women show different patterns. As employers, the percentage of women marginally increased. The numbers of self-employed women declined. Of more significance is the percentage increase of the number of women as employees in general; but the major statistics for females remain the very high dependency figures.

By comparing the statistics for industry and status of employment for Unley and Mitcham with the remainder of the metropolitan area of Adelaide, some of the distinctive social character of the district may be discerned, though the dimensions of possible contrasts within the city are muted since the eastern suburbs in Adelaide tended to have similar social mixes to Unley and Mitcham. The comparison is made only for males, not completely justifiable, but somewhat inevitable given their status as the main "bread-winners" in this period and the silence of the censuses on so much of the labour of women. (See Tables 1.10 and 1.11)

Table 1.10

**Industry of Males in Unley and Mitcham (combined)  
and Males from the rest of Metropolitan Adelaide (%):  
1921, 1947, 1961**

<i>Industry</i>	<i>1921</i>		<i>1947</i>		<i>1961</i>	
	<i>Unley/Mit</i>	<i>Other Adel</i>	<i>Unley/Mit</i>	<i>Other Adel</i>	<i>Unley/Mit</i>	<i>Other Adel</i>
Professional & public service	7.1	5.2	8.0	5.4	8.7	6.1
Domestic	1.6	2.0	2.5	2.9	2.2	2.0
Commercial & finance	18.4	14.9	14.4	11.2	14.7	11.8
Transport & communication	6.0	8.6	7.0	8.1	5.1	5.9
Industrial	28.2	28.7	27.6	30.8	25.5	30.5
Primary production	5.6	6.3	1.6	2.4	0.9	1.1
Unspecified	1.5	1.5	4.7	5.0	0.6	1.1
Dependants/not applicable	31.6	32.8	34.2	34.2	42.3	41.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	19 727	105 353	33 840	149 259	17 469	248 145

Source: *Australian censuses, 1921, 1947, 1961*

Table 1.11

**Occupational status of Males in Unley and Mitcham (combined)  
and Males from the rest of Metropolitan Adelaide (%):  
1921, 1947, 1961**

Occupational status	1921		1947		1961	
	Unley/Mit	Other Ad	Unley/Mit	Other Ad	Unley/Mit	Other Ad
Employer	5.0	3.6	4.9	4.0	4.0	3.2
Self-employed	6.4	6.3	3.9	4.3	3.8	3.1
Unpaid assistant	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Wage or Salary earner	46.7	47.1	55.2	55.5	48.1	50.0
Unemployed	4.3	4.6	1.4	1.5	1.8	2.3
Not in work force	36.9	37.4	34.2	34.2	42.3	41.4
Not stated	0.6	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	19 727	101 043	33 840	149 259	41 322	248 145

Source: *Australian censuses, 1921, 1947, 1961*

Tables 1.10 and 1.11 point to a consistently greater middle class character for the district as a whole in comparison with the rest of the city. The size of the professional, public service, financial and commercial employment sectors was consistently larger, as was the employer category in the second table. At the same time, the proportion of those engaged in industry, while remaining the largest single category for the district as a whole, declined over the period by contrast with the rest of the city.

### Youth and suburbanization

Some of these characteristics find a reflection in the housing of the district. From the beginning of the century and before, larger blocks of land and more substantial dwellings had been built in the suburb of Malvern, to the south-east of Unley central, by comparison with Parkside, or Goodwood further west. The first subdivision of Mitcham in 1842 advertised one acre lots and larger in terms of "Delightful Sites for Villas".<sup>23</sup> Many large and architecturally elaborate grand houses were built by the colonial bourgeoisie. While the size of sites diminished into the twentieth century as successive subdivisions occurred, the area of Mitcham along the foot hills (Springfield) retained and increased its exclusive status, as

23. W. A. Norman, *The history of the City of Mitcham*, p. 12.

did parts of Hyde Park in Unley. Over the remainder of the Mitcham area, the "quarter acre block" with a single storey detached house on each became the most typical suburban usage. Figure 1.5 (below) reproduces an advertisement for a Mitcham subdivision immediately after World War I. The area was originally part of a large estate. It shows the typical divisions into quarter acre blocks for detached housing. Higher density of both dwellings and population was achieved in Unley with smaller plots of land, a greater proportion of attached dwellings, and eventually, the building of two and three storey blocks of "flats".

The declining average number of people occupying dwellings over the period of the study was the result of many factors beside the decline of the relative sizes of families. There were differences between Unley and Mitcham as well, due to the greater suburban development of the latter over the period and the higher percentage of single people in Unley. Table 1.12 shows these trends.

Table 1.12

**Details of population density and occupied dwellings:  
Unley and Mitcham: 1911, 1933, 1954.**

	1911		1933		1954	
	Unley	Mitcham	Unley	Mitcham	Unley	Mitcham
No. occupied dwellings	5 038	1 045	10 695	5 358	12 491	10 499
No. dwellings/acre	1.43	0.06	3.04	0.30	3.55	0.59
Population/occ dwelling	4.72	4.82	3.83	4.06	3.21	3.61

Source: *Australian censuses, 1911, 1933, 1954.*

For youth in both districts, the likelihood of living in less crowded circumstances, and having greater privacy within dwellings increased over the sixty years though proximity to adjacent bush and farm land declined at the same time. By 1961 there were substantial differences within the district between the likelihood of living in detached houses occupied by a single family as opposed to the occupation of flats and shared houses. Mitcham approached the suburban ideal with the percentage of detached houses to all private dwellings at 93%. For Unley, the figure was a lower 78%. For both areas however the great majority of flats were occupied by one and two people, suggesting that the numbers of children and youth living in them was limited.<sup>24</sup>

24. Percentages were calculated from *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1961*, vol. 4, part 3, Table 1, pp. 2-3. For number of inmates in flats, see Table 8, p. 32.

Figure 1.5: The process of suburbanization. A subdivision in the Mitcham district, 1918

# SUBDIVISION OF PORTION OF TORRENS PARK

## 73 RESIDENTIAL SITES 73

### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23

1918, AT 2.45 P.M., AT TORRENS PARK (MITCHAM)

## Elder, Smith & Co., Limited

are instructed by the Trustees in the Estate of the Late R. BARR SMITH, to offer by PUBLIC AUCTION as above.

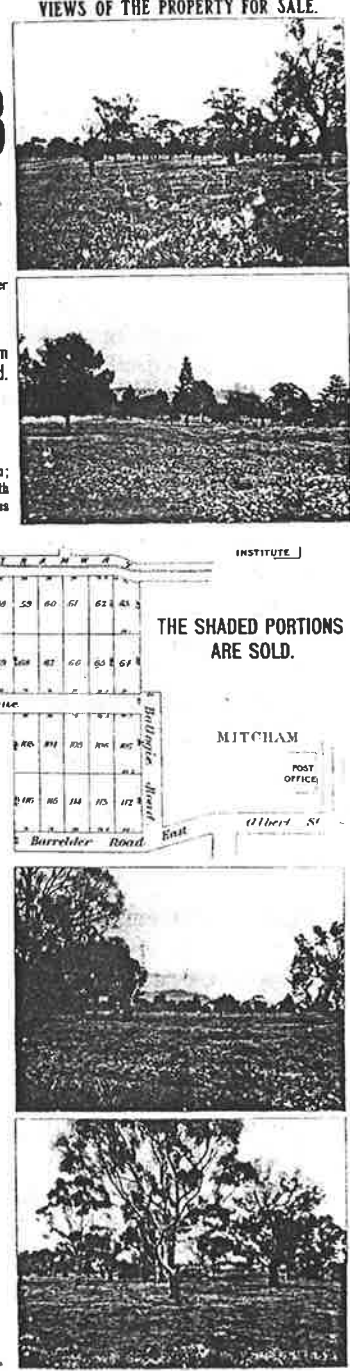


Further Particulars from ELDER, SMITH & CO., LIMITED, Adelaide.

The Sale will be conducted in a large Warehouse, with seating accommodation, erected on the Estate. Afternoon Tea Provided.

SCALE, 1/2 INCH TO ONE FOOT.

VIEWS OF THE PROPERTY FOR SALE.



THE SHADED PORTIONS ARE SOLD.

MITCHAM POST OFFICE

Albert St

This most desirable property is admirably situated, and from a residential point of view nothing better could be desired.

UPSET PRICE:—Creek Allotments, 15/- per foot. Other Allotments, 20/- per foot.

TERMS:—10 per cent. cash; 15 per cent. in one month; Balance 3 years at 5 per cent., with right to pay off at any time in sums of not less than £20.

LOCALITY PLAN



THE SHADED PORTION HAS BEEN SUBDIVIDED.

Source: Ken Preiss & Pamela Oborn, *The Torrens Park Estate: A social and architectural history*, [the authors], Adelaide, 1991, p. 502.

Mention of one suburb within the district, Colonel Light Gardens, has already been made. Its separation from Mitcham and the establishment of its special form of government was part of the attempt to fulfil its idealist origins. Turn of the century progressivism was associated in England philosophically with the reconstitution of liberalism into a "new liberalism", in which the role of the state was transformed from passive to active in the pursuit of social improvement. It was also associated with the hard politics of diverting working class tendencies towards socialism, "criminality" and "degeneracy", leading to a huge range of reforming enthusiasms. They included tackling the boy labour problem, and the presumed degeneracy of urban youth in general. The garden cities movement was another aspect of this process. Its origins also lay in the attempt to extirpate the social ills of urban slums. A publicist for these ideas, a member of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association of Great Britain, Charles Reade was employed by the South Australian Labor government in 1916.<sup>25</sup> His work, with the support of a succeeding Liberal government saw The Garden Suburb Act through parliament in 1919.

As one might expect, the suburb was renowned for its parks, gardens, and lack of access to "through" traffic. Its "The Thousand Homes Scheme" saw reasonably cheap bungalow housing built for workers' families. The suburb was meant to be an ideal environment for families, and the young in particular. Whether it turned out that way is subject to argument, but it certainly attracted families with children in the 1920s and 1930s. The age-sex ratios, reproduced in Figure 1.6 below, show the bulge of youth in 1933, and the aging of the population thereafter with a less dramatic post-war resurgence of youth seen in the 1960s figures. These demographic trends were not much different from any of the succeeding subdivisions in Mitcham over the period of the study. Nor, and despite its idealist origins, is there much evidence to distinguish the lives of its youth from those of other near-by suburbs. However, this suburban development revealed a very concrete local application of those turn of the century reforming discourses about the responsibility and potential role of a controlled environment in developing the future citizen. Its emphasis on trees and open grassed recreational space, crescent streets and ample back yards tended to be followed in future sub-divisions in the area, though not with quite the same antagonism to any commercial development at all. The garden suburb was also the apotheosis of that idea which separated the place where women and children lived, and the place far away, where men could work.<sup>26</sup>

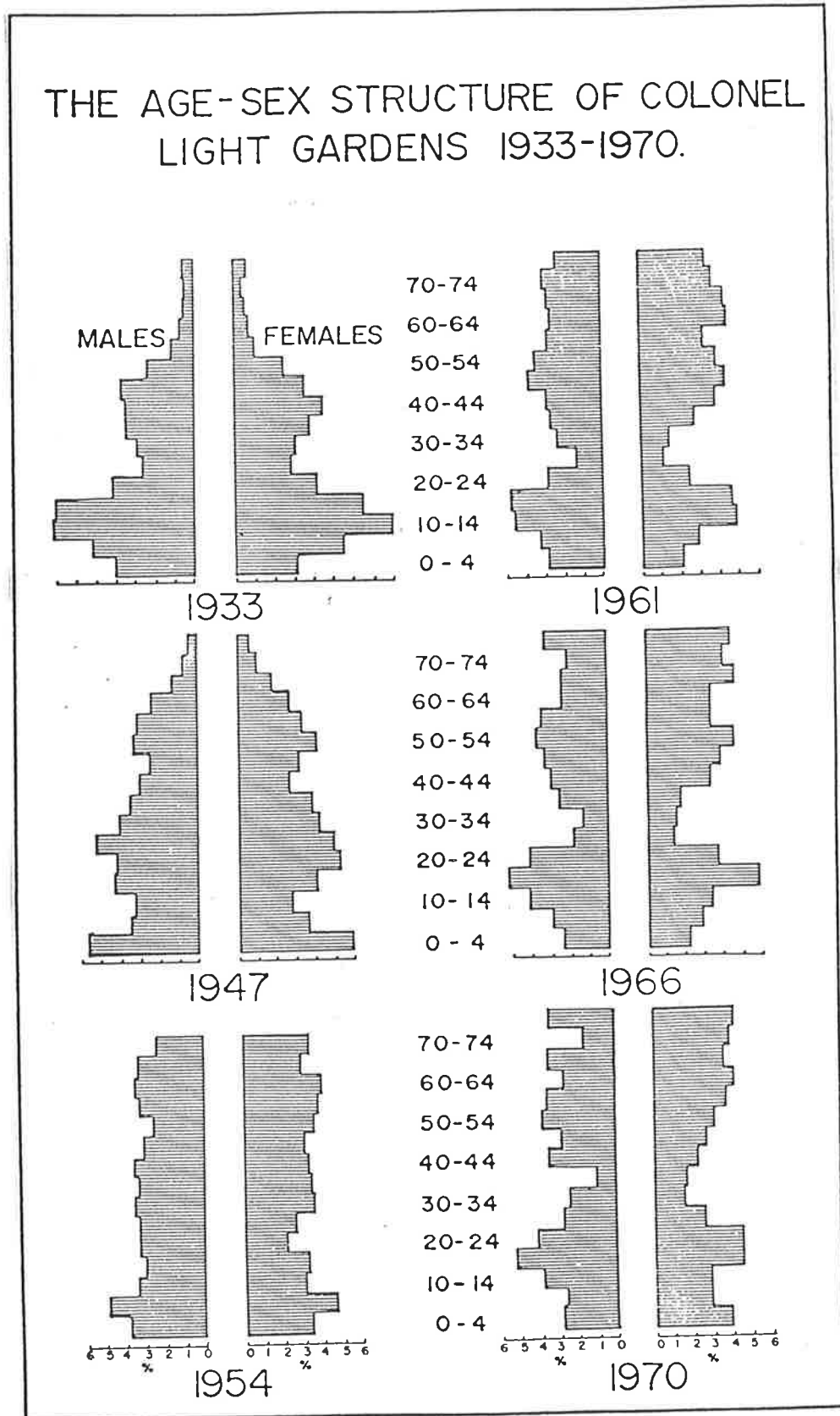
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25. See Malcolm G. Bennett, *The Adelaide suburb of Colonel Light Gardens: A study of residential change*, B.A. thesis, Flinders University, 1970, pp. 10-12 and the entry for Charles Reade by John M. Tregenza in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1966-, vol. 11, pp. 340-1.

26. One early problem for this suburban utopia was the Depression. It had a disproportionately high unemployment rate, its families having great trouble in meeting the monthly mortgage payments on their houses. See Marsden, "The development of the City of Mitcham", p. 9.

Figure 1.6:

### THE AGE-SEX STRUCTURE OF COLONEL LIGHT GARDENS 1933-1970.



Source: Bennett, The Adelaide suburb of Colonel Light Gardens, p. 25a

Suburbanization was an historical process however, and through to the beginning of the 1960s there remained settlements which were semi-rural villages, such as Coromandel Valley in the Adelaide Hills. The hills ensured a continuing diversity of land use, as did the fact of the urban character of some of the oldest settlements, close to the central city, such as Goodwood, Unley and Parkside. Youth in the Unley and Mitcham area lived in a range of semi-rural, suburban and urban settings.

More than these social, demographic and economic circumstances shaped the lives of youth. Schools had been established from very early times. Thomas Mugg's Mitcham school, held in the Union Chapel, dated from the mid-1840s. David Haslop appears to have been the first licensed teacher in Unley from 1855, with a school in his name opening two years previously.<sup>27</sup> But these were the first male school masters. It is entirely likely that small dame schools preceded and co-existed with them. The Education Act of 1875 made it compulsory for all children in the colony to attend school, though not all of the time, and not past the end of the twelfth year.<sup>28</sup> A range of schools attempting to cater for youth opened and often closed in the district and beyond towards the end of the nineteenth century. The great age of secondary education was to be the twentieth.

### **Schooling youth in Unley and Mitcham**

If the social institution governing youth with the most comprehensive control throughout the century was the family, the institution which impinged on that control with unremitting ambition was the secondary school. Though this kind of school had been invented by 1901, and was spreading quickly in Northern America and Europe, the corresponding private and corporate schools in South Australia usually took pupils across a broad range of ages, including children who might otherwise be at state elementary schools. Specialized schools, catering for adolescents exclusively became the norm only after the state moved beyond its two preliminary excursions into secondary schooling, with the establishment of a network of high schools in the period 1908 to 1910.

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27. See W. A. Norman, *The history of the City of Mitcham*, p. 121 and G. B. Payne & E. Cosh, *History of Unley 1871-1971*, Corporation of the City of Unley, Adelaide, [1971], p. 172.

28. The historical literature on the introduction of public and compulsory forms of elementary schooling in South Australia is considerable. See Pavla Miller, *Long Division*, for her discussion which owes much to the work of revisionist accounts by Kerry Wimshurst, Ian Davey and Malcolm Vick (see Miller's bibliography). See also the documents and bibliography in Bernard Hyams *et al.*, *Learning and other things: Sources for a social history of education in South Australia*, South Australian Government Printer, Adelaide, 1988.



In the Unley and Mitcham area, a number of schools and teachers advertised their educational services to youth through the daily newspapers in January 1901. They included:

- (1) Way College, Wayville, Headmaster: Dr William Torr, offering University, technical, agricultural and commercial courses and the information that all 15 students sent up to the Junior examination had passed.<sup>29</sup>
- (2) Southfield School, Parkside, Principal: Miss Niven, offering preparation for University examinations.<sup>30</sup>
- (3) Collegiate School for Girls, Malvern, Principal: Miss Adamson, offering preparation for University, Art and Music examinations. Little boys were received, also private pupils for separate subjects.<sup>31</sup>
- (4) School of Music, Unley, Principals: Misses Winwood, offering vacancies for a few pupils in pianoforte, organ, violin, theory and painting.<sup>32</sup>
- (5) Unley Park School, Unley Park, Principal: Miss Thornber.<sup>33</sup>
- (6) Teachers, Mrs and Miss E. Good, Hyde Park, offering pianoforte, theory, painting, drawing and pupil preparation for University and Art examinations.<sup>34</sup>
- (7) Teacher, Miss L. S. Main, Wayville, offering pianoforte and theory.<sup>35</sup>
- (8) Teacher, Herr G. Belschner, Unley, offering tuition in French, German, Latin, English, zither etc. There were no failures in the previous years exams.<sup>36</sup>
- (9) Parkside High School, Parkside, Principals: Mrs and the Misses Newman.<sup>37</sup>
- (10) Cabra Convent, Cabra. (Dominican sisters.)<sup>38</sup>
- (11) Parkside Convent, Parkside. (Mercy sisters.)<sup>39</sup>
- (12) Parkville School, Hyde Park, Principals: Mrs and Miss Dasborough, students prepared for examinations in music.<sup>40</sup>

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29. *The Register*, 1 January, 1901, p. 8. See also R. J. Nicholas, Private and denominational secondary schools of South Australia: Their growth and development, M.Ed. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1953, pp. 177-185. (A history of this school by R. C. Petersen is in preparation.)
  30. *The Register*, 12 January, 1901, p. 2.
  31. *The Register*, 15 January, 1901, p. 8. See also Helen Jones & Nina Morison, *Walford: A history of the school: A memorial to Mabel Jewell Baker*, Council of Governors, Adelaide, 1968, pp. 9-23. (A new history of this school is in preparation.)
  32. *The Register*, 15 January, 1901, p. 8.
  33. *The Register*, 15 January, 1901, p. 8. See also Nicholas, Private and denominational secondary schools, pp. 212-215, Helen Jones, *Nothing seemed impossible: Women's education and social change in South Australia 1875-1915*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1985, pp. 68-70 and Norman, *The History of the City of Mitcham*, pp. 142-7.
  34. *The Register*, 16 January, 1901, p. 10.
  35. *The Register*, 17 January, 1901, p. 2.
  36. *The Register*, 19 January, 1901, p. 4.
  37. *The Register*, 25 January, 1901, p. 2.
  38. *ibid.*, 25 January, 1901, p. 2. See also Helen Northey, "Saint Mary's Convent Schools" in Brian Dickey ed., *William Shakespeare's Adelaide 1860-1930*, APH, Adelaide, 1992, pp. 42-60 and Stephanie Burley, None more anonymous? Catholic teaching nuns, their secondary schools and students in South Australia 1880-1925, M.Ed. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1992.
  39. *The Register*, 25 January, 1901, p. 2. See Payne and Cosh, *History of Unley*, p. 195.

- (13) Malvern College, Malvern, Principal: Mr J. Hamilton Boyce, with D. Hollidge as Vice-Principal, school for boys including boarding.<sup>41</sup>
- (14) King William Road School, Hyde Park, Principal: Miss L. Maley.<sup>42</sup>
- (15) Sheffield Street School, Malvern, Principals: Misses Futcher.<sup>43</sup>
- (16) Teachers: Misses Hack, North Unley, offering music.<sup>44</sup>
- (17) Teacher: Mr W. Knox, Wayville, Professor of Music.<sup>45</sup>
- (18) School of Music, Fullarton, Principal: C. J. Stevens.<sup>46</sup>

South Australia's business directory listed other schools and teachers as well, though some of these were likely to have taken only younger students as opposed to those above.<sup>47</sup> Of those that can confidently be classified as schools rather than single teachers giving lessons to part-time students at home, three were corporate in ownership and governance, the remainder private (that is owned by their entrepreneurial principals and families). Two of these three corporate schools survived the early years of the twentieth century; only one of the private schools did so.

This early twentieth century period was a crucial period for South Australia in the restructuring of secondary schooling. It was typified by a number of related changes, all of which had their origins in previous decades. First was the entry by the state into the secondary area. This had begun with the offer of scholarships to students from the colony's state primary schools to non-state schools and the establishment of the Pupil Teachers' School, and Advanced School for Girls after the 1875 Education Act. The colony had also sponsored various attempts at technical and agricultural education. From 1906, some state primary schools were allowed to present students for university examinations from "continuation" classes.<sup>48</sup> It was still a considerable step from there to the establishment of state high schools, in both city and country areas in the 1908-10 period. This direct intervention by the state into secondary schooling, with the building and staffing of its own

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40. *ibid.*, 26 January, 1901. p. 2.

41. *Advertiser*, 5 January, 1901, p. 5. See also Payne and Cosh, *History of Unley*, p. 196.

42. *ibid.*, 12 January, 1901, p. 2.

43. *ibid.*, 26 January, 1901, p. 9.

44. *ibid.*

45. *ibid.*

46. *ibid.*

47. See *Sands & McDougall's South Australian Directory for 1902 ...*, Sands & McDougall, Adelaide, 1902, pp. 878-9. From Mitcham and Unley, in addition to those listed in the text are: Miss M. Gason (Forestville), Miss Lane (Lower Mitcham), Misses McMinn (Lower Mitcham), Miss K. Paxton (Goodwood West) and Mrs. E. W. Minchin (St Oswald's School, Parkside).

48. See G. E. Saunders, "Public secondary education in South Australia: The nineteenth-century background" in R. J. W. Selleck ed., *Melbourne Studies in Education, 1968-1969*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1969, pp. 129-163 for a good account of institutional developments.

high schools, to be expanded in the 1920s with the addition of a second tier of "central" schools, was a major challenge to the near monopoly on secondary education held by the churches through their corporate schools, and the entrepreneurial principals through their private establishments.

Second was the restructuring of the non-state sector of secondary schooling. This involved an expansion in the number of church sponsored corporate schools, and the rapid diminution of the number of private schools. Explaining the reasons for this transition are beyond the ambitions of this study, though one would expect to find a conjunction of enrolment decline deriving from the state challenge, and a capital shortfall given the resources required for teaching the modernizing secondary curriculum, to be at the heart of any explanation. For some of the schools above, the departure or death of principals led to school closures. The significant point is that there were few entrepreneurs with the resources to replace them. Only one of the private schools in this study survived well into the twentieth century, with its owner-principal securing the school's continuation beyond her retirement by persuading the Church of England to take it over. Walford House School (the same school identified as (3) above) became the corporate Walford Church of England Girls' Grammar School in 1956.<sup>49</sup>

Behind these structural changes existed a new discourse about the nature and ambitions of secondary schooling which would increasingly influence the state's idea of its role in the further education of the population beyond the elementary level. A combination of arguments at the turn of the century about industrial and national efficiency, preserving the race, and British Empire preparedness for the coming struggles had their effect on a broad range of social institutions and state policies, but one of the focuses was the adolescent, especially the working class adolescent.<sup>50</sup> While much of the debate was about boys, their alleged degeneracy, indiscipline and vulnerability, it also had as its subject working class girls. The impulse towards establishing domestic science as part of the state required

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49. On Walford's transition to corporate status see Jones & Morison, *Walford*, pp. 82, 86-7.

50. Williams' report to the South Australian government of 1908 is the best of the local official presentations of the mix of these arguments. See Alfred Williams, *Preliminary report of the Director of Education upon observations made during an official visit to Europe and America, 1907 ...*, Education Department, South Australia, Adelaide, 1908. See also Miller, *Long division*, chs. 7 & 8, Bob Bessant, "The emergence of state secondary education" in J. Cleverley & J. Lawry eds., *Australian education in the twentieth century: Studies in the development of state education*, Longman, Melbourne, 1972, pp. 124-143 and David McCallum, *The social production of merit: Education, psychology and politics in Australia 1900-1950*, Falmer Press, London, 1990, pp. 2-6.

curriculum for girls in primary and secondary schools directly addressed some of the eugenicist concerns in the national efficiency debate.<sup>51</sup>

The creation of a state system of secondary education necessarily affected non-state schools. Neither side could henceforth be described without reference to the other. The assumption of democratic access and meritocratic goals, at least in the early decades, by the state system demanded response from the other side. In the area of curriculum, that response appeared to include the decline of most remaining elements of the "accomplishments" approach in girls' schools, and the further elevation of curricula based on preparation for university examinations in both boys' and girls' schools.

In the Mitcham and Unley areas, between 1885 and 1920 the major non-technical state and corporate schools involved in post-elementary education for the remainder of the twentieth century were established. The biggest of these, a state school, was Unley High School (1910- ).<sup>52</sup> The corporate schools for girls were the Methodist Ladies College (1902- )<sup>53</sup>, the Roman Catholic Cabra College (St Mary's) (1886- ) and the one major private school remaining from the 1901 list above, Miss Adamson's Collegiate School for Girls, to be renamed Walford House. For boys there were the Lutheran (ELSA) Concordia College (1890- )<sup>54</sup> and the Presbyterian Scotch College (1919- ).<sup>55</sup> Way College (1892-1902), a Bible Christian (Methodist) school was closed soon after Methodist union was effected in 1900.<sup>56</sup>

The growing strength of reformist arguments which insisted that all youth should be subject to more schooling, and which had led to a raising of the school leaving age from the thirteenth to fourteenth birthday in 1915, also saw state Central schools established in 1925.

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51. The circumstances and ideological debate surrounding the introduction of domestic science schools and curricula are the subject of the article by Jill Matthews, "Education for femininity: Domestic arts education in South Australia", *Labour History*, no. 45, pp. 30-53.
  52. See Craig Campbell, *State high school: Unley 1910-1985*, [the author], Adelaide, 1985, pp. 2-7.
  53. See P. M. Twynam, *To grow in wisdom: The story of the first seventy-five years of the Methodist Ladies College 1902-1977*, School Council, Adelaide, 1977, pp. 1-16.
  54. Concordia was established in the Unley area in 1905 having shifted from Murtoa in Victoria. See Elmore Leske, *Concordia 100 years: Murtoa - Adelaide: A history of Concordia College, Adelaide*, [Concordia College Council], Adelaide, 1990, ch. 3. The school was the creation of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod (ELSA), the smaller of the two Lutheran denominations founded in South Australia in the early days of the colony.
  55. See Robert J. Gilchrist, *Scotch College, Torrens Park, South Australia: A record of the first sixty years 1919-1978*, typescript, [no date], pp. 1-37. See also Ken Priess & Pamela Oborn, *The Torrens Park Estate: A social and architectural history*, [the authors], Adelaide, 1991, pp. 321-326.
  56. See Arnold Hunt, *This side of heaven: A history of Methodism in South Australia*, Lutheran Publishing House, 1985, pp. 253-256, and the same author's *The Bible Christians in South Australia*, Uniting Church Historical Society, Adelaide, pp. 29-32, 38-39.

Offering curricula with practical rather than academic biases, they were in many senses "continuation" schools from the primary institutions which governed them. They eventually gave way to secondary technical schools.<sup>57</sup> The institutions resulting from these changes in Unley and Mitcham were the Goodwood Central School (Super-primary) and Unley Central School (Super-primary), both lasting from 1925 to 1939 and both including girls and boys. In 1940 they were re-formed on single sex lines into the Unley Girls' Technical High School and the Goodwood Boys' Technical High. The girls' school was displaced in 1961 by Mitcham Girls' Technical High.<sup>58</sup> The only other major state secondary school to be established within the period of the study was the boys' Urrbrae Agricultural High School in 1932. Its creation derived from a different educational discourse from that surrounding the state academic and technical high schools; one which was much older and whose core was occupied by the importance of agriculture, and its scientific management, to the colony's and then state's economic wealth.<sup>59</sup>

The other schools in the area during the period of the study were established late, one of them in response to the post World War II baby boom and the over-crowding of Unley High School. Blackwood High (1961- ) was meant to serve the hills towns within and beyond the Mitcham council district. The Sisters of Mercy, for similar reasons to the Dominicans in the 1880s, decided that their city school site was unsuitable for boarders. Mercedes College (1954- ) in Springfield had as its mother school St Aloysius in Adelaide, as Cabra had had St Mary's, also in the city. Mercedes was also a single sex school, for girls. With only one exception, all the major schools which have provided information on their students for this study have been introduced. The remaining school was a short-lived private school for boys, Kyre College (1902-1918). It was a school set up by David Hollidge, sometime master at both Way and Malvern Colleges. His removal to the University in 1918, and the opening of Scotch College, which inherited most of its students, led to its demise.<sup>60</sup>

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57. On the establishment and work of the central schools, see Lynne Trethewey, *Post-primary technical education in South Australia 1915 to 1945*, M. Ed. thesis, Flinders University, 1977, ch. 4.

58. On these schools, see Payne and Cosh, *History of Unley*, pp. 185-6, and [Margaret Ward and others], *Mitcham Girls' High School: 1959-1984*, [Mitcham Girls' High School], Adelaide, no date.

59. On an influential educator who contributed to the argument on the role of agricultural education in South Australia, and who taught for a period at Way College, see C. Turney, "W. Catton Grasby - Harbinger of reform" in C. Turney ed., *Pioneers of Australian education: Studies of the development of education in the Australian colonies 1850-1900*, vol. 2, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1972, pp. 193-239. See also John Hirst, *Adelaide and the country 1870-1917: Their social and political relationship*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1973, pp. 51-56. On the foundation of the Urrbrae school, see Colin Thiele, *Grains of mustard seed*, Education Department of South Australia, Adelaide, 1975, p. 150-1, 156, 176.

60. On Malvern and Kyre Colleges, see Nicholas, *Private and denominational secondary schools*, pp. 287-9.

Throughout the period of the study, the Mitcham and Unley area had major state and non-state schools within it. The full range of state schools - high, central, and technical - existed for boys and girls for their appropriate eras. Corporate Protestant boys' and girls' schools were also represented. There was no Roman Catholic secondary school for boys however. A major Christian Brothers' school existed not far away, but unlike the two girls' schools, it was not in the district. The claims which can be made to representativeness from locality based studies are always confined. In the case of this study major Church of England and Methodist boys' schools (after 1902) are absent. There is little doubt that the boys from many of the wealthiest families in the Mitcham and Unley areas went beyond the district for their secondary education. The three schools most likely to have enrolled them, St Peters' College, Pulteney Grammar School and Prince Alfred College, were either in or to the east, of the city. Nevertheless, Unley and Mitcham did have a full range of state, and a good range of private and corporate schools. (See Figure 1.7 below.)

The numbers of youth engaged in secondary education at the beginning of the century was very small. Most youth left school on the completion of their twelfth year to a range of different kinds of work. For many girls, the state finally stepped aside from interfering in the time devoted to family domestic responsibilities. For some boys there was the promise of apprenticeship, for others a series of dead-end "boy" jobs. Tables 1.13 and 1.14 show the numbers of youth in state and non-state schools in 1901 for Unley and Mitcham.

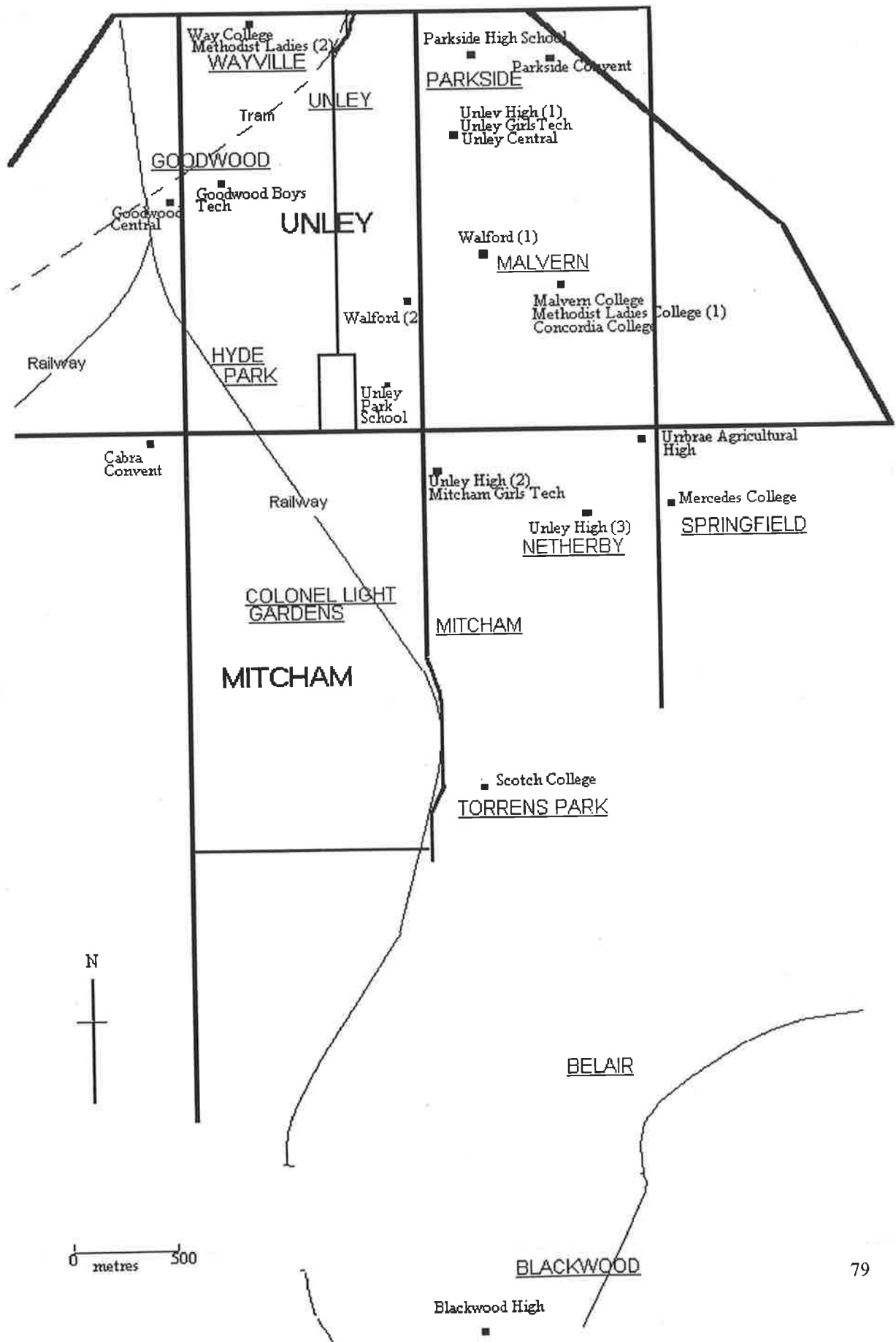
Table 1.13

**Private and corporate school enrolments:  
Unley and Mitcham: 1901**

	<i>Unley</i>				<i>Mitcham</i>			
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
No. of boarders	80	27.3	52	11.0	0	0.0	31	21.7
No. of day students	213	72.7	420	89.0	77	100.0	112	78.3
Total students	293	100.0	472	100.0	77	100.0	143	100.0
[No. students 13-20 years	76	25.9	67	14.2	5	6.5	33	23.1]

Source: *South Australia: Statistical Register, 1901*, no. 6, section vii, pp. 8-10.

Figure 1.7: Location of Secondary Schools in Mitcham and Unley, 1901-1961 (Sketch map)



Source: Compilation from various sources including business and street directories

Table 1.14

**Youth (14-20 years) according to school system and attendance (N, %):  
Unley and Mitcham: 1901**

	Unley				Mitcham			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Attending state schools	67	4.7	118	7.6	19	5.8	20	5.1
Attending non-state schools	166	11.7	166	10.7	32	9.7	70	18.0
Scholars at home	5	0.4	9	0.6	0	0.0	4	1.0
Not attending school	1178	83.2	1256	81.1	279	84.5	295	75.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>1416</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1549</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>330</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>389</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: *Census of South Australia, 1901, SAPP 1902*, vol. 2.2, no. 74, pp. 345-351.

Both tables (1.13 and 1.14) show the small numbers involved in education beyond the age of thirteen. (16.6% of boys and 20.0% of girls for Mitcham and Unley combined.) The importance of the private and corporate schools in comparison with state provided schooling is also shown, as is the number of boarding students brought into the district. A confident reading of gender difference is difficult given the peculiar mix of schools in the district, nevertheless it appears that secondary education was popular enough for girls to maintain equality with or exceed the participation rate for boys. The real worry for the reformers, whether child-savers, national efficiency advocates, or both, was in the numbers of students who were out of schools altogether.

There were institutions other than schools which attempted to educate and restrain youth. The Sunday School movement retained considerable strength throughout the period of the study. The Statistical Registers quantified the attendances in the tens of thousands for the first decades of the century.<sup>61</sup> The Methodist Church had its "Intermediate" classes for youth, but was also aware of the likelihood of declining interest from older youth. They tended no longer to be "sent" to Sunday School, but given a choice by their parents.<sup>62</sup> The Rev. Alfred Gifford wrote in 1917 about the way Sunday Schools could meet the needs of adolescents. That adolescence was a life-stage full of potential storm and stress, was fully explained in the terms of Stanley Hall's psychology.<sup>63</sup> Despite the interest in adolescence,

61. The numbers of Sunday schools, with numbers of students in brackets for South Australia were for 1901: 814 (67,925), 1911: 944 (66,296) and 1921: 1,129 (80,542). See *S. A. Statistical Registers*, 1901, 1911, 1921-2.

62. Alfred Gifford, "The Intermediate Department" in William J. Mortimer ed., *Methodist Sunday-school Year Book*, [Methodist Conference], Adelaide, 1917, p. 15.

63. *ibid.*, pp. 15-28.



and the enthusiasm of local churches in establishing youth organizations over the sixty years, the coverage was never complete, and least likely to attract those who were regarded as being in greatest need of guidance.<sup>64</sup>

Other institutions which schooled youth early in the century were the state organized technical classes, usually attended by students on a part time basis, and in 1921 enrolling many more boys than girls in the 13 to 19 age groups.<sup>65</sup> There were also private commercial colleges and the teachers' college. In 1921, the single state university was constituted by students in the following age groups.

Table 1.15  
Students at Adelaide University according to age (N):  
1921

<i>Age</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
16	22	12	34
17	52	51	103
18	81	74	155
19	113	63	176
20 and over	367	155	522
Total	635	355	990

Source: Statistician's Report, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1911*, vol. 1, p. 163.

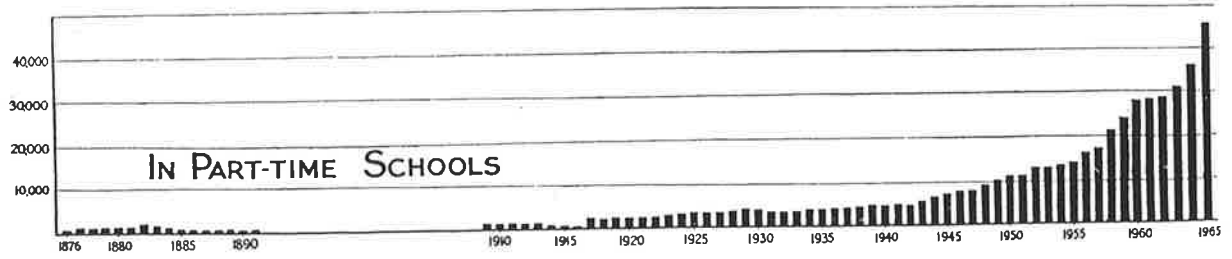
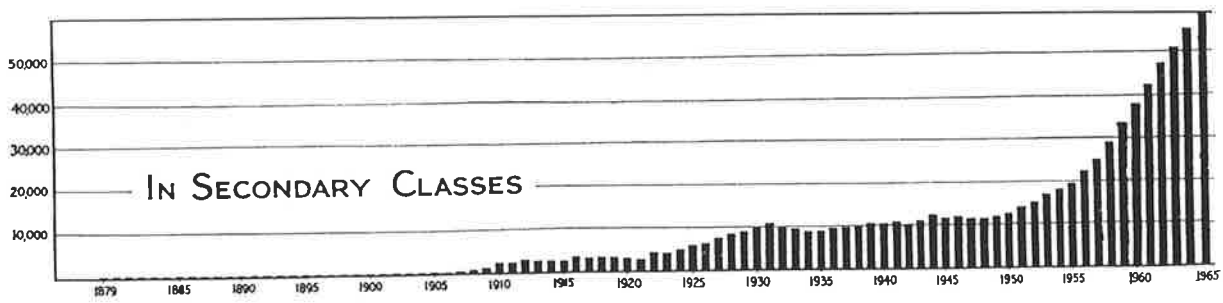
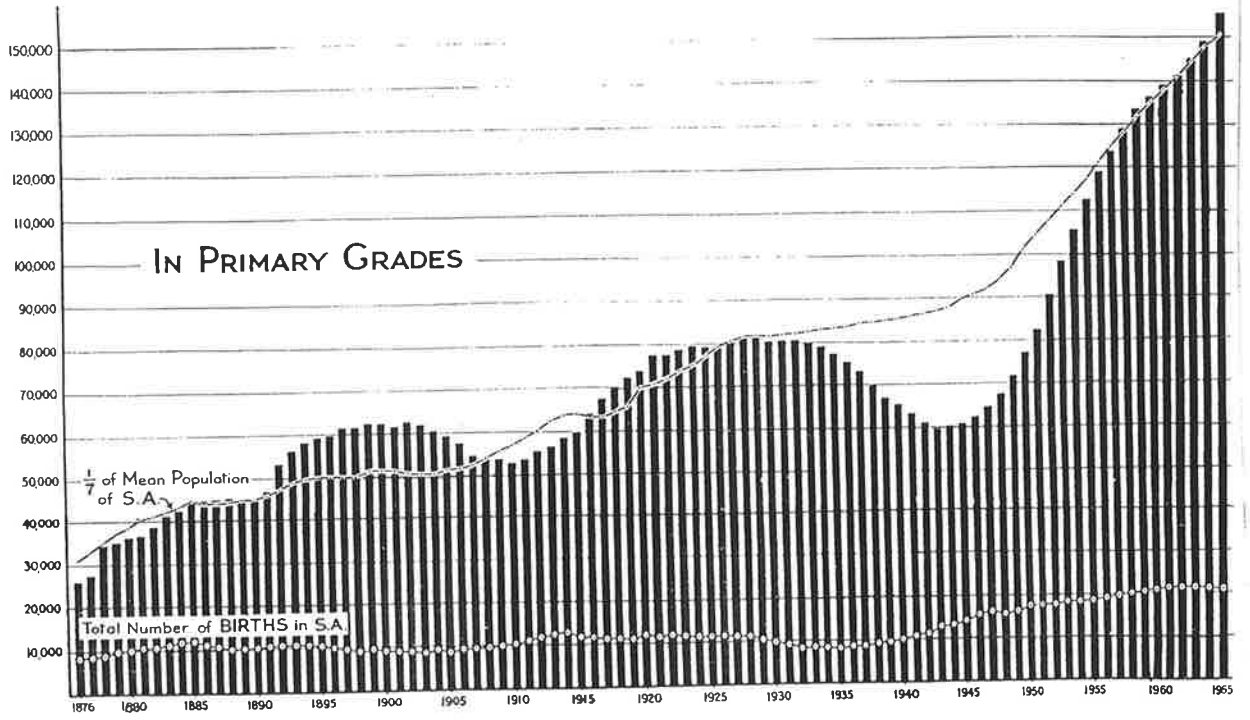
The numbers were very small for the 16-19 year group, though their likely future influence belied their numbers. Males monopolised the 20 and over age groups. It is the growth of other state institutions which account for real increases in the proportions of youth subject to schooling. Figure 1.8 (below) charts most of this growth. As can be seen, there were two periods of major growth in secondary enrolments, in the 1920s and in the 1950s-1960s.

64. On youth activities sponsored by district churches, local church histories often give substantial information. See for example Donald V. Goldney, *Methodism in Unley: 1849-1977*, [the author], Adelaide, 1980, pp. 113-117, Colin H. Watson, *Parkside West Church: The last half century 1940-1990*, [the author], Adelaide, 1990, pp. 4-11 and Rosemary Mitchell, *Epworth Uniting Church*, [the author], Adelaide, 1984.

65. Statistician's Report, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1911*, p. 154.

Figure 1.8:

Numbers of Pupils Enrolled at Departmental Schools



Source: Report of the Minister of Education, 1965, SAPP 1966, no. 44, p. 7.

Unlike the growth of enrolments in primary, the numbers of secondary students reflect more than demographic trends; they show the influence of the state's decisions to create the high schools in the 1910 period, the establishment of central schools in the 1920s and the tendencies towards greater retention rates within secondary schools by the 1960s.<sup>66</sup>

Schools were but part of larger forces organizing the lives of youth. A comment on high school attendance from 1913, and often repeated through the coming decades pointed to the organizing power of the labour market:

... the demand for young people in various lines of business has been very keen, and a large number of boys and girls have left school for the office without completing the year.<sup>67</sup>

While this comment relates to white collar work, it could well apply to the broad range. This labour market demand fluctuated with the changes in more general economic conditions, labour organization and technological development.

Such demand always affected the holding power of the secondary schools over youth. The mechanism of demand was not uncomplicated. If periodic demands for youth occasionally decreased enrolments, the increased market for credentials gained through public examinations for entry into increasing numbers of occupations had a countervailing effect. In comparing the employment numbers for youth across the sixty years, the effect of such forces as well as state interventions, including the raising of the school leaving age are easily discerned. In 1901 in South Australia, of 44,949 five to fourteen year old males, up to 9.8% were in census recognised paid employment, while of 23,625 fifteen to twenty year olds the figure rose to 92.2%. The equivalent percentages for females were 3.1% and 44.8%.<sup>68</sup> Taking the census figures for 1911, 1933 and 1961, Table 1.16 shows the movement, if not the irregularities along the way.

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66. On growing retention, see Report of the Minister of Education ... 1965, *SAPP 1966*, no. 44, p. 12. [Henceforth references to Ministers' Reports as *MR* followed by year. They were always published in the South Australian Parliamentary Papers as no. 44 in the following year.]

67. *MR 1913*, p. 15 (Director's Report).

68. *Census of South Australia, 1901*, pp. 556-7.

Table 1.16

**Youth employment by age and sex (%):  
South Australia: 1911, 1933, 1961**

	<i>(a) 10 to 14 year olds</i>					
	<i>Males</i>			<i>Females</i>		
	<i>1911</i>	<i>1933</i>	<i>1961</i>	<i>1911</i>	<i>1933</i>	<i>1961</i>
Employed	22.8	1.2	0.6	7.4	0.6	0.6
Unspecified	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1
Dependent	76.6	98.8	99.3	92.4	99.4	99.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	8 599	77 880	154 122	1 942	75 290	147 310

	<i>(b) 15 to 19 year olds</i>					
	<i>Males</i>			<i>Females</i>		
	<i>1911</i>	<i>1933</i>	<i>1961</i>	<i>1911</i>	<i>1933</i>	<i>1961</i>
Employed	88.0	70.5	66.3	40.2	41.4	62.6
Unspecified	1.6	11.1	1.3	1.1	2.8	1.7
Dependent	10.4	18.4	32.4	58.7	55.8	35.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	9 318	27 871	38 276	21 350	26 950	36 265

Source: *Australian censuses, 1911, 1933, 1961.*

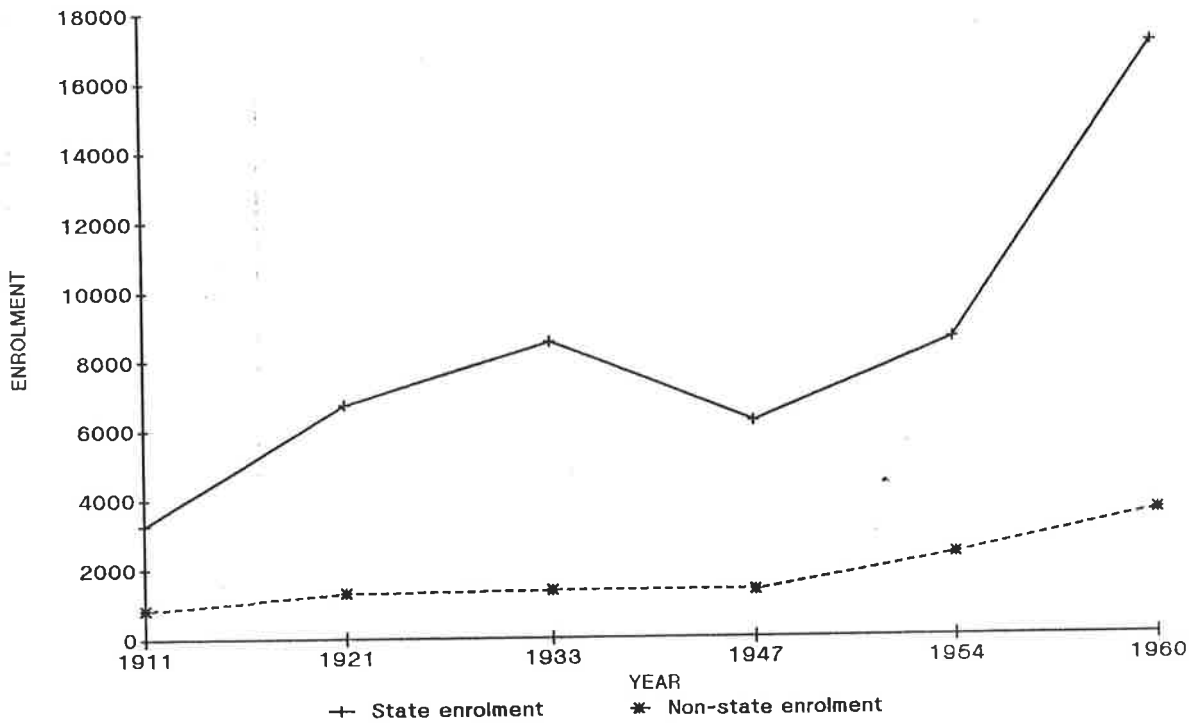
Table 1.16 (a) shows the dramatic effect that the raising of the school leaving age by one year in 1915 had. For both sexes, employment in this age group was less than two percent by the time the Depression had done its worst (before the 1933 census). The shift towards near universal dependency for this age group was the obverse consequence. That the next five year age grouping became the front line in the struggle over the nature and construction of youth/adult transitions can be seen in the changing employment and dependence percentages over the three selected census years. (Table 1.16 (b)) For boys there was a decline in the proportion definitely employed, though the high "unspecified" group in 1933 probably denotes a group who were neither at school nor securely employed. The proportion of 15 to 19 year old males, clearly identified as dependent rose over the period. This was not the case for females who increased their percentage participation in the paid work-force. These statistics identify the differences between the history and nature of

dependence for the sexes. Where an increasing proportion of male youth dependence is an indication of the triumph of modern adolescence, a decline for girls also represents the progress of modern adolescence. The latter constitutes a growing penetration by women of the paid labour force and an increased detachment from the constraints of Victorian domesticity. This paradox is further resolved by the recognition that the ratios of male and female dependency were converging. Male and female patterns of schooling and labour market entry were becoming similar by the 1960s, though the kinds of work done, and the probability of an extended career remained strongly differentiated by gender.

In attempting to understand the changing experience of the age groupings, I have analysed additional statistical information generated on a state-wide basis which correlated age with schooling system. In the following charts (Figure 1.9), the responsibility for the schooling of four single year age groups is presented: 13, 15, 16 and 17 year olds. (Note the change of scale for enrolments for the third and fourth charts.) They show the dramatic drop in the numbers participating in secondary schooling throughout the sixty years as youth grew older. The charts also show the growing responsibility of the state to educate most youth over the period. Nevertheless the high proportion of older students in the private and corporate schools was maintained over the period. If these patterns were repeated for the youth of Mitcham and Unley as is likely, they must affect the discussion of the kinds of adolescences experienced by youth.

Figure 1.9:

STATE AND NON-STATE SCHOOL ENROLMENTS  
13 YEAR OLDS



15 YEAR OLDS

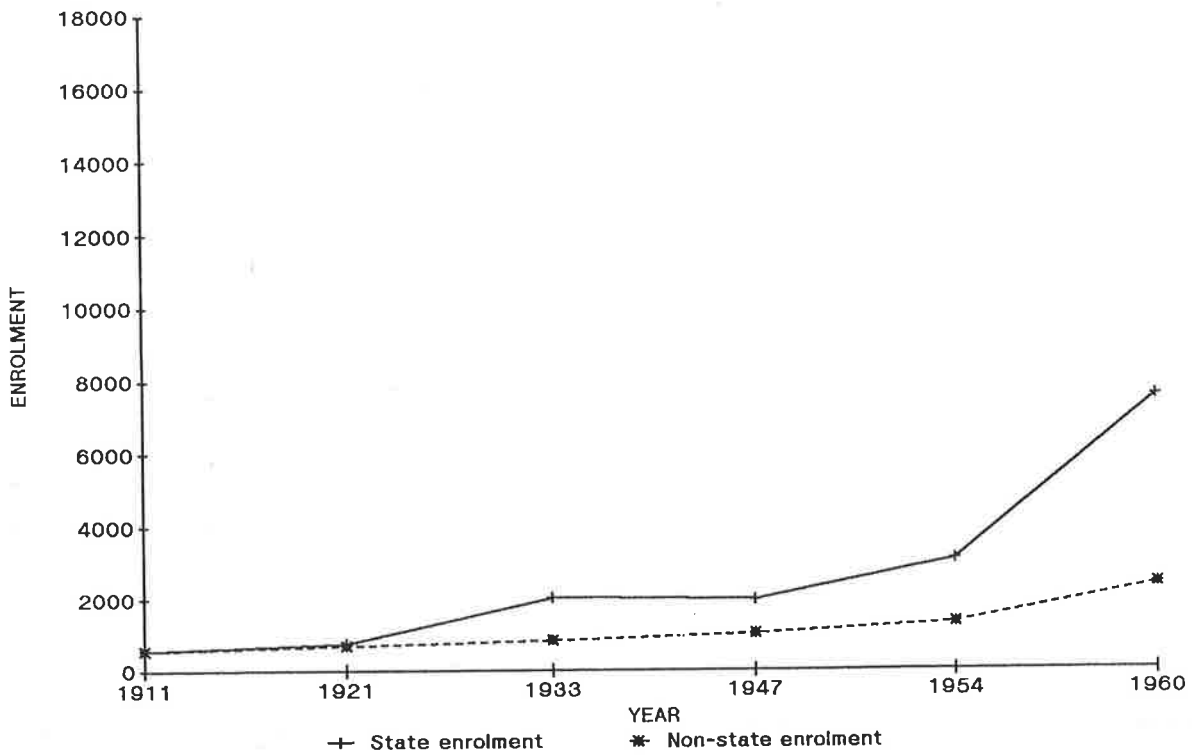
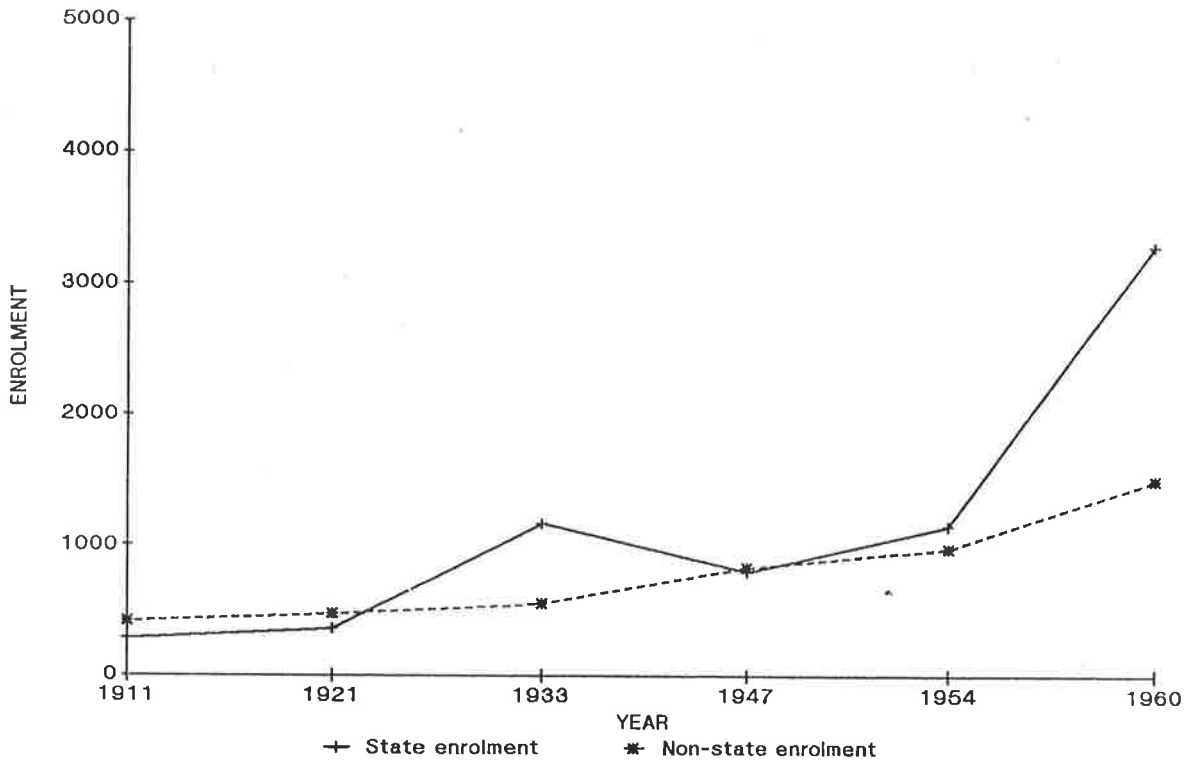
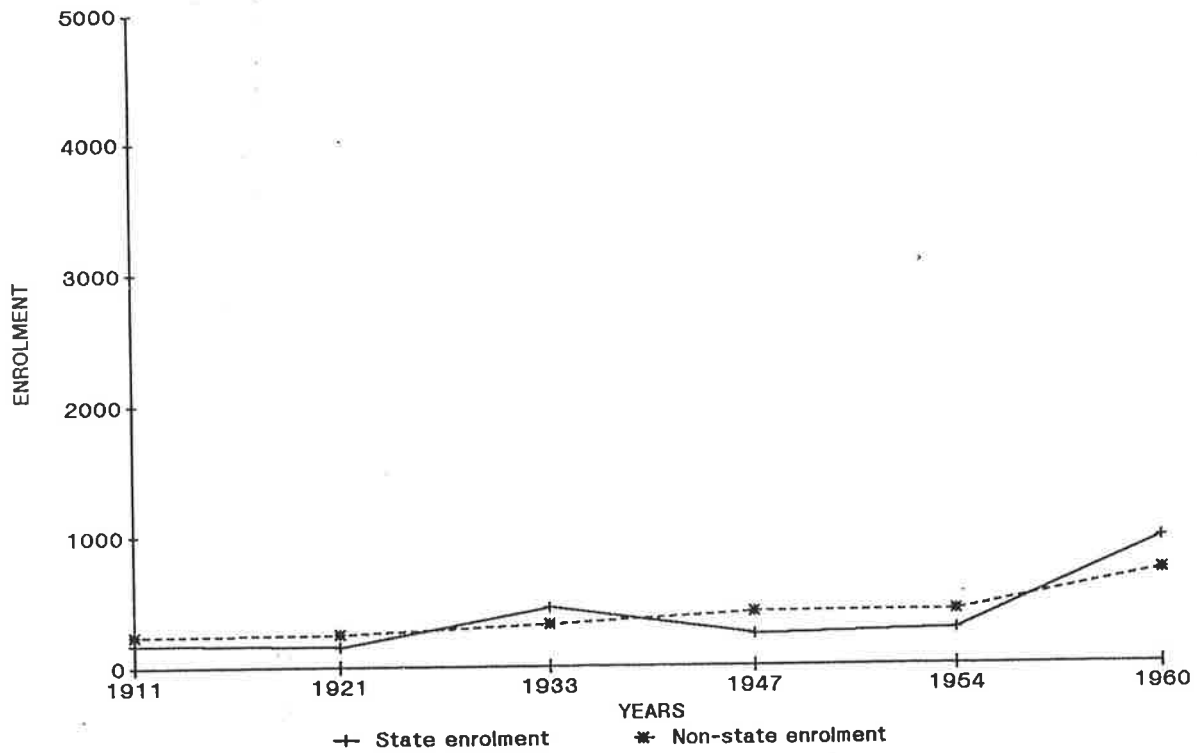


Figure 1.9 (cont)

16 YEAR OLDS



17 YEAR OLDS



Source: Australian censuses, 1911, 1921; S.A. Statistical Registers, 1933, 1947, 1954-55, 1960-61.

## Conclusion

This discussion of schooling and youth in Mitcham, Unley and South Australia has given dimension to a range of institutions and social structures of importance for the analysis of youth and adolescence in that locality. The discussion has been very dependent on the use of state generated statistics. A consequence has not only been the use of language which tends to reproduce problematic descriptions of social life. (Females as "dependents", or the too easy acceptance of distinctions between "state" and "non-state", when deeper social analysis might reveal both forms of schooling to be more or less compatible facets of the growth of state power.) Though the language and categories were products of historically developing social policy discourses, they have their own value in the attempt to identify and understand the social and cultural contexts of adolescence. For example:

A youth in a civilised society achieves physical maturity at much the same age as a youth in a savage tribe; but, whereas the savage is, after a brief ceremony, accepted as a full member of the tribe with the accompanying privileges and responsibilities, civilised society creates a hiatus of some six years or so before this is done. Two results ensue. The hiatus gives us a greater period of time in which to educate adolescent youth, but, on the other hand, it also provides opportunities for various types of maladjustments and frustrations.<sup>69</sup>

In Unley and Mitcham the lives of youth were formed not only by the educational and social policy discourses (and institutions they helped generate), of which this extract from the 1950s is a representative example. The settlement and employment patterns, rates of urbanization, occupational distributions and the forms of economy deriving from the conjunction of localised geographies with local forms of capitalist and state enterprise all helped form the lives of youth. There was also the cultural and ethnic character of the population into which patterns of religious affiliation, birthplace and "racial" characteristics have also provide insights.

This chapter has been introductory in nature. Its aim has been to locate the place, the period, the people and their schooling through a discussion of a range of geographic, economic, social and demographic knowledge. At the same time, life in Unley and Mitcham was, in the end, a part of much bigger systems than the local alone. Its wealthiest early twentieth century family, the Barr Smiths ran a pastoral and merchant empire which linked the district to the outback of Australia and then to the British Empire's financial centre in London.<sup>70</sup> An

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69. "Education of the teen-age child", *S. A. Teachers' Journal*, vol. 7, no. 11, 1957, p. 21.

70. A celebratory history of the company is *Elder, Smith & Co., Limited: The First Hundred Years*, [Elder Smith & Co.], Adelaide, [1940].



ever increasing number of its workers were employed outside the district, whose character by the 1960s was very much a collection of dormitory suburbs. Much of the district's history was shared with others. Actions of the state (federal and South Australian), had their impact on the entire population. But that was never the whole story. The district also had its own character. Once united by a single local government authority, the original villages of Unley and Mitcham became centres of separate local governments, commercial and industrial activity. Football and cricket teams, schooling, federal electoral boundaries and south-eastern transport corridors, ensured the continuation of some sense of community. Within its boundaries a sufficiently wide range of initiatives were developed by local and state governments, by churches and individuals to educate and manage its youth to suggest the possibility of this study.

## Chapter 2

### Who went to secondary school (1901-1940)?

At the turn of the twentieth century, very few youth attended secondary schools, or schools which offered post-elementary classes. For most male, and many female youth, the release from compulsory schooling on their thirteenth birthdays meant the beginnings of, or perhaps more consistent engagement with various kinds of paid work. This was especially so in the working class. Davey, in reporting on the Hindmarsh social history project in South Australia, discussed the lack of relevance of schooling for youth in both contributing to family economies and in finding paid work. The labour market was mainly accessible through family contacts and knowledge of local employment patterns.<sup>1</sup> Dianne Snow, writing about the same period in New South Wales argued that engagement with labour and labour markets began well before the period of compulsory schooling ended, and that it took some forty years to achieve a clear separation between the world of childhood and school, and adulthood and work.<sup>2</sup> Youth in these circumstances remained subject to disciplines that adults who established separate households did not. Their wages were usually less, parental authority retained some sway, yet they were also much freer than those who remained in school. They had the liberty to assume a place in the world of adults through work and the labour market.

Yet that association of youth with work and adult life was being contested. The desire to regulate and supervise the lives of youth arose from many different sources. The first of the problems was with youth who were subject, it appeared, neither to the discipline of work, school nor family. In South Australia, the arguments of the State Children's Council sit well with simple social control interpretations. The problems surrounding "children of the street" were blamed on unemployment and the "culpable carelessness of parents":

Groups of boys of ages varying from seven to fifteen roam the streets and parks, smoking cigarettes, playing pitch and toss, garden robbing, and haunting the back entrances of business establishments. These boys and youth ought either to be at school or in some useful occupation. Their condition is

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1. Ian Davey, "Growing up in a working-class community: School and work in Hindmarsh" in Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville & Ellen McEwin eds., *Families in colonial Australia*, George Allen Unwin, Sydney, 1985, pp. 170-1.
  2. Dianne Snow, "Transforming children's labour through schooling" in John Martin & Kerry Taylor eds., *Culture and the labour movement*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North (N.Z.), 1991, pp. 278-80.

one of moral peril, and graduation to criminality from these nurseries of vice too frequently takes place.<sup>3</sup>

Girls were little better. The Council quoted from a report of the Commissioner of Police:

Young girls from 12 to 16 are permitted to parade the streets at late hours, aping the worst manners of their elders, forming very undesirable companionships, hearing conversations anything but edifying, and witnessing and participating in conduct calculated to blunt the finer feelings.<sup>4</sup>

There were other aspects to the "youth problem" as well which Education Department officials pointed to. The state had a special duty to the "working boy":

Circumstances compel him to leave school just when his powers of reasoning and judgement are beginning to unfold, and when he is entering upon the most trying and most critical portion of his life. ... It is the ordinary boy, who, without stimulus and uplift, may drift and degenerate, who claims our regard and consideration.<sup>5</sup>

Arguments such as these developed into statements about the benefit to be reaped by the state and new nation from well educated workers and citizens. Some had the vision splendid of the new child, no longer conceived as an empty vessel to be filled, but a "soul unit of the State", who would interact with all other "soul units",

either for good or evil, for physical and moral health or weakness and costly criminality, for material prosperity or national poverty.<sup>6</sup>

Such ideals fitted well with the "new education", carefully framed to inspire confidence that schools could bring about the desired transformations.<sup>7</sup>

This discourse of reform was contested however. On one side there was plenty of evidence of working class and rural resistance to compulsory schooling and upward extensions of the leaving age. There was also publicly articulated resistance to the costs and taxation involved in giving the ideals institutional reality. Resistance on these grounds was often sustained by elitist assumptions: that advanced forms of schooling should be restricted to the "responsible" classes, and the corollary, that such education would be wasted on boys destined for manual labour. The proprietors of private schools more directly resisted state

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3. Report of the State Children's Council ... 1903, *SAPP 1904*, no. 64, p. 7.

4. Report of the State Children's Council ... 1901, *SAPP 1902*, no. 68, p. 3.

5. Director's Report (Alfred Williams), *MR 1908*, p. 13.

6. Assistant Inspector-General's Report (C. L. Whitham), *MR 1902*, p. 14.

7. *ibid.*, p. 14. On the ambitions of the new education in general and its consequences for redefining the role of the state, see R. J. W. Selleck, *The New Education 1870-1914*, Pitman, London, 1968.

sponsored expansion. Debates in parliament over motions to establish a parallel institution to the Advanced School for Girls, for boys, saw a full display of the established oppositional discourse.<sup>8</sup> In South Australia the debate only swung in favour of intervention and expansion with the addition of the organized labour movement to the reform movement.<sup>9</sup>

The historical debate over the extensions of secondary schooling was much more than a simple discussion of appropriate levels of education for the people. The future formations of social classes was integral to the debate. Sustained attempts to expand access to higher education in the working class were seen by many in the middle class as a threat to privilege; for many in the working class, an opportunity for upward social mobility as well as unwanted interference in family economies and lives. These were but two of the most obvious responses. The politics of gender formation were also involved in the debate. Higher education for women was often denigrated as leading to the decline of motherliness, fertility, domesticity and femininity itself.<sup>10</sup> While the ideological battles are relatively easy to identify and trace, less easy has been the social history of the subjects of the battles. These "subjects" were the youth themselves. Their social history was to be profoundly affected by the expansion of secondary education in the twentieth century.

In a pioneering essay of the early 1970s, Michael Katz asked the question, "Who went to school?", for the city of Hamilton in Ontario.<sup>11</sup> In that essay he argued that school attendance policy threw light on the history of the state, the family and social structures in general, as well as education.<sup>12</sup> In the following discussion of the same question, using similar quantitative methods, though different variables, the focus will be the changing relationship of the youth of Unley, Mitcham and beyond, to secondary schooling. Analysis of the actual use of new secondary schools by different social groups not only assists in understanding the relationship between the emergent discourse about adolescence in the history of youth, but also contributes to understandings of the changing constructions of

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8. *South Australian Parliamentary Debates*, 1880, pp. 1634-6.

9. See R. J. Nicholas, *The growth and development of state secondary schools in South Australia: With special reference to the twentieth century*, B.Ed. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1949, pp. 18-25; also Miller, *Long Division*, pp. 132-7.

10. This form of critique knew no class boundaries. For Billy Hughes' view, "... it was better for a girl to learn to cook than attain superior intellectual honours", see Bernard Hyams and others, *Learning and other things: Sources for a social history of education in South Australia*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1988, pp. 238-9. For the broader discussion see Jill Matthews, "Education for femininity: Domestic arts education in South Australia", *Labour History*, vol. 45, pp. 30-53.

11. Michael B. Katz, "Who went to school?", *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 3, 1972, pp. 432-454.

12. *ibid.*, p. 433.

class, gender and family in that process. In the following chapter, the allied question, "Who succeeded at secondary school?" will also be asked.

The history of the participation of youth in schools needs to be considered within the context of a number of different factors. Mark Stern's work on the interrelationships between demographic transition, capitalist and industrial transformations and class formation provides one of the most helpful discussions of context.<sup>13</sup> The proposition that it was through schooling that parents hoped their children could take advantage of newly emerging white collar occupations and that school attendance increased the cost of children by prolonging their economic dependence on families, and then, that these propositions were related to the rapid decline in the size of families are not isolated to the north eastern states of the U.S.<sup>14</sup> The timing of this conjunction of causes and effects was later in South Australia due to the later colonization and transitions from commercial and agricultural (settler) capitalism to the growth of corporations and manufacturing industry. Related to these issues, and also explored by Stern, is the issue of the re-formations of the middle class. The new occupations associated with the emergence of the modern "office", in business and state bureaucracies, and those associated with the new professions, were occupations markedly different from those of the "old" professional and proprietary middle class. The new white collar workers were essentially employees, with nothing to sell but their labour power. This labour power differed from that sold by the working class however. The manual component was much less, and markedly different in character. The skills involved relied far more on the cultural property which might be acquired through extended schooling. While the changing relationships between the new workers and their employers may be interpreted as part of a proletarianization process, such an interpretation obscures the differences between the kinds of work done by white collar employees and blue, the ambition of so many to qualify for this work, and the popular perception that the transition to a secure job in a bank or state education department constituted a rise in social status.

This chapter, and the next, seek to find evidence for the workings of some of these patterns through the use made by different social groups of secondary schooling in the early twentieth century. Answering the questions of "Who went?" and "Who succeeded?" at secondary school also substantially answers the question of who the first modern adolescents were.

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13. Mark J. Stern, *Society and family strategy: Erie County, New York, 1850-1920*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1987.

14. *ibid.*, p. 93.

## Going to secondary school at the turn of the century

In 1901, private and corporate schools were the dominant providers of full-time secondary education in South Australia, and the only providers in the Mitcham and Unley area. Some youth however went to the state's Advanced School for Girls (in the city) on a fee-paying or scholarship basis, while others went to the more specialized Pupil Teachers' School. There were no free high schools in South Australia.

For the turn of the century there are very limited means of studying enrolments and attendance at the Unley and Mitcham schools. No rolls appear to survive for the private schools. It is only from the two corporate schools, Way College (Bible Christian) and the Methodist Ladies College that records exist. Both schools were substantial establishments however. Analysis of their students is likely to point to social patterns of secondary school use beyond those institutions. In each school, the occupations of the enrolling parents (usually fathers or widowed mothers) indicate a variety of class related information about their social backgrounds.<sup>15</sup> The cohorts of students described in Table 2.1 were separated by six years. The Way students were enrolled in 1896, the M.L.C. students in 1902.<sup>16</sup>

These same statistics may be translated into indications of the social class membership of the students' parents, and the positioning of the schools in the class relations of the district and beyond (Table 2.2).<sup>17</sup>

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15. See Appendix C for a full discussion of parent occupations, their categorisation and analysis.
  16. Way College closed in 1902. The 1896 enrolment provided one of the last cohorts which could be traced through the school. A later cohort was not available for complete analysis not only given this problem, but also because of the nature of the enrolment source (an accounts book, not kept after 1898). M.L.C. opened in 1902, the earliest year available for analysis. Students under the age of 10 have been removed from the analysis where they could be identified. The "over-10s" is not being offered as a lower limit of youth or adolescence, rather a very conservative estimate of those who were less likely to be engaged in the elementary school curriculum.
  17. See Appendix C for a discussion of social class coding.

Table 2.1

**Enrolments according to occupation of Household Head (N, %):  
Way College, 1896 & Methodist Ladies College, 1902**

<i>Occupation group</i>	<i>Way College</i>		<i>Methodist LC</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Professional & non-rural proprietor	8	10.3	16	29.0
Merchant, manager & agent	17	21.8	12	21.8
Business employee	3	3.8	4	7.3
Government & institution employee	2	2.6	4	7.3
Seller of services & semi-professional	5	6.4	5	9.1
Manufacturer & master	7	9.0	6	10.9
Skilled worker	3	3.8	1	1.8
Transport worker	0	0.0	0	0.0
Operative, semi- & un-skilled worker	0	0.0	0	0.0
Domestic & other service worker	0	0.0	0	0.0
Rural proprietor	14	17.9	3	5.5
Rural worker	0	0.0	0	0.0
Female household head	8	10.3	4	7.3
Unknown	11	14.1	0	0.0
Total	78	100.0	55	100.0

Sources: M.L.C. Roll, 1902-; Way College accounts book; Australian business directories, 1896-8, 1902-4. See Appendix A.<sup>18</sup>

Table 2.2

**Enrolments according to social class based on occupation of Household Head (N, %):  
Way College, 1896 & Methodist Ladies College, 1902**

<i>Social class</i>	<i>Way College</i>		<i>Methodist L. C.</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Proprietorial middle class (rural)	14	17.9	3	5.5
Proprietorial middle class (urban)	32	41.1	34	61.8
Employed middle class	10	12.8	13	23.6
Skilled working class	3	3.8	1	1.8
Semi- & unskilled working class	0	0.0	0	0.0
Female household head	8	10.3	4	7.3
Unknown	11	14.1	0	0.0
Total	78	100.0	55	100.0

Sources: M.L.C. Roll, 1902-; Way College accounts book (henceforth cited as M.L.C. and Way student records); Australian business directories, 1896-8, 1902-4.

18. These directories are not cited by individual title since the search involved different series for all colonies and states. (Some students' families lived outside of South Australia. Kalgoorlie (W.A.) and Broken Hill (N.S.W.), mining towns with large numbers of expatriate South Australians, for example, provided several enrolments.)

The outstanding feature of these tables is the dominance of middle class groups over the enrolments of both schools, despite the strong working class membership of the Methodist denominations in South Australia. From 122 positively identified parent occupations a mere four were probably working class.<sup>19</sup> There were no representatives of the semi- and unskilled working class. In both schools, the families of the old professions, business proprietors, managers and agents provided the core of the enrolments. This is reflected in the lists of the most common occupations. For the girls' school, they were daughters of clergymen (12), merchants (4), solicitors (3) and farmers (3)<sup>20</sup>. For Way College the students were sons of farmers (11), stock brokers (7), butchers (4), hotel keepers (3) and graziers (3). However, middle class youth whose parents did not own their own businesses or belonged to the older professions were also represented at between 12 and 24%. For girls at least, the degree of working class participation may have been a slight underrepresentation for the district as a whole. Mackinnon has shown that with the establishment of schools such as the Methodist Ladies College, the Advanced School for Girls lost many of its middle class students. The enrolment of the Advanced School (only a kilometre or two away from M.L.C.) became more lower middle, and working class in character, though many were dependent on bursaries which would not necessarily have been available for the corporate school.<sup>21</sup>

A comparison of the distribution of occupational groups of the male household heads with those for South Australia as a whole, shows not only an aspect of schooling and class relations in South Australia, but the importance of youth in the construction and reproduction of those relations. (Table 2.3)<sup>22</sup> Table 2.4 consolidates the occupational groupings into classes.

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19. "Probably" is used here since the identification is based on a negative categorisation. Inability to find the household heads in business directories was assumed to mean they did not own their own businesses, and therefore worked for others. This may not always have been the case. The effect is to suggest that the four identified here were a maximum; there may have been fewer.
20. A survey of parent occupations for the first five years of the school confirmed the pattern. The frequency of occupations occurring five or more times was: Accountant (9), Agent (5), Clergy (29), Estate agent (5), Farmer (20), Ironmonger (6), Manager (6), Merchant (21), Solicitor (6), Storekeeper (10), Female Household Head (16). Total, N = 230, (missing = 13).
21. Alison Mackinnon, *One foot on the ladder: Origins and outcomes of girls' secondary schooling in South Australia*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1984, pp. 110-11.
22. The third column in Table 2.3 displays an "index of representativeness". This instrument, used and discussed by David Labaree is produced by dividing the school percentage by that of the state. (See Labaree, *The making of an American high school*, p. 186.) Because I was working from summative census tables, and not the manuscript census returns, the categories of the census had to be reconfigured to some extent, to achieve reasonable compatibility. This was able to be done with reasonable satisfaction since occupational group and status ("grade") organized the same table. The biggest problem was the census' lack of discrimination between skilled and unskilled working class. The two had to be put together. It was not the problem it could have been given the paucity of students from such a class background in either school. The other issue was that of gender. Given



Table 2.3

**Occupational distribution of Male Household Heads (%):  
Way College, 1896 & M.L.C., 1902 (combined) compared with South Australia: 1901**

	Schools (%)	S.A. (%)	Index of Representativeness
Professional & non-rural proprietor	19.8	1.5	13.1
Merchant, manager & agent	24.0	4.3	5.6
Business employee	5.8	9.4	0.6
Government & institution employee	5.0	3.6	1.4
Seller of services & semi-professional	8.3	1.1	7.2
Manufacturer & master	10.7	4.4	2.4
Skilled & unskilled worker	3.3	24.1	0.1
Transport worker	0.0	9.7	0.0
Domestic worker	0.0	2.2	0.0
Rural proprietor	14.0	13.7	1.0
Rural worker	0.0	24.0	0.0
Unknown	9.1	2.0	
Total	100.0	100.0	
N=	121	120,328	

Sources: M.L.C. & Way College student records; Census of South Australia, 1901, Occupations of the People, Table xiii.

Table 2.4

**Social class distribution of Male Household Heads (%):  
Way College, 1896 & M.L.C., 1902 (combined) compared with South Australia: 1901**

	Schools (%)	S.A. (%)	Index of Representativeness
Proprietary middle class (rural)	14.0	13.7	1.0
Proprietary & professional middle class (urban)	54.5	10.2	5.3
Employed middle class	19.1	14.1	1.4
Working class (skilled & unskilled)	3.3	60.0	0.1
Unknown	9.1	2.0	
Total	100.0	100.0	
N=	121	120,328	

Sources: M.L.C. & Way College student records; Census of South Australia, 1901, Occupations of the People, Table xiii.

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the very small numbers of women who were household heads for the schools' population, this table was calculated from the statistics for males only.

The comparison of occupational group representation in the two corporate schools and South Australia as a whole confirms the class character of these mainly secondary schools. Families whose household heads either worked as professionals, or owned and managed businesses and property were represented up to thirteen times their position in the employment distribution in the state as a whole. Workers, whether skilled or unskilled, urban or rural, in domestic, transportation or communication sectors composed some 60% of the South Australia's male work-force. They virtually failed to register in the index. The only groups to be represented in rough accordance with their state-wide presence were rural owners, and government and institutional employees.

The students at these schools did not only come from the Unley and Mitcham district. Their communities were also based, though not exclusively, on religious denominations. Table 2.5 shows the residential breakdown for each school.

Table 2.5

**Residence of school students (N, %):  
Way College, 1896 & M.L.C., 1902**

	<i>Way</i>		<i>M.L.C.</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Unley district	14	17.9	22	40.0
Mitcham district	2	2.6	2	3.6
Other Adelaide	27	34.6	24	43.6
Rural South Australia	15	19.2	6	10.9
Other colonies/states	19	24.4	0	0.0
Unknown	1	1.3	1	1.9
Total (N %)	78	100.0	55	100.0

Sources: M.L.C. & Way College student records

While Unley and Mitcham provided substantial numbers of students, the greater Adelaide area also provided many students, as did Western Australia (15) and New South Wales (4) for Way College. Proximity to secondary schooling was not the compelling reason determining whether male youth would attend school or not. The smaller proportion of girls from the country and elsewhere at M.L.C. may mean that parents were less willing to send their girls into boarding school far from home than boys. From all the information above, it appears that social class was a primary factor in determining who would go to a main-stream

corporate secondary school.<sup>23</sup> At the same time other factors such as religious affiliation may also have been important, but they cannot be tested for want of data in the turn of the century period. More extensive data is available for the period after the beginning of the introduction of state secondary schools into the district from 1910.

### **Social patterns of secondary school use from 1910 to the 1930s**

The entry of the state into secondary education in the first decade of the new century was significant for many reasons. The new schools were dedicated to the adolescent age group alone. Their curricula were also dedicated to what was considered post-elementary learning and knowledge. The schools were difficult to enter; to gain entry, merit through examination or recommendation had to be proven in the fifth class of the public schools.<sup>24</sup> In theory at least, they were co-educational institutions, though in practice students were often segregated. These schools not only represented a new assertion of state authority but an expansion of the state itself. At the same time, they hardly met the progressive ambitions of their founding father. Alfred Williams' demand that new forms of schooling save, make useful, and moralise working class youth, at risk in their dangerous adolescent years, could not occur to any great extent through the new high schools.<sup>25</sup> They were essentially institutions with academic ambitions. The only alternative to a curriculum based on English, Latin, French, Mathematics, Physics, Geology, Botany and Chemistry was the commercial course which offered Arithmetic, Book keeping, Typing and Shorthand to potential business employees. There appeared to be no great attraction here for youth who, for whatever reason, did not aspire to the world of the professions or white collar work. Nor did the schools meet Inspector Whitham's argument in 1907:

... I beg respectfully once more to express regret that we are not able to do more for the life-training in domestic work of our girls, and much more to encourage our boys to think less of office work and more about horticulture, agriculture, and pastoral work.<sup>26</sup>

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23. "Mainstream" because the schools belonged to the group of dominant Protestant denominations in S.A. See Dr R. C. Petersen's forthcoming study of Way College in which he discusses the largely successful efforts of its Headmaster to secure its status and acceptance.
24. Third Progress Report of the Royal Commission on Education, 1912, *SAPP 1913*, no. 27, p. 113.
25. Alfred Williams, *Preliminary report of the Director of Education ...*, pp. 4-6.
26. Inspector Whitham's Report, *MR 1907*, p. 16.

Using the central schools as its instrument, the state waited until the 1920s before taking extensive initiatives to meet these broader ambitions.<sup>27</sup>

Unley and Mitcham's share of the burst of state secondary school establishments in the 1908-1912 period was the Unley District High School. Founded in 1910, it gathered continuation students from the public schools, offering university examination courses through to the Senior level.<sup>28</sup> Separated from the Unley Public School and reorganized as a result of the 1915 Education Act, the school occupied new buildings in the Mitcham council area in April, 1915. Adelaide High School was the only state secondary school for some years to offer the Higher Public examination, from which students gained government bursaries to attend the University of Adelaide. (Students could matriculate at the previous year's Senior examination.)

The two central schools, both attached to public elementary schools began in 1925. They were meant for 13-16 year olds; the curriculum was overtly constructed on the basis of gender. Included were "the ordinary cultural subjects", with boys to receive "two years' practical training in wood, and metal work, whilst girls are taught home-making (including cookery, housewifery, and laundering), dressmaking, millinery, and art and home decoration."<sup>29</sup> Despite the listing of these subjects for study, a non-vocational progressive intent was asserted for the courses:

To turn out tradesmen and craftswomen is not even thought of in the "Central Schools", whose only object is merely to give the pupil every opportunity of "discovering" himself, of finding out for what vocation he is best fitted.<sup>30</sup>

Nevertheless, the range of potential "discoveries" was limited since the Central schools were established for youth "whose bent is not towards the professions at all, but who seek their callings in the industrial life of the community." The high schools, such as Unley were for the professions, commerce and the "higher callings in life".<sup>31</sup>

By 1925 there had also been changes in the private and corporate sector. All but one of the private schools had gone, as had the corporate Way College. In the Torrens Park estate

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27. For an exploration of the "Central School Compromise", see Lynne Trethewey, *Post-primary technical education in South Australia 1915 to 1945*, M. Ed., Flinders University, 1977, ch. 4; also Miller, *Long Division*, pp. 152-6.

28. See Campbell, *State high school*, ch. 1.

29. Report of the Superintendent of Primary Education, *MR 1925*, p. 12.

30. *ibid.*, p. 12.

31. *ibid.*, p. 12.



overlooking Mitcham, a major new corporate boys' school had been established. The Presbyterian church's Scotch College began operation in 1918. In addition to the university subject based course, it also taught of agriculture. Another state secondary school established in 1932, Urrbrae Agricultural High, was also dedicated to that object.

So it was that the nature of the schools offering some form of secondary curriculum in the Unley and Mitcham area dramatically changed in the period just before World War I, and again, before World War II. Before turning directly to the question of this chapter, that is, "Who went to secondary school?", the choice of period (1901-1940) needs brief justification. This pre-World War II period can be described as a period of state and corporate school establishment; the second (1941-1965), one of massive expansion and reconstruction. It was only after World War II that the attempt was made to put all youth into secondary schools, for at least two to three years. The effect of the post-war reconstruction debates, led by the Curtin-Chifley national Labor governments, and whose educational policies were substantially continued by the Menzies' Liberal governments of the 1950s and 1960s, was apparently to universalize access to secondary schooling. (At the same time schools and students within schools were differentiated by curriculum, and the application of streaming through psychometric testing, leaving the meritocratic basis of the system relatively unchallenged.) World War II is a convenient divider of the period under study. Not only was it of tremendous general importance in Australia's history, given the direct threat to Australia's independence from Japan, and Australia's rapid industrialization to meet the threat, but much of the character of the post-war changes to secondary schooling may be traced to policy responses to the emergency. In South Australia, the Bean Report on education, with its democratic and social reconstruction foundations was responsive to the new approaches.<sup>32</sup>

In examining the cohorts of students entering secondary schools in the census years of 1911, 1921 and 1933, one would expect to see the establishment of a presence, and then growth of the proportion of working class students. The foundation of the free state high school, then central schools, were clearly the institutional means by which that could occur. Tables 2.6 and 2.7 below take the whole of each cohort and collect enrolling parental occupations into groups and then classes.

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32. On world war two, as a source of new policy and influence on the practice of Australian schooling, see Andrew Spaul, *Australian education in the second world war*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1982. On its effect in South Australia, see the two reports of the Bean committee, Education Inquiry Committee, First Report, 16 May, 1945, *SAPP*, no. 15, 1945, and, Final Report, 1949, *SAPP*, no. 15, 1949. Also the historical discussion in the Karmel report, *Education in South Australia: Report of the Committee of Enquiry into education in South Australia 1969-1970*, Government of South Australia, Adelaide, 1971, pp. 22-24. See also Miller, *Long Division*, ch. 11.

Table 2.6

**Enrolments according to occupation of Household Head (N & %):  
Secondary student cohorts, 1911, 1921, 1933**

*(a) Males*

	1911		1921		1933	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional & urban proprietor	11	9.5	8	2.9	18	3.4
Merchant, manager & agent	10	8.6	35	12.9	53	10.1
Business employee	18	15.5	28	10.3	75	14.2
Government & institution employee	5	4.4	14	5.1	30	5.7
Seller of services & semi-professional	0	0.0	12	4.4	19	3.6
Manufacturer & master	3	2.6	11	4.0	19	3.6
Skilled worker	18	15.6	40	14.7	84	15.9
Transport worker	5	4.3	6	2.2	21	4.0
Operative, semi- & un-skilled worker	2	1.7	6	2.2	51	9.7
Domestic & other service worker	2	1.7	2	0.7	19	3.6
Rural proprietor	19	16.4	62	22.8	38	7.2
Rural worker	2	1.7	8	2.9	10	1.9
Female household head	7	6.0	17	6.3	56	10.6
Not employed	2	1.7	0	0.0	28	5.3
Unknown	12	10.3	23	8.6	6	1.2
Total (N, %)	116	100.0	272	100.0	527	100.0

*(b) Females*

	1911		1921		1933	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional & urban proprietor	11	8.3	6	2.3	4	1.3
Merchant, manager & agent	26	19.4	37	14.3	37	11.7
Business employee	9	6.8	36	14.0	54	17.0
Government & institution employee	7	5.3	14	5.4	17	5.4
Seller of services & semi-professional	11	8.3	9	3.5	9	2.8
Manufacturer & master	12	9.0	7	2.7	8	2.5
Skilled worker	18	13.5	37	14.3	62	19.6
Transport worker	1	0.8	2	0.8	12	3.8
Operative, semi- & un-skilled worker	1	0.8	5	1.9	27	8.5
Domestic & other service worker	0	0.0	2	0.8	5	1.6
Rural proprietor	18	13.5	65	25.2	34	10.7
Rural worker	1	0.8	4	1.6	7	2.2
Female household head	7	5.3	22	8.5	34	10.7
Not employed	6	4.5	10	3.9	3	0.9
Unknown	5	3.7	2	0.8	4	1.3
Total (N, %)	133	100.0	258	100.0	317	100.0

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

Table 2.7

**Enrolments according to social class  
based on occupation and status of Household Head (N & %):  
Secondary student cohorts, 1911, 1921, 1933<sup>33</sup>**

*(a) Males*

	1911		1921		1933	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Proprietorial middle class (rural)	19	16.4	62	22.7	38	7.2
Proprietorial & professional middle class (urb)	24	20.7	54	19.9	90	17.1
Employed middle class	23	19.8	54	19.9	124	23.5
Skilled working class	18	15.5	40	14.6	84	15.9
Semi- & unskilled working class	11	9.6	22	8.1	101	19.3
Female household head	7	6.0	17	6.3	56	10.6
Not employed	2	1.7	0	0.0	28	5.3
Unknown	12	10.3	23	8.5	6	1.1
Total (N, %)	116	100.0	272	100.0	527	100.0

*(b) Females*

	1911		1921		1933	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Proprietorial middle class (rural)	31	19.3	59	23.1	34	10.7
Proprietorial & professional middle class (urb)	51	31.7	50	19.6	49	15.5
Employed middle class	31	19.3	59	23.1	80	25.2
Skilled working class	21	13.0	41	16.1	62	19.6
Semi- & unskilled working class	3	1.9	16	6.3	51	16.1
Female household head	10	6.2	20	7.8	34	10.7
Not employed	7	4.3	9	3.5	3	0.9
Unknown	7	4.3	1	0.5	4	1.3
Total (N, %)	161	100.0	255	100.0	317	100.0

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

In 1911, only a year after the establishment of the state high school, for boys and girls respectively, some 25% (boys) and 15% (girls) came from working class families. In each case, students whose fathers were skilled workers provided the greater proportion of students. Girls from the unskilled working class remained barely represented at all. It was not until 1933, that the percentage of these girls became substantial, and that was after the

33. See Appendix A for details of each cohort.

opening of the central schools. Of each of the class groupings, the greatest changes in levels of secondary school participation occurred in the semi- and unskilled working class. The most frequent targets of school and social reformers since the late nineteenth century, were in fact, the last group of youth to be subject, though often minimally, to the supervision of the secondary school.

The effect of the Depression on enrolments in the Unley and Mitcham schools may be seen in a number of areas.<sup>34</sup> First, between 1921 and 1933 there was a dramatic drop in the numbers of youth from farming and pastoral families, girls and boys. The expense of boarding at time when wheat and wool prices were very low is the obvious explanation for this. This drop is startling given the more obvious strategy commonly used to reduce schooling expenses; that is simply to reduce the amount of time spent at school.<sup>35</sup>

There was a high degree of stability for the other middle class enrolments, despite the changing economic circumstances. Reference to Table 2.6 (above) shows that this stability masked important changes within the constituent groups. The urban proprietary and professional middle class share of enrolments dropped from 1911 peaks of 9.5 and 8.3% to 3.4 and 1.3% respectively for boys and girls. The greatest growth area was for youth from business employees (white collar). The employed middle class group as a whole clearly improved its relative participation in secondary schooling from 1921 to 1933. From 1921 to 1933 the total number of boys enrolled in a secondary school increased by 94%. The number of boys from new middle class families increased by 130%. The equivalent figures for all girls, and new middle class girls are 24 and 130%. Though increasing from a lower base, this figure represents a highly significant new commitment to some secondary education for girls from this social class, and despite the circumstances of the Depression.

The actual effect of the changing school structures may be seen in the following charts (Figures 2.1-2.5). These charts take each social class group separately, and depicts the percentage that class contributed to the enrolment of each school type for each census year.<sup>36</sup> (For example, reading Figure 2.1 for males: in 1911, some 60% of Protestant

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34. But not, to a very great extent in the expected percentages described as "not employed" greatly under-estimate the actual numbers of unemployed. Most people when asked their occupation on enrolling their children obviously stated their trade or profession, regardless of their current employment status.

35. To be discussed in the following chapter.

36. These school types are composed of the following aggregates: Protestant Corporate: M.L.C., Concordia (from 1911) & Scotch (from 1921); State High: Unley High (from 1911) & Urrbrae Agricultural High (from 1933); Catholic Corporate: Cabra (from 1921); State Central: Goodwood Central & Unley Central (from 1933). See Appendix A for other details of cohorts.



corporate school enrolments were composed of proprietary middle class youth, but only 25% of the state high school enrolments were derived from the same class.) The proprietary middle class easily provided the majority of enrolments for the Protestant corporate schools throughout the period, for boys and girls, and a substantial proportion of the Catholic school enrolment. (Figure 2.1) While the proportions are not as great, the state high schools served a similar function for children of the employed middle class (Figure 2.2). For the skilled working class, the significance of the state's entry into secondary schooling cannot be overstated on these statistics. Figure 2.3 shows that the state high and central schools provided the only opportunities for secondary education for skilled working class boys in the district, while the Catholic school, by 1933 also had begun to take working class girls. (These charts are based on percentages; the actual number of girls in the Catholic school, Cabra was very small in comparison with the State schools. See Appendix A for details.) For children from the unskilled working class (Figure 2.4), the irrelevance of secondary schooling to their lives is maintained until the entry of the state central schools (from 1925). It is only then that substantial numbers contribute to the 30% of enrolments in central schools for both sexes.<sup>37</sup> Figure 2.5 shows the proportions of children whose mothers enrolled them for each school type. One would expect female headed households to be poorer than male headed households, and therefore see a bias towards the state schools. This is most pronounced for 1933, when the numbers of female household heads were swelled by Depression related factors.<sup>38</sup>

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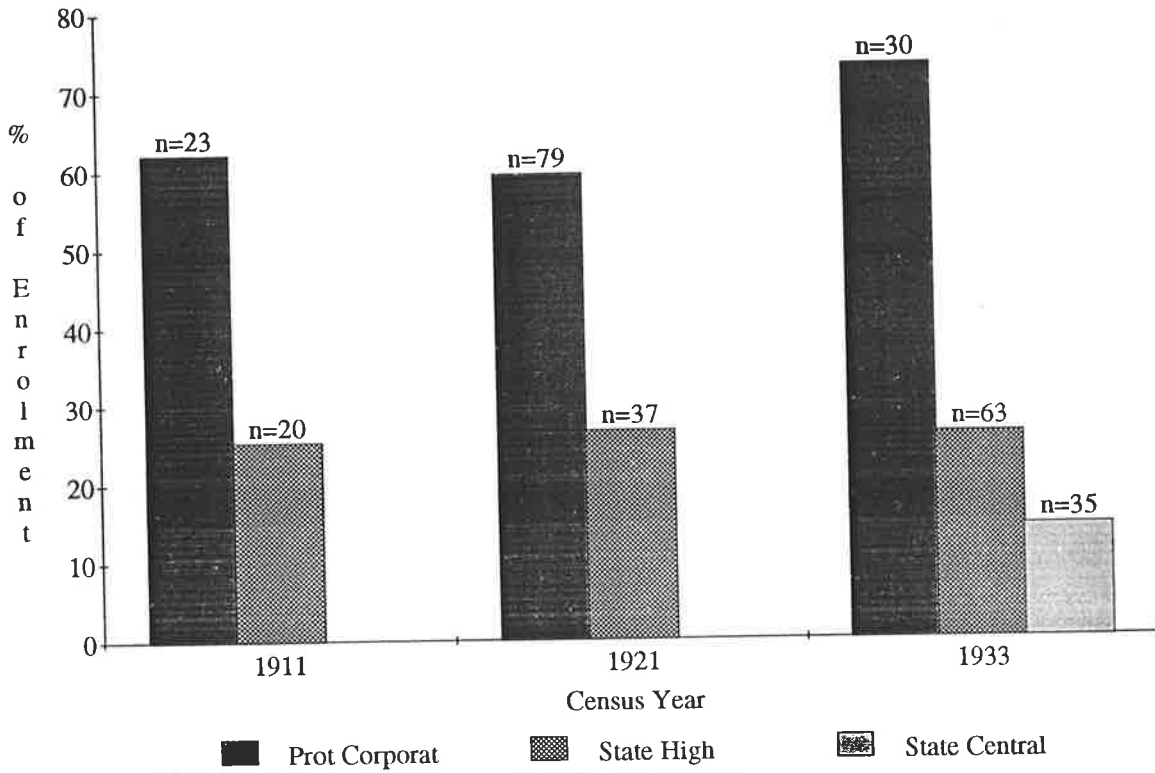
37. The onset of labour market problems in the late 1920s, and leading into the Depression was an early factor in depressing lengthy central school enrolments. Pressure increased on youth to leave school and take any work that was available. *MR* 1928, p. 5.

38. See Ray Broomhill, *Unemployed workers: A social history of the Great Depression in Adelaide*, University of Queensland Press, 1978, pp. 38-39.

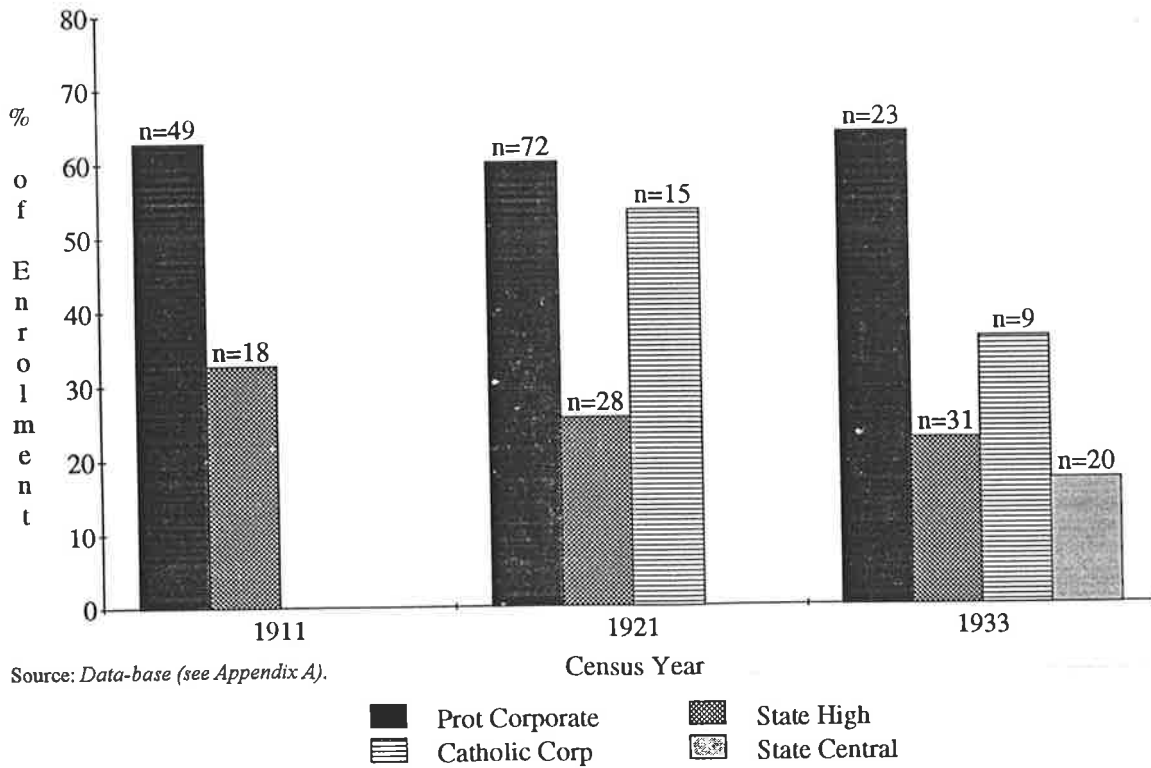
Figure 2.1

**Contribution of Proprietary Middle Class youth (urban & rural) to enrolments in the different school systems (%): Cohorts 1911 1921 1933**

**(a) Males**



**(b) Females**

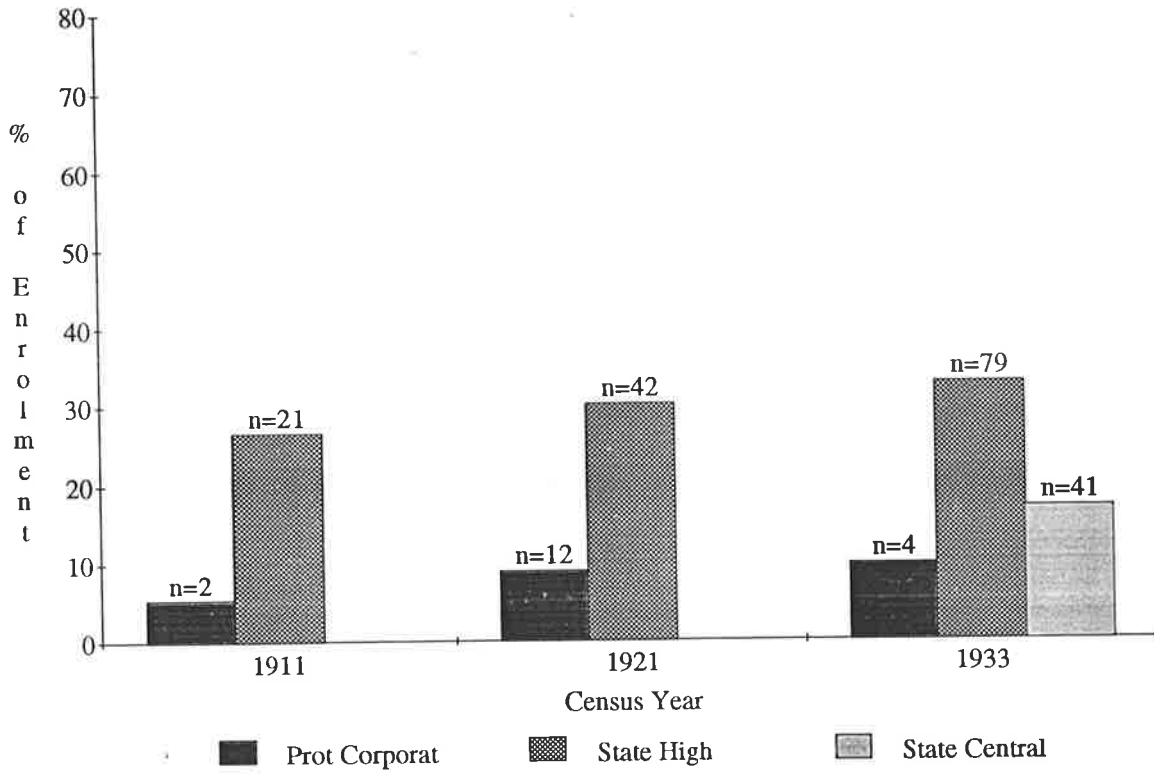


Source: Data-base (see Appendix A).

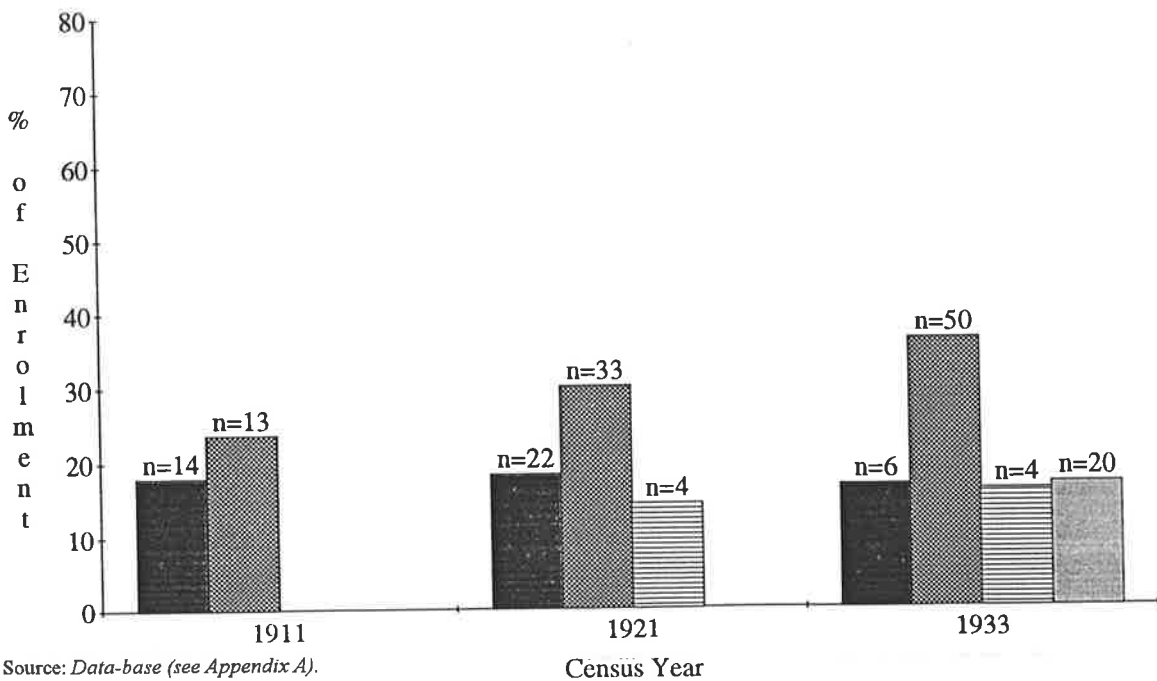
Figure 2.2

**Contribution of Employed Middle Class youth to enrolments  
in the different school systems (%):  
Cohorts 1911 1921 1933**

**(a) Males**



**(b) Females**



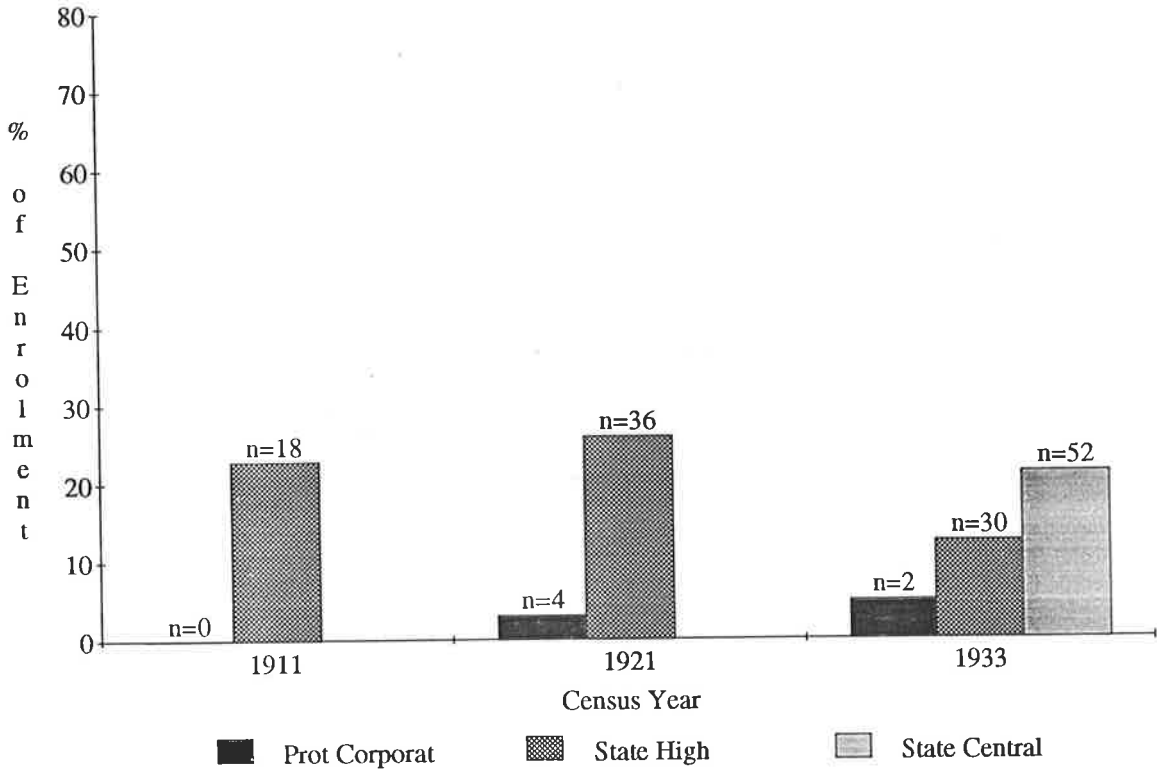
Source: Data-base (see Appendix A).

Prot Corporate    
  Catholic Corp    
  State High    
  State Central

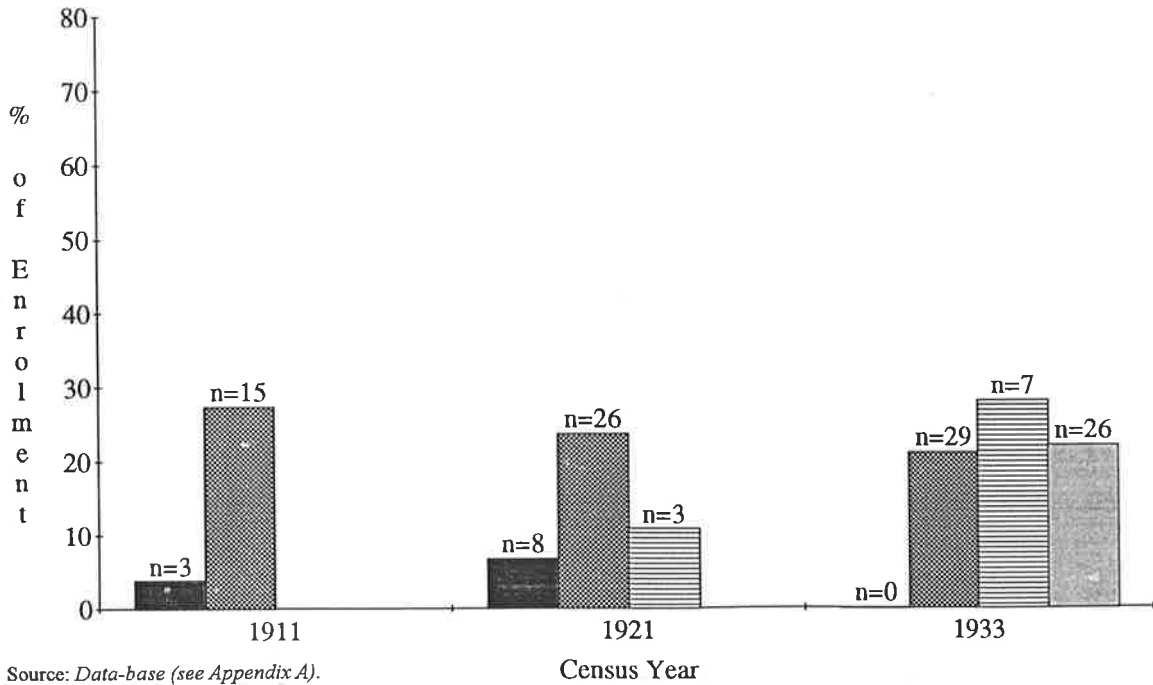
Figure 2.3

**Contribution of Skilled Working Class youth to enrolments in the different school systems (%): Cohorts 1911 1921 1933**

**(a) Males**



**(b) Females**



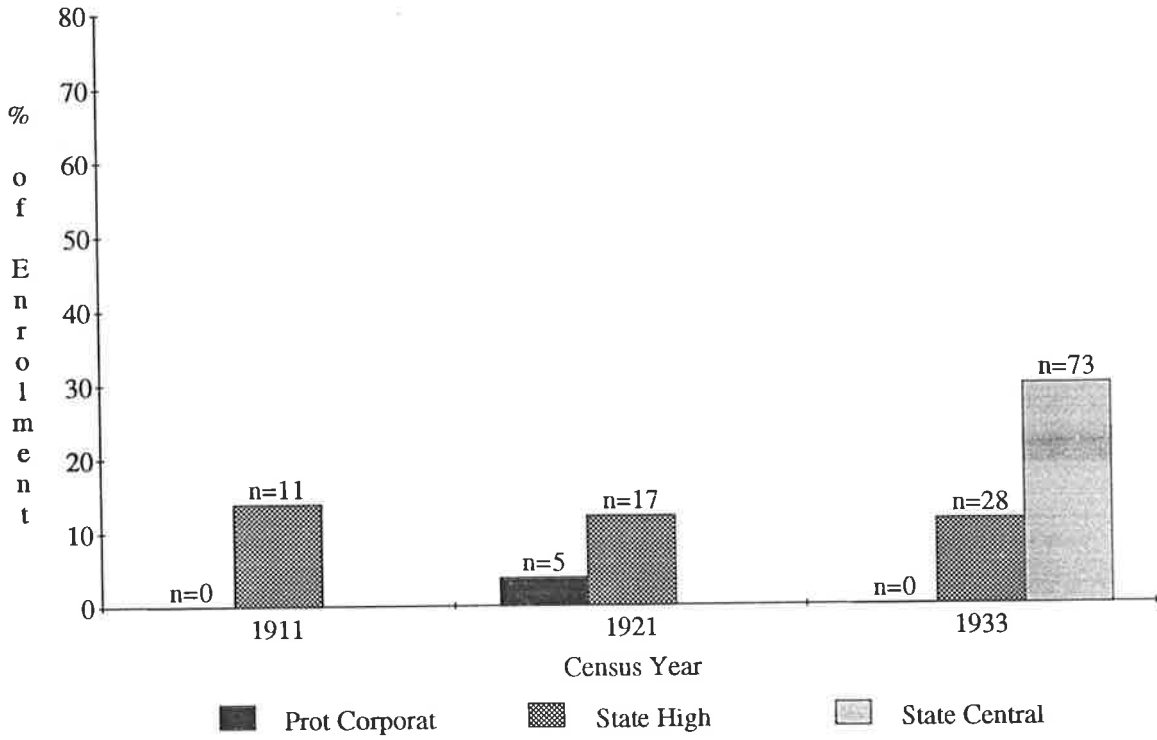
Source: Data-base (see Appendix A).

Prot Corporate     
  State High  
 Catholic Corp     
  State Central

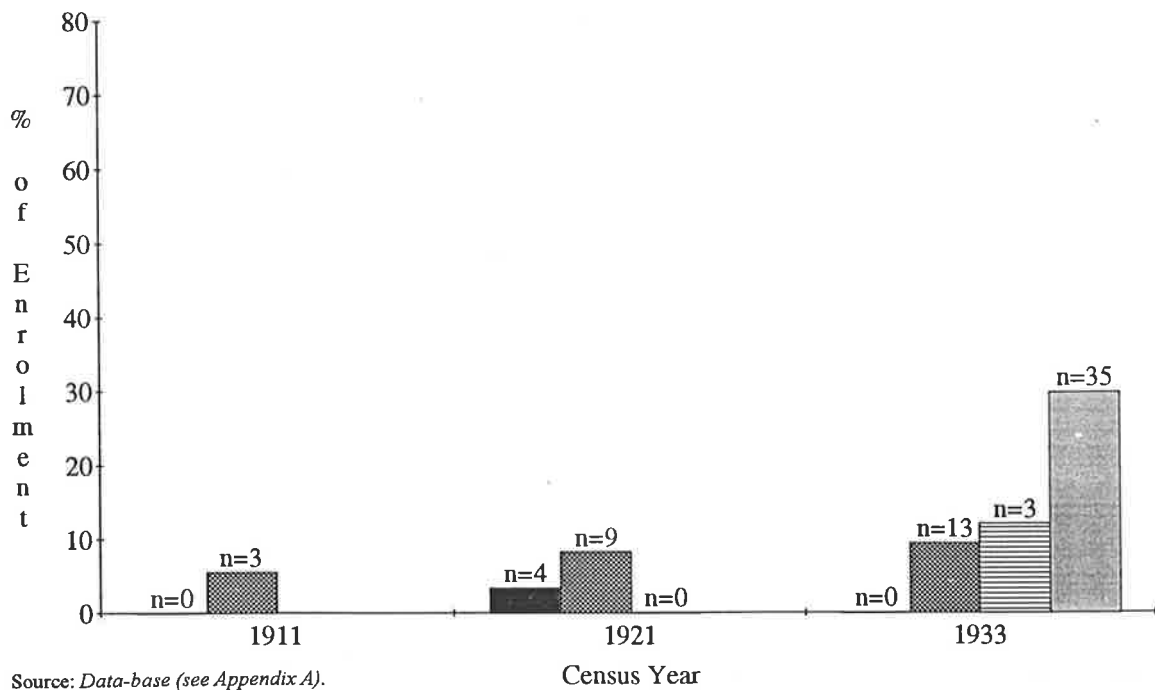
Figure 2.4

**Contribution of Unskilled Working Class youth to enrolments  
in the different school systems (%):  
Cohorts 1911 1921 1933**

**(a) Boys**



**(b) Girls**



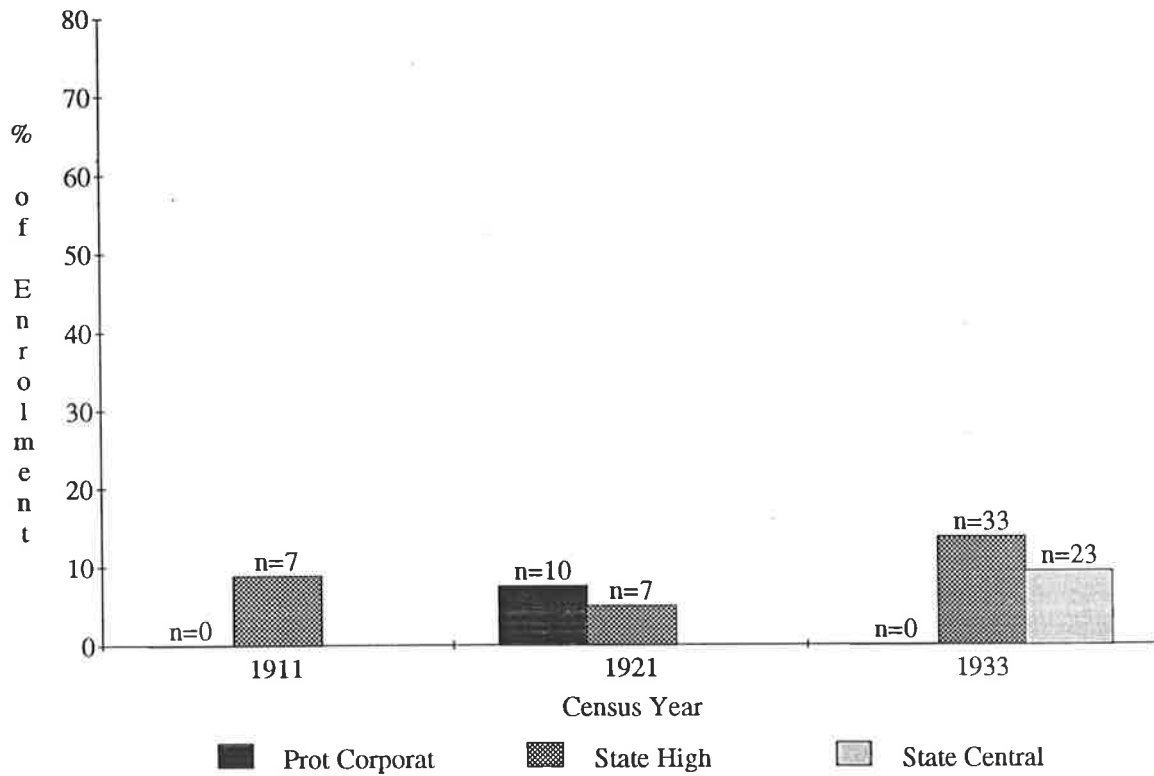
Source: Data-base (see Appendix A).

Prot Corporate    
  State High  
 Catholic Corp    
  State Central

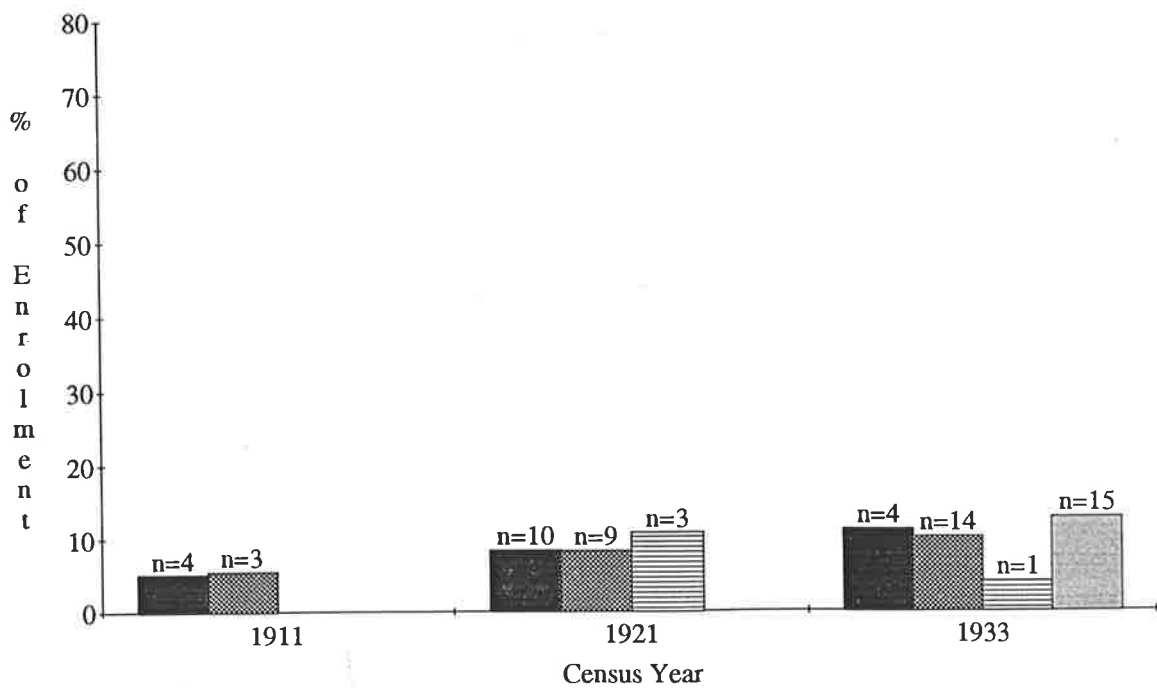
Figure 2.5

**Contribution of youth from Female Headed Households to enrolments  
in the different school systems (%):  
Cohorts 1911 1921 1933**

**(a) Males**



**(b) Females**



Source: Data-base (see Appendix A).

Prot Corporate    
  Catholic Corp  
 State High    
  State Central

To complete the discussion of enrolment by sex and social class, it is useful to estimate the representativeness of the presences of the different social groups in secondary education in comparison with the presence of those groups in the population of South Australia as a whole. The same qualifications need to be made as above, in the discussion of the turn of the century figures for Way College and M.L.C.<sup>39</sup> The instrument of comparison is again an "index of representativeness". A figure of "1.0" represents congruence with that group's presence in the male "breadwinner" population of South Australia as a whole. The following Table 2.9 consolidates the information in Table 2.8 into broad class groupings.

Table 2.8

**Index of Representativeness of Male Household Heads according to occupation group:  
Unley and Mitcham cohorts compared with South Australia:  
1911, 1921, 1933.**

	<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
	1911	1921	1933	1911	1921	1933
Professional & urban proprietor	4.7	2.7	3.8	4.0	2.2	1.4
Merchant, manager & agent	2.3	3.5	2.5	5.2	4.0	2.9
Business employee	1.4	1.0	1.4	0.6	1.4	1.7
Government & institution employee	1.3	1.0	1.7	1.5	1.0	1.6
Seller services & semi-professional	0.0	1.6	3.8	7.0	1.3	3.1
Manufacturer & master	0.9	1.8	1.3	2.9	1.2	0.9
Skilled worker	1.1	0.9	1.5	0.9	0.9	1.8
Transport worker	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.5
Unskilled worker	0.1	0.2	1.7	0.1	0.2	1.5
Domestic worker	0.6	0.3	2.2	0.0	0.3	1.0
Rural proprietor	1.4	1.9	0.6	1.2	2.2	0.9
Rural worker	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2

Sources: Data-base; Australian censuses, 1911, 1921, 1933.

39. See footnote 22, above. The failure of the Census to distinguish between skilled and unskilled workers in a number of occupational categories, though by no means all, remains a problem. I have made separate judgements on each category and divided workers where undifferentiated by the census, on the basis of my knowledge of the skilled/unskilled ratios for that industry. Some of these judgements have not been able to be checked from historical sources. Consequently the index figures for the divisions within the working class are probably subject to more error than the others. Nevertheless the probable error exists *within* the working class category, and does not affect the usefulness of the index in distinguishing between the different sectors of the middle class and the working class as a whole.

Table 2.9:  
**Index of Representativeness of Male Household Heads according to class:  
 Unley and Mitcham cohorts compared with South Australia:  
 1911, 1921, 1933.**

	<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
	1911	1921	1933	1911	1921	1933
Proprietorial middle class (rural)	1.4	1.9	0.6	1.2	2.1	0.9
Proprietorial & professional middle class (urban)	2.4	2.9	2.2	4.1	2.9	2.0
Employed middle class	1.3	1.1	1.7	1.3	1.3	1.8
Skilled working class	1.1	0.9	1.5	0.9	0.9	1.8
Semi- & unskilled working class	0.2	0.2	0.7	0.1	0.2	0.6

Sources: Data-base; Australian censuses, 1911, 1921, 1933.

Generally, the indices calculated for Tables 2.8 and 2.9 confirm the impression gained that the proprietary, professional, merchant and managerial elements of the middle class were represented well above their proportions in the population, in the secondary schools of Unley and Mitcham for the pre-World War II period. For business, government and institutional employees, the representation is either equal to or just above the proportions in the State as a whole. As has been explained, the indices for all worker groups are less reliable than for the middle class. Nevertheless, the least that can be said with confidence is that the proportion of unskilled worker enrolments rose significantly for the post-central school openings in the 1933 indices.

If we take the indices for the State high schools alone, the significance of these schools for employed middle and skilled working class groups is apparent. (See Tables 2.10 and 2.11.) The state high schools were an important means by which youth from these groups could enter secondary schooling. For each group, the opportunities extended beyond that which had existed at the turn of the century. Many of the official statements outlining the purpose of the state high schools help provide an understanding of the class patronage of these schools:

The curriculum is designed to furnish a good general education for children who will leave school at 15 or 16 years of age to proceed to positions in the public offices or in the commercial or industrial world, and it further provides the preliminary education for those who desire to enter the higher institutions of learning in order to train for the professions.<sup>40</sup>

40. Report of Superintendent of Secondary Education (W. Adey), *MR 1921*, p. 32.



The High Schools provide for the education of pupils desiring to take up Commercial careers, professional careers, including teachers, or, in the case of girls, an education to fit them for the duties of home life.<sup>41</sup>

These indices also show the different roles that the academic high school played for the skilled and unskilled working class.

Table 2.10

**Index of Representativeness of Male Household Heads according to occupation group:  
State high schools compared with South Australia:  
1911, 1921, 1933.**

	<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
	1911	1921	1933	1911	1921	1933
Professional & urban proprietor	3.8	0.7	4.3	3.6	1.8	1.6
Merchant, manager & agent	3.2	3.3	3.0	2.4	3.8	3.4
Business employee	2.1	1.5	2.3	1.0	1.8	2.6
Government & institution employee	1.2	1.8	2.2	2.1	1.9	2.4
Seller services & semi-professional	0.0	1.5	3.6	4.6	0.7	2.3
Manufacturer & master	1.3	2.2	1.6	4.8	0.0	0.8
Skilled worker	1.6	1.6	1.2	1.9	1.5	2.0
Transport worker	1.2	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.4
Unskilled worker	0.2	0.2	1.0	0.1	0.3	0.9
Domestic worker	0.9	0.5	1.3	0.0	0.7	0.9
Rural proprietor	0.2	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.9	0.4
Rural worker	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0

Sources: Data-base; Australian censuses, 1911, 1921, 1933.

**Table 2.11:  
Index of Representativeness of Male Household Heads according to class:  
State high schools compared with South Australia:  
1911, 1921, 1933.**

	<i>Male</i>			<i>Female</i>		
	1911	1921	1933	1911	1921	1933
Proprietorial middle class (rural)	0.2	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.9	0.4
Proprietorial & professional middle class (urban)	2.7	2.6	2.7	3.5	2.3	2.3
Employed middle class	1.7	1.6	2.4	1.5	1.6	2.6
Skilled working class	1.6	1.6	1.2	1.9	1.5	2.0
Semi- & unskilled working class	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.3

Sources: Data-base; Australian censuses, 1911, 1921, 1933.

41. Report of Superintendent of Secondary Education (W. Adey), *MR 1923*, p. 19.

By establishing some of the main structural contributions of class and gender to secondary school enrolments before World War II, the question "Who went to secondary school?" is substantially answered. Yet there are also other issues to be explored. With the establishment of state schools, the proportion of students from Unley and Mitcham, as opposed to other areas rose significantly. (See Table 2.12.) Unley High School for example, was established as a "district" high school. None of the state schools had boarding facilities, though such were planned for the Urrbrae Agricultural High, which in theory was to take its students from the whole of South Australia.

Table 2.12

**Residence of school students by school system and cohort (%):  
1911, 1921, 1933**

	1911			1921			1933		
	State	Corp	Cohort	State	Corp	Cohort	State	Corp	Cohort
Unley district	88.8	18.4	56.5	70.3	19.4	43.5	39.4	15.0	36.5
Mitcham district	1.5	1.8	1.6	18.1	4.3	10.8	29.6	11.0	27.1
Other Adelaide	6.0	26.3	15.3	8.8	29.1	19.5	26.4	15.0	25.1
Rural South Aust	2.2	30.7	15.3	2.4	37.8	21.1	4.5	46.0	9.6
Other states	0.0	21.1	9.7	0.0	8.6	4.6	0.0	13.0	1.6
Unknown/overseas	1.5	1.7	1.6	0.4	0.8	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.1
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (N)	134	114	248	249	278	527	741	100	841

Source: Data-base see Appendix A.

Table 2.12 shows that the state schools' enrolments were primarily made up of local students, with the balance shifting from Unley towards Mitcham as the early twentieth century sub-divisions proceeded. The leap to 26.4% of students from the rest of Adelaide in state schools for the 1933 figures is primarily explained by the opening of the agricultural high school which took most of its students from outside the local district. The corporate schools took between a fifth and a quarter of their enrolments from the local area, though the proportions alone are misleading without attention to the over-all number of enrolments. For the corporate and private schools there was a great drop in enrolments during the Depression (from some 340 in 1921 to 187 in 1933). It was the provision of state secondary schools which established the most common form of secondary school attendance in the district; that is, day school attendance, at a school in the local district. While journeys to secondary school could often be long, perhaps involving more than one tram or railway

journey, the great majority of students in state schools, and a clear majority of students in corporate schools returned to their own families each afternoon or evening. Further analysis of the suburban origins of the students confirms the importance of class in the patterns of school system attendance. Table 2.13 shows the first six suburban areas from which most students came in Unley and Mitcham for each of the census years.

Table 2.13

**Enrolments by suburban area and school system (N):  
Unley & Mitcham: 1911 1921 1933**

**1911**

<i>Corp Protestant</i>	<i>State High</i>	<i>Catholic Corp</i>	<i>State Central</i>
Unley (16)	Unley (59)		
Parkside (3)	Parkside (34)		
Goodwood (2)	Goodwood (23)		
Colonel Light Gdns (1)	Forestville (3)		
Blackwood (1)	Mitcham (2)		

**1921**

Unley (22)	Unley (78)	Goodwood (2)
Goodwood (22)	Goodwood (46)	Forestville (1)
Mitcham (8)	Parkside (39)	
Parkside (6)	Mitcham (32)	
Colonel Light Gdns (2)	Forestville (12)	
Blackwood (2)	Colonel Light Gdns (10)	

**1933**

Unley (5)	Colonel Light Gdns (54)	Goodwood (8)	Parkside (67)
Colonel Light Gdns (2)	Parkside (48)	Colonel Light Gdns (3)	Unley (50)
Mitcham (2)	Unley (46)	Edwardstown (2)	Colonel Light Gdns (39)
Urrbrae (2)	Mitcham (44)		Mitcham (37)
Parkside (2)	Goodwood (34)		Goodwood (21)
	Blackwood (11)		Forestville (21)

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

While the patterns reflect the demographic and sub-division history of the district, the suburbs with strong, though by no means exclusive working class representation (Forestville, Goodwood, Edwardstown, Colonel Light Gardens and Parkside) contributed sizeable enrolments to the state schools in particular.

## Conclusion

The simple fact of enrolment tells us a limited amount about the role of secondary schooling in the lives of youth. More important is the issue of how long students remained at school, and what they did there. By attempting to measure "success" at secondary school, the latter issue is broached. Nevertheless, the previous discussion has provided evidence about the importance of social class either in achieving an enrolment in a secondary school, and also by 1933, in the determination of what kind of secondary school. The evidence also points to an early and wide spread acceptance of secondary schooling for girls. Patterns of enrolment for girls and boys tended to be similar in the various occupational groups. Their loyalty to the different systems: state high, state central, corporate Protestant, were also similar. In one major area was gender of great importance to secondary school access. Girls from the unskilled working class were very unlikely to reach a secondary school in this pre-World War II period. For the middle class, gender was no obvious reason to restrict the enrolment of girls in a secondary school. Of greater importance for this period are the issues of what girls did while at school, and their post-school fates. Middle class youth of both sexes were most likely to find their way into the post-elementary level. The pre-World War II period shows important signs of rapidly developing secondary school access, but universal access was far from achieved, and where it was approached, the creation and existence of different school systems allowed many of the features of the 1901 period to survive. By 1940, the major social institution devoted to the education, socialization and governing of modern adolescents, the secondary school, was not quite a universal institution, but its record of expansion from the turn of the century was extensive and impressive.

## Chapter 3

### Who succeeded in secondary school (1901-1940)?

In turning to the question of school success it becomes possible to discuss the issues of school persistence and the prolongation of childhood and adolescence, and the relevance of meritocratic forces to those processes. Such a discussion also leads to a consideration of the role that academic secondary schooling played in the formation of the new or employed middle class in particular, through the linking of secondary schooling to meritocratic procedures and culture. Secondary schooling had other social and cultural purposes of course. For many students, a year at college may have been regarded rather more as a "finishing" experience than a determined attempt to remain long enough to gain the available credentials awarded through yearly University-controlled examinations.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the increasing importance of gaining post-elementary credentials in certain kinds of employment was a major incentive to enter and remain in a secondary school. Quantitative analyses of "success" in the history of schooling are rare, but in a secondary system where length of stay often had such distinct consequences, and was subject to such discretionary decision-making by youth and members of their families, it has considerable potential to illuminate different class and gender related behaviours than analysis of the fact of enrolment alone. In this chapter, the age at which youth left their secondary schools, and their success in the University's public examinations are the measures of prolonged, persistent and successful secondary schooling.

#### **Persistence and secondary education at the turn of the century**

Modern adolescences are in part defined by the prolonging of youth dependency on institutions other than the work-place, in particular, families and their secondary schools. Both Way College and M.L.C. offered courses leading to the full range of University examinations at the beginning of the century. Way's curriculum appears to be remarkably progressive, with agricultural, commercial and practical courses available as well as the University courses.<sup>2</sup> This needs to be taken into account when measuring "success" only in terms of results in the public examinations.

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1. Chapter 6 discusses this issue in detail.
  2. See Sherington, Petersen & Brice, *Learning to lead*, p. 124.

Of the 78 students who entered Way College in 1896, 18 appear to have remained one year or less, and a further 29 for two years or less. In percentage terms, that represents 23% and 38%; or 61% all together who remained two years or less. The corresponding statistics for M.L.C. are both more and less helpful. Because 1902 was the year of foundation, many girls entered the school having completed junior secondary work at schools such as the Advanced School for Girls (state), Unley Park School and Parkside High School (both private). This caused some problems in generalising about patterns of school persistence, but was partly obviated by the availability of birth, school entry and school leaving dates. The following Table 3.1 shows the ages of students on entry and on leaving the school.

Table 3.1

**Student ages at enrolment and on leaving school (% & N)  
Methodist Ladies College: 1902 cohort**

	Age at entry		Age on leaving	
	N	%	N	%
10	2	3.6		
11	3	5.5		
12	4	7.3		
13	10	18.2	2	3.6
14	16	29.0	6	10.9
15	10	18.2	7	12.7
16	4	7.3	15	27.3
17	1	1.8	14	25.5
18	1	1.8	6	10.9
Unknown	4	7.3	5	9.1
Total	55	100.0	55	100.0

Sources: M.L.C. & Way College student records

The great majority of M.L.C. girls were at school for more than three years after the compulsory leaving age. (This was the thirteenth birthday; the mean leaving age for M.L.C. girls was 16 years and 5 months.) If it is recalled that for the Unley and Mitcham district as a whole, only 19% of girls were in any kind of school at all in the 14-20 age group, the degree of persistence recorded here is well above the average.<sup>3</sup>

The numbers of students who gained public examination credentials were many less than the school enrolments. Table 3.2 shows the number of students who passed examinations leading to the Primary, Junior, Senior and Higher Public credentials from the Unley and Mitcham schools in the 1901-1905 period. The two year staggering of the table is an

3. Calculated from Table 1.14, Chapter 1.

attempt to capture the progress of the cohort beginning secondary schooling in about 1901. In theory these examinations could be taken in successive years, but the difficulty of the required work and the need for certain subject combinations in order to gain certificates often meant that a longer period was needed.

Table 3.2

**Public examinations passed:  
Unley and Mitcham schools: 1901 cohort**  
[C = Corporate, P = Private, S = State school]

(a) Male

	Primary		Junior		Senior		Higher	
	1901	1902	1902	1903	1903	1904	1904	1905
Way College (C)	15	9	6	-	-	-	-	-
Malvern College (P)	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kyre College (P)	-	3	1	2	2	2	0	0
Goodwood Public (S)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unley Public (S)	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Parkside Public (S)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total (N=)	21	13	8	3	2	2	0	0

(b) Female

	Primary		Junior		Senior		Higher	
	1901	1902	1902	1903	1903	1904	1904	1905
Methodist Ladies (C) <sup>4</sup>	-	9	4	5	3	8	3	3
Convent of Mercy (C) <sup>5</sup>	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Cabra (C)	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	0
Unley Park School (P)	10	4	7	4	4	3	1	0
Walford School (P) <sup>6</sup>	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
Parkside High School (P)	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Rutherdale School (P)	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southfield School (P)	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	0
Total (N=)	16	27	12	14	7	12	4	3

Source: *Public Examination Board Manual*, University of Adelaide, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906

4. Referred to in the Public Examination Board Manual of 1902 as "Malvern Ladies' College". In 1902 Methodist Ladies College was established in the building of the closed boys' school, Malvern College. This building was to be the eventual site for Concordia College. Neither of these schools is to be confused with the Malvern Collegiate School, a couple of streets away. (See note 6 below.)
5. Convent of Mercy at Parkside.
6. Referred to in the Public Examination Board Manuals of 1901-1905 as Malvern Collegiate School. "Walford" has been used here and in later chapters. It was the name current for most of the twentieth century.

The table shows that at least three of the state elementary schools in the district were offering university examination subjects at the turn of the century. This activity expanded with the formal establishment of "continuation classes" in 1906. More importantly though, this table shows how difficult the credentials were to win. Many more students than appear here sat for the examinations and failed. If a credential may be considered as a commodity with exchange value in the labour market, at least one of the conditions conferring value is likely to have been met in 1901; that is, scarcity.

A common metaphor describing progress through the turn of the century education system was "the ladder of opportunity", with its social Darwinist as well as democratic and meritocratic assumptions.<sup>7</sup> By following the careers of M.L.C. and Way students up the ladder, a sense of the difficulties and factors involved in success and failure may be gained. The numbers of students in each school who gained credentials beyond the Primary were very small, too small to suggest substantial conclusions, but the analysis has the virtue of pointing to more definite trends later in the century as the numbers engaged in secondary schooling began to increase. Taking social class groups with ten or more students in them, for both Way and M.L.C., the pattern of examination results suggest there was a better chance of going on to pass the Junior and Senior if one's parents came from the employed middle class.<sup>8</sup> Girls were more likely to complete the highest levels; understandable given the restricted career opportunities for females in general and the availability of school teaching within those restrictions. From the 55 students entering M.L.C. in 1902, there were four University of Adelaide graduates, three in Arts and one in Science and Medicine. From the 78 students entering Way in 1896 there were two graduates, one in Science and the other in Medicine. Graduation from the University was possible only for a tiny elite.

An examination of schooling persistence, regardless of examinations passed, by social class is possible for the M.L.C. students, though the small numbers again mean that no definitive conclusions may be drawn. Figure 3.1 shows the cumulative percentages of students leaving school in each age group for the social class groups.<sup>9</sup>

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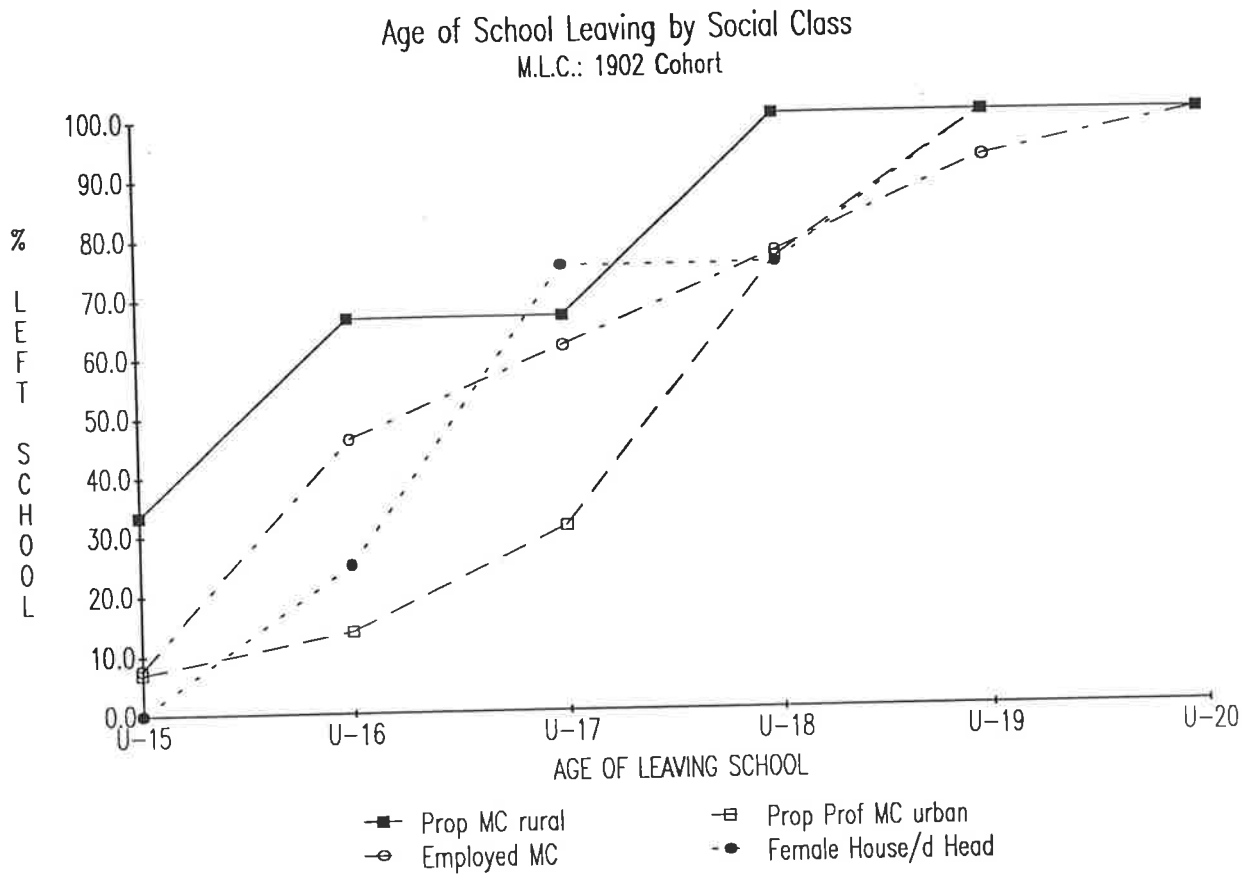
7. See Mackinnon, *One Foot on the ladder*, p. 179.

8. For Way, 20% of students (2 out of 10) went on from this group, and 30.8% (4 of 13) from M.L.C.

9. With only one student for the working class groups, there was no point in including her.



Figure 3.1



What the graph shows is that girls from the rural proprietary middle class (mainly daughters of farmers) were the least likely to remain at school for very long. Two of the three left before their sixteenth birthdays. The most persistent stayers were daughters of the employed middle class with daughters of urban professional and proprietary middle class parents not far behind, though they were the most persistent stayers for the under-17 group. For the group of four students from female headed households, schooling persistence was unexceptional in relation to the cohort as a whole.

It cannot be over-emphasised that a reading of class and gender related student persistence at school from the small numbers involved in these turn of the century records must be circumspect. All that can really be done is to tentatively frame hypotheses for later testing. First, that the urban proprietary and professional middle class, the wealthiest group, were strong users of secondary schools and that the employed middle class were beginning to rival their usage. And second, that there were real difficulties in all parts of the working class in accessing secondary education. And third, that the rural proprietary middle class was a less persistent user than its urban counterpart. These hypotheses may be translated into

hypotheses about adolescence itself; the main one being that urban middle class youth were the first modern adolescents, the first to be offered a prolonged or extended form of childhood, in schools, and without the worry of contributing to the household economies of their families.

### **Class, gender and prolonged, successful secondary schooling to 1940**

The age at which students left their secondary schools provides the first of the measures of "success", though it is not a meritocratic measure. There were attempts made by the state to exert control over the length of secondary schooling in this, as in the post World War II period. In 1915 the age at which students could legally leave school (though most often not a secondary school) was raised from the thirteenth to the fourteenth birthday. In the 1920s there was a major but unsuccessful attempt to extend the basic three year high school course to four.<sup>10</sup> The courses offered by the new central schools were limited to three years, though very few students remained beyond two. By 1940, students at the major state secondary school, Unley High, could still achieve their Leaving Honours in four years, but a sub-Intermediate level was available, extending the possible year levels to five. These structural factors need to be taken into account when examining patterns of school leaving through reading Tables 3.3-3.6 below. Another restructuring of some importance also occurred in this period, and affects the measuring of secondary school "success". Three of the public examinations underwent a name change in the 1920s, while one, the Primary disappeared altogether. The Junior became the Intermediate. The Senior was designated the Leaving examination, but, like its predecessor, it continued to provide University matriculation. The Higher Public became the Leaving Honours. As its name suggested, the Leaving examination, year or certificate (the "Leaving" as adjective could describe all three) was considered the legitimate aspiration of bright boys in particular. The Leaving Honours was meant for the few, often those who looked to a secondary teaching career.

Tables 3.3 to 3.5 show the ages of students on leaving their secondary schools, by sex and social class for each cohort. Variations in the distribution of the leaving ages for different social groups is not as marked as might be anticipated, especially in the earlier years. These statistics are dominated by the students from the state high school, who were enrolled on a selective basis. Academic performance in the fifth class at the state primary schools was the means of selection.

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10. See Director's Report (W. T. McCoy), *MR 1922*, p. 23. On its reception and demise at Unley High, see Campbell, *State High School*, p. 33.

Table 3.3

**Student ages on leaving school by social class (N & %):  
Whole cohort: 1911**

*(a) Males<sup>11</sup>*

	<i>Prop-MC-rural</i>		<i>Prop-MC-urban</i>		<i>Employed MC</i>		<i>Skilled WC</i>		<i>Unskilled WC</i>		<i>Female HH</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Under 13	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	14.2
13	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	13.1	1	5.6	4	36.3	3	42.9
14	0	0.0	7	29.2	8	34.8	5	27.7	3	27.3	0	0.0
15	1	5.3	7	29.2	8	34.8	9	50.0	4	36.4	3	42.9
16	5	26.3	4	16.6	2	8.7	2	11.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
17	1	5.3	1	4.2	0	0.0	1	5.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
18	1	5.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
19	2	10.5	1	4.2	1	4.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Over 19	9	47.3	4	16.6	1	4.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	19	100.0	24	100.0	23	100.0	18	100.0	11	100.0	7	100.0

*(a) Females<sup>12</sup>*

	<i>Prop-MC-rural</i>		<i>Prop-MC-urban</i>		<i>Employed MC</i>		<i>Skilled WC</i>		<i>Unskilled WC</i>		<i>Female HH</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Under 13	0	0.0	2	11.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
13	0	0.0	2	11.8	2	15.3	2	13.3	1	33.3	0	0.0
14	1	100.0	3	17.6	5	38.5	4	26.7	1	33.3	2	66.7
15	0	0.0	3	17.6	5	38.5	7	46.7	1	33.3	0	0.0
16	0	0.0	7	41.2	1	7.7	2	13.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
17	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3
18	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
19	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Over 19	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	1	100.0	17	100.0	13	100.0	15	100.0	3	99.9	3	100.0

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

11. For 1911 male students, N (cohort)=115 (100%), n (missing)=11 (9.6%); n (not employed)=2 (1.7%); . This "cohort" is made up of students from Unley High School and Concordia College. See Appendix A for details of each cohort.
12. For 1911 female students, N (cohort)=55 (100%), n (missing)=0 (0.0%); n (not employed)=3 (5.5%); . This "cohort" is made up only of students from Unley High; the relevant school leaving dates were not available from the Methodist Ladies College.

Table 3.4

**Student ages on leaving school by social class (N & %):  
Whole cohort: 1921**

*(a) Males<sup>13</sup>*

	<i>Prop-MC-rural</i>		<i>Prop-MC-urban</i>		<i>Employed MC</i>		<i>Skilled WC</i>		<i>Unskilled WC</i>		<i>Female HH</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Under 13	1	1.6	3	5.6	3	5.6	1	2.5	0	0.0	1	5.9
13	2	3.2	1	1.9	3	5.6	2	5.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
14	8	12.9	10	18.5	8	14.8	12	30.0	9	40.9	1	5.9
15	15	24.2	14	25.8	15	27.8	15	37.5	8	36.4	7	41.2
16	25	40.3	13	24.0	16	29.6	8	20.0	2	9.1	7	41.2
17	6	9.7	7	13.0	6	11.1	1	2.5	1	4.5	1	5.9
18	1	1.6	3	5.6	2	3.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
19	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.8	1	2.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Over 19	4	6.5	3	5.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	9.1	0	0.0
Total	62	100.0	54	100.0	54	100.0	40	100.0	22	100.0	17	100.1

*(a) Females<sup>14</sup>*

	<i>Prop-MC-rural</i>		<i>Prop-MC-urban</i>		<i>Employed MC</i>		<i>Skilled WC</i>		<i>Unskilled WC</i>		<i>Female HH</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Under 13	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
13	0	0.0	3	15.8	3	8.1	2	6.9	1	11.1	0	0.0
14	3	12.5	2	10.5	7	18.9	9	31.1	3	33.3	7	58.3
15	7	29.2	5	26.3	12	32.4	12	41.4	1	11.1	3	25.0
16	9	37.4	5	26.3	8	21.7	4	13.8	2	22.2	2	16.7
17	1	4.2	3	15.8	6	16.2	0	0.0	1	11.1	0	0.0
18	4	16.7	0	0.0	1	2.7	1	3.4	1	11.1	0	0.0
19	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Over 19	0	0.0	1	5.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	24	100.0	19	100.0	37	100.0	29	100.0	9	99.9	12	100.0

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

13. For 1921 male students, N (cohort)=272 (100%), n (missing)=23 (8.5%); n (not employed)=0 (0.0%).
14. For 1921 female students, N (cohort)=138 (100%), n (missing)=2 (1.4%); n (not employed)=6 (4.3%).

Table 3.5

**Student ages on leaving school by social class (N & %):  
Whole cohort: 1933**

(a) Males<sup>15</sup>

	<i>Prop-MC-rural</i>		<i>Prop-MC-urban</i>		<i>Employed MC</i>		<i>Skilled WC</i>		<i>Unskilled WC</i>		<i>Female HH</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Under 13	1	2.6	0	0.0	1	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
13	5	13.2	6	6.7	10	8.1	5	6.0	13	12.9	5	8.9
14	6	15.8	25	27.8	32	26.1	38	45.2	54	53.5	20	35.7
15	12	31.5	22	24.4	34	27.6	20	23.8	23	22.8	15	26.8
16	5	13.2	19	21.1	23	18.7	18	21.4	8	7.8	10	17.9
17	6	15.8	11	12.2	16	13.0	2	2.4	2	2.0	4	7.1
18	2	5.3	6	6.7	6	4.9	0	0.0	1	1.0	1	1.8
19	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	1	1.2	0	0.0	1	1.8
Over 19	1	2.6	1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	38	100.0	90	100.0	123	100.0	84	100.0	101	100.0	56	100.0

(a) Females<sup>16</sup>

	<i>Prop-MC-rural</i>		<i>Prop-MC-urban</i>		<i>Employed MC</i>		<i>Skilled WC</i>		<i>Unskilled WC</i>		<i>Female HH</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Under 13	0	0.0	1	2.4	1	1.4	1	1.7	0	0.0	1	3.4
13	5	26.3	4	9.8	5	7.0	11	18.6	11	22.4	4	13.8
14	3	15.8	15	36.6	27	38.1	26	44.1	24	49.1	12	41.4
15	7	36.8	12	29.3	25	35.2	6	10.2	11	22.4	5	17.2
16	2	10.5	5	12.2	6	8.5	12	20.3	3	6.1	3	10.4
17	1	5.3	3	7.3	5	7.0	2	3.4	0	0.0	3	10.4
18	1	5.3	1	2.4	1	1.4	1	1.7	0	0.0	1	3.4
19	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Over 19		0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	19	100.0	41	100.0	71	100.0	59	100.0	49	100.0	29	100.0

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

15. For 1933 male students, N (cohort)=523 (100%), n (missing)=4 (0.8%); n (not employed)=27 (1.2%).
16. For 1933 female students, N (cohort)=271 (100%), n (missing)=1 (0.4%); n (not employed)=2 (0.7%).

It is likely that the effect noted by Labaree for Philadelphia Central High School, that once entry into an academically selective secondary school had been achieved, class was of limited importance as a predictor of success, or in this case, length of stay.<sup>17</sup> This problem of prior selection wanes as an issue, but is not completely absent, by 1933. By that stage the students in the data-base are much closer to a representative sample of youth in the population as a whole; the establishment of the much less selective Central schools had allowed this to occur. One would expect class in particular to re-assert a strong influence over length of stay as a result.

A further table of the average lengths of stay for each group captures some of the important variations in the tables above. In calculating the means I have removed those cases at the extremes. The under-13 students who left school were more likely to be transferees to other schools rather than genuine leavers. Similarly the over-19s, who came mainly from the Lutheran school, Concordia, were highly likely to have made the transition to the seminary, and were often no longer "secondary" students. Those who left school to transfer to another were usually identifiable in the state school registers, and therefore able to be removed from the calculations of leaving ages, but undoubtedly some slipped through. They were almost impossible to identify from the private and corporate school records. With these excisions and qualifications, the means of the leaving ages gained are good estimates with the exception of some of the 1911 figures. Those for the proprietary middle class are suspect, given the absence from the data-base of larger private and corporate schools. Concordia, with its mix of secondary and tertiary male students was the only school to provide substantial numbers of boys from proprietor and older professional families (usually farmers, graziers and clergy), and no doubt inflated the mean leaving age with its seminary trainees. The other major qualification to be taken into account when reading Table 3.6 is the issue of small numbers in the categories. Where numbers were less than 5, the means were not calculated. (This occurs three times for 1911 in Table 3.6.) The numbers of youth from the unskilled working class were small for the 1911 and 1921 cohorts, and though greater than 5, the means should be received with scepticism.

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17. Labaree, *The making of an American high school*, p. 56.

Table 3.6

**Mean leaving ages of students by social class and status of Household Head: 1911 1921 1933**

	1911		1921		1933	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Prop MC rural	17.5	na <sup>18</sup>	16.2	16.3	15.6	15.1
Prop-MC urban	15.7	15.4	15.4	15.7	15.7	15.2
Employed MC	15.2	14.9	16.1	15.8	15.7	15.3
Skilled WC	15.2	15.0	15.4	15.3	15.1	14.9
Unskilled WC	14.4	na	15.2	15.8	14.8	14.6
Female H Head	14.8	na	16.0	15.1	15.3	15.2
N	80	50	231	128	484	257
Missing (%)	7.5	0.0	8.7	1.6	0.2	0.0

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

It is rare for the mean leaving ages for any social class or group in Table 3.6 to vary by more than a year from any other group. (The seminary related cause of the 17.5 figure for the proprietary middle class in 1911 has been discussed above.) The probability that the selective nature of entrance into the state high school, also discussed above, had the effect of minimising class-related gaps in mean leaving ages remains a viable hypothesis. Nevertheless, there are significant gaps of more than six months (0.5 years in the table) which suggest class and gender influences of some substance.

Gender is responsible for different patterns of mean leaving age over the 1911-1933 period. For 1911, boys, on average, remained longer than girls for all groups. Their mean leaving ages for the cohort as a whole were 15.5 and 15.1. This more dedicated effort in relation to male youth occurs again in the 1933 figures when in every category, boys on average, stay longer at secondary school. (The 1933 cohort means were 15.3 and 15.0.) There is a contrast for the mean leaving ages between. In 1921, girls from the proprietary middle class, rural and urban, including the daughters of professional men and merchants as well as property owners, remained longer at school. In seeking explanations for these gender related changes, the effect of the Depression provides an important source. The imposition of fees in the state high school in 1933 had an immediate effect on the enrolment of boys and girls; but especially girls where the enrolment drop was much sharper.<sup>19</sup> This problem of the expense of secondary schooling was not only an issue for state students. Enrolments declined alarmingly in both the major Protestant corporate schools in the district, Scotch

18. Mean not calculated since  $n < 5$ . Also for other *na* (not available) means in this column.

19. See Campbell, *State High School*, pp. 64-66.

College and the Methodist Ladies College. In looking at the differences between the mean leaving ages of the sexes from 1921 to 1933, the willingness to support boys for longer in the tough times is readily seen. (Table 3.7) A negative figure indicates the decline, measured in years from 1921 to 1933.

Table 3.7

**Differences between mean leaving ages by class and sex from 1921 to 1933 (years)**

	Male	Female
Proprietary middle class-rural	-0.61	-1.28
Proprietary middle class-urban	-0.23	-0.50
Employed middle class	-0.36	-0.50
Skilled working class	-0.31	-0.41
Unskilled working class	-0.39	-1.20
Female Household Head	-0.62	+0.08

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

Table 3.7 shows that while boys were enrolled for a shorter period in 1933 than in 1921 (by between, on average, two to seven months), girls consistently lost more time in all classes. The exception in this pattern is found in the final group, the families or households headed by women, though the numbers involved were small and the positive trend was also quite small. The generally greater willingness to sacrifice the schooling of girls had effects beyond education. It meant that girls were likely to enter the world of work earlier than boys, whether paid or at home. Modern adolescences for girls, at least as far as they meant prolonged institutional dependency, apart from productive labour, were less secure than for boys. Girls from farming families were most affected in this respect. A similarly sized gap for girls of the unskilled working class is less significant, since there were so few of them in post-compulsory secondary schooling before 1925.

Gender, then, is exposed as a source of variation in the length of secondary schooling and the age of leaving. The interaction of social class with gender is another. Table 3.8 shows the discrepancies between mean leaving ages for girls and boys in each of the cohorts' social classes and groupings. A positive figure indicates a later mean leaving age for boys, and negative, a later mean leaving age for girls.



Table 3.8

**Differences between mean leaving ages of boys and girls (years):  
Cohort by social class: 1911, 1921, 1933**

	<i>1911</i>	<i>1921</i>	<i>1933</i>
Proprietary middle class-rural	<i>na</i>	-0.17	+0.50
Proprietary middle class-urban	+0.36	+0.24	+0.51
Employed middle class	+0.33	+0.34	+0.48
Skilled working class	+0.19	+0.08	+0.18
Unskilled working class	<i>na</i>	-0.57	+0.24
Female Household Head	<i>na</i>	+0.85	+0.15

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

Of the social class groups, the most consistent minimum discrepancy between mean leaving ages for boys and girls occurs in the skilled working class, despite that class's varying access to secondary schooling in the first third of the century. The middle class appeared to be the most likely to use gender as reason for making disparate decisions about the length of schooling offered their youth. Early gaps of a fifth to a third of a year advantage in favour of boys increased to half a year in 1933 for urban proprietary and employed middle classes. A possible interpretation of these age discrepancies is that skilled working class parents were less likely to discriminate between their children on the basis of gender, regardless of the economic circumstances. While such an explanation may be attractive, it is more likely that other factors provide a more sustainable explanation. First, and as may be seen in Table 3.5 above, the mean leaving age for working class youth was much closer to the age of compulsory attendance (to the fourteenth birthday from 1915); there was simply less time spent in secondary education for this group which could be subject to discretionary family decision on the basis of gender, or any other basis. Second, there were structural reasons why students, especially from the mid-1920s could not stay long in secondary school for any reason. The central school courses were one to two years shorter than the courses of the other state, private and corporate schools; their students had to leave earlier, regardless of gender. The imposition of fees in 1933 also depressed working class enrolments in the high school, regardless of gender. The pre-1933 higher working class leaving ages were subject to the selectivity process; having proven their unrepresentative qualities by forcing their way into the selective secondary schools, leaving ages were not representative of school attending behaviours of the class as a whole.

In summary, as an indicator of secondary schooling success and behaviour, the analysis of leaving ages for the 1911, 1921 and 1933 cohorts must be interpreted within the context of unequal access. For example, the children of unskilled working class families are almost completely absent from the 1911 and 1921 cohorts. Given this qualification, it remains true that children from the middle class were most likely to stay longer at secondary school, than those from any other group which entered. Mean leaving ages for middle class groups, boys and girls, for 1921 and 1933 were from at least one to more than two years over the compulsory leaving age. The families of rural proprietors were more exposed to the economic down-turn of the 1930s. Of the three middle class groups, the youth of the rural middle class were more subject to widely fluctuating leaving ages. Youth from the urban proprietary middle class (which includes the professions in this analysis), and those of the employed middle class were the most consistently dedicated secondary school attenders. In both groups, boys were supported for longer than girls. Such behaviour stood to reason, given the increasing importance of school and other credentials in achieving a place in the professions, public service and in some areas of business. At least for 1911, youth from the skilled working class, having attained high school entry on a competitive basis, achieved mean leaving ages comparable or marginally superior to those of the employed middle class, but the effect of increased access saw a gap open in the 1921 and 1933 statistics. The 1933 figures show that the mean leaving ages for unskilled working class youth (boys and girls), and the girls of the skilled working class stood at less than a year after the compulsory leaving age.

### **Examinations, credentials and success**

In turning to the other measure of school success, one must note at least two major objections to the use of public examination performances. First, such a procedure privileges those schools and social classes for whom public examination credentials (and the meritocratic ideology from which they gained their legitimacy) above those for whom they were either irrelevant or less important. Second, it directly discriminates against the state central schools which provided no candidates for the public or university examinations. But these are not overwhelming objections since a focus of interest is not only the changing strategies of an emergent middle class and its historical attempts to create and reproduce its cultural resources and financial security, but the interaction of working class families with institutions which often and paradoxically both blocked and encouraged social mobility.

There is little doubt that credentials provided by increasing numbers of educational institutions through the late nineteenth and early twentieth century became not only the objects of increased competition, but that their possession became increasingly necessary for employment in many sectors of the state and business. Max Weber was one of the first social theorists to discuss the problematics of the increased production and use of credentials, and the implications for democracy:

"Democracy" ... takes an ambivalent stand in the face of specialized examinations, as it does in the face of all the phenomena of bureaucracy - although democracy itself promotes these developments. Special examinations, on the one hand, mean or appear to mean a "selection" of those who qualify from all social strata rather than rule by notables. On the other hand, democracy fears that a merit system and educational certificates will result in a privileged "caste". Hence, democracy fights against the special-examination system.<sup>20</sup>

Conflict between those who would make credentials more accessible to all as opposed to those who feared the devaluation of their credentials in a flooded market has existed throughout the twentieth century in South Australia, though the main arena for the struggle may have shifted decisively to the tertiary rather than secondary sector late in the century. In this section the question is asked whether the different social groups were able to gain the new credentials with some degree of equal chance. As Weber wrote above, the meritocratic side of the new educational courses and credentials appeared to nullify the "rule by notables", yet the question is raised of who the new credentialed elite would be. One can go further and ask if the old notables, through the new meritocratic processes, would find a means of reproducing their former influence. These sorts of questions, about the legitimacy of ruling and privileged elites and classes have been part of Australian political and social history from the early days of European invasion, though the role of the credential and a meritocracy as key issues in the debate is much more recent.

Randall Collins has written one of the most sustained analyses of the rise of the credential:

It has provided the means of building specialized professional and technical enclaves, elaborated bureaucratic staff divisions, and in general has served to monopolize jobs for specialized groups of workers and thus insulate them from pressures for directly productive work.<sup>21</sup>

Others have argued that the process identified by Collins has led to the creation of a new social class whose social power is based on knowledge and expertise rather than labour

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20. Max Weber in H. H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills eds., *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1948, p. 240.

21. Randall Collins, *The credential society: An historical sociology of education and stratification*, Academic Press, New York, 1979, p. 90.

power or capital.<sup>22</sup> Totally new class or not, the significant differences between old and new middle classes depend not only on differing relationships to the ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the kinds of labour performed, but also the new role of "cultural property" in producing and reproducing the class.<sup>23</sup> Especially important for this discussion is the role that credentials, in the form of certificates, diplomas and degrees, have played in the re-structuring of work, the organization of occupational and professional groups, and, continuing social class formations. At the beginning of the twentieth century in South Australia the whole process was very new. The University of Adelaide had only been established for some thirty years and the numbers sitting its examinations were small. At the same time however, the public examinations process was well organized. The credentials on offer were competed for with considerable energy by families and schools through their children as students.<sup>24</sup> The University was but one source of credentials relevant to white collar employment however. In 1910 for example, students from Unley High also sat for the Monitor's exam, Telegraph Messenger's exam and Telephone Assistant's exam. In 1914 five students passed the Civil Service exams, and another two, the Railways exam.<sup>25</sup>

The small numbers involved in secondary education noted for 1901 in the Unley and Mitcham area remained a feature of the early years of the twentieth century. Tables 3.9-3.11, constructed from the Public Examination Board's published results confirms this even though by 1933 the numbers gaining their Intermediate certificates at the end of two or three years of secondary school was almost four hundred. The contribution of the state high schools to the growing volume of credentials gained is obvious from the tables.

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22. Charles Derber, William A. Schwartz & Yale Magrass, *Power in the highest degree: Professionals and the rise of a new mandarin order*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1990, p. 6. See also Bob Carter, *Capitalism, class conflict and the new middle class*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1985 and Harold Perkin, *The rise of professional society: England since 1880*, Routledge, London, 1989. (For Perkin's discussion of meritocracy and schooling see pp. 448-51.)

23. See Desley Deacon, *Managing gender: The state, the new middle class and women workers 1830-1930*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1989, pp. 3-11, for a review of the literature on this question, with the Australian historical experience, and the problems of understanding changes in women's work, as a focus.

24. The competitive and meritocratic elements of these examinations and credentialing procedures are evidenced by the organization of the early Public Examination Board manuals, with their honours lists, the naming of schools from which students who passed came and the regulations concerning prizes.

25. *MR 1911*, p. 12; Report of the Minister of Education ...1914, *MR 1914*, p. 10.

Table 3.9

**Public examinations passed (N):  
Unley and Mitcham schools: 1911 cohort<sup>26</sup>**

	Primary 1911-12		Junior 1912-13		Junior Comm 1912-13		Senior 1913-14		Senior Comm 1913-14		Higher Public 1914-15	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	<i>Non-state</i>											
Kyre (P)	6	-	9	-	0	-	4	-	0	-	0	-
Concordia (C)	0	-	10	-	0	-	5	-	0	-	0	-
Cabra (C)	-	0	-	1	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	6
M.L.C. (C)	-	14	-	16	-	0	-	9	-	0	-	0
Parkville (P)	-	1	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0
Walford (P)	-	2	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0
<i>Sub-total</i>	6	17	19	17	0	0	9	9	0	0	0	6
<i>State</i>												
Unley High	51	20	18	5	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sub-total</i>	51	20	18	5	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	57	37	37	22	7	1	9	9	0	0	0	6

Source: *Public Examination Board Manual*, University of Adelaide, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916.

Table 3.10

**Public examinations passed (N):  
Unley and Mitcham schools: 1921 cohort**

	Primary 1921-2		Junior/Intermediate 1922-23		Leaving 1923-24		Leaving Honours 1924-25	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	<i>Non-state</i>							
Concordia (C)	0	-	7	-	0	-	2	-
Scotch (C)	0	-	23	-	3	-	2	-
Cabra (C)	-	3	-	0	-	0	-	0
King William Rd (P)	-	2	-	0	-	0	-	0
M.L.C. (C)	-	21	-	19	-	9	-	6
Parkville (P)	-	1	-	0	-	0	-	0
Walford (P)	-	0	-	6	-	0	-	0
<i>Sub-total</i>	0	27	30	25	3	9	4	6
<i>State</i>								
Unley High	0	0	66	27	3	7	0	1
<i>Sub-total</i>	0	0	66	27	3	7	0	1
<b>Total</b>	0	27	96	52	6	16	4	7

Source: *Public Examination Board Manual*, University of Adelaide, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926.

26. Abbreviations in this table: *Comm* = Commercial, C = Corporate school, P = Private school.

Table 3.11

**Public examinations passed:  
Unley and Mitcham schools: 1933 cohort**

	<i>Intermediate 1934-35</i>		<i>Leaving 1935-36</i>		<i>Leaving Honours 1936-37</i>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
<i>Non-state</i>						
Concordia (C)	6	3	7	4	0	0
Scotch (C)	20	-	22	-	11	-
Cabra (C)	-	9	-	2	-	0
M.L.C. (C)	-	50	-	19	-	6
Walford (P)	-	36	-	10	-	6
<i>Sub-total</i>	26	98	29	35	11	12
<i>State</i>						
Unley High	118	83	37	28	5	14
Urrbrae	6	-	1	-	0	-
<i>Sub-total</i>	124	83	38	28	5	14
<b>Total</b>	150	181	67	63	16	26

Source: *Public Examination Board Manual*, University of Adelaide, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938.

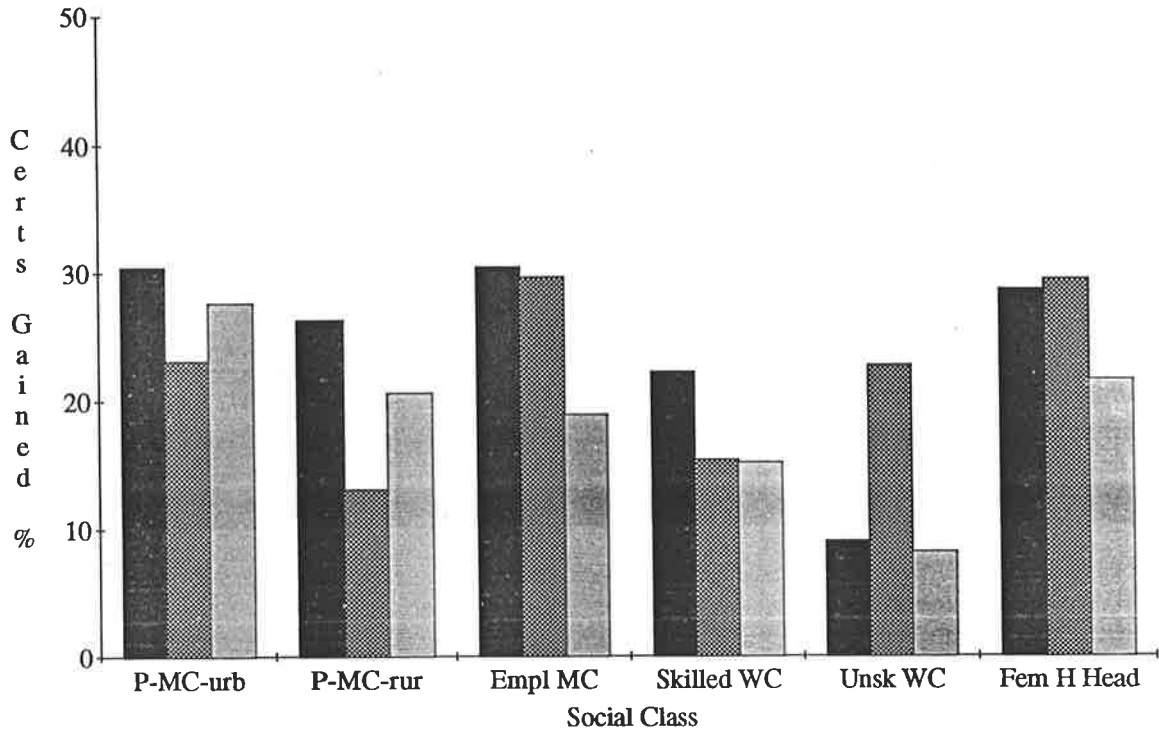
Tables 3.9 - 3.11 show the importance of the state schools in the junior years. The numbers of their students gaining Junior and then Intermediate certificates by 1933 was very much greater than those for the non-State schools. Numbers for the Senior/Leaving and Higher Public/Leaving Honours tell a different story. The credentials gained by state students were roughly equal in number to those in the private and corporate schools. Those remaining in secondary education beyond a couple of years were those who experienced the prolongation of their youth as dependents. It is these students, involved in seeking credentials beyond the minimal levels, to whom attention is now given.

Figures 3.2 and 3.3 show the percentages of secondary certificates gained by social class for each of the three census years. They allow a comparison of the classes to be made in relation to their success in the pursuit of these credentials. The same qualifications must be made here as in earlier discussions; the students in the 1911 and 1921 cohorts were not representative of all youth in the district (and beyond) because of the selective nature of secondary school entry. It is only in the 1933 statistics that the cohort of youth in secondary schools began to approach representativeness of the youth in the district.

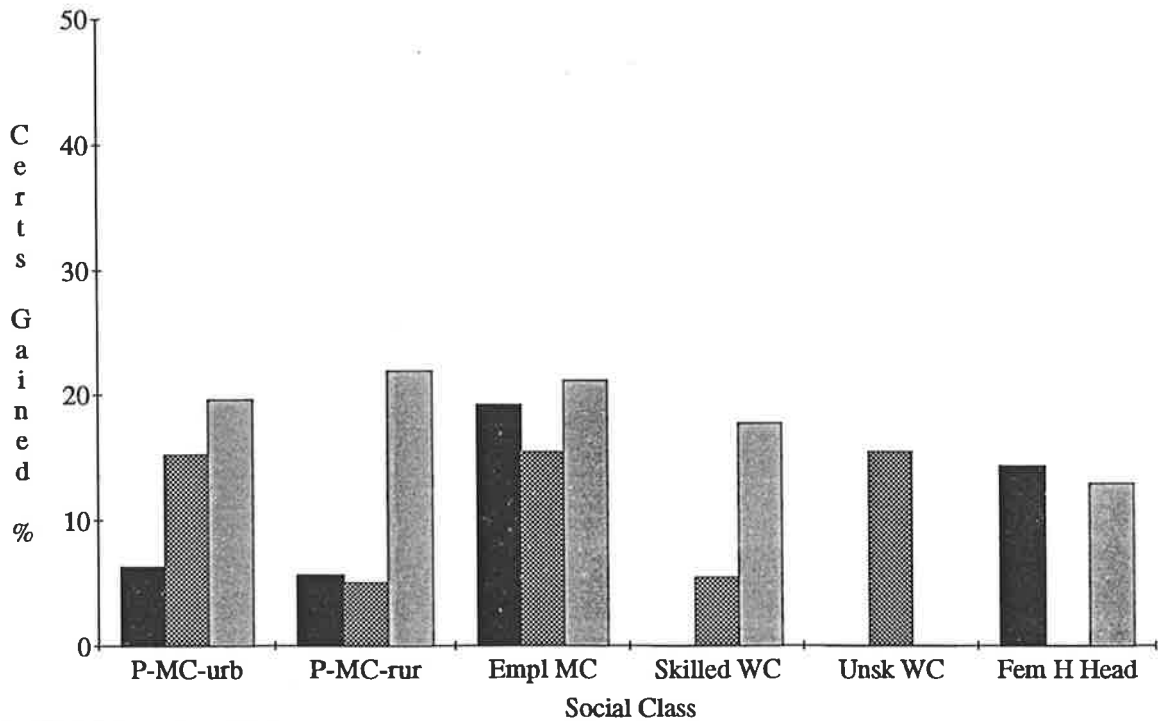
Figure 3.2

**Intermediate gained by social class (% of success within each class):  
1911, 1921, 1933**

**(a) Males**



**(b) Females**



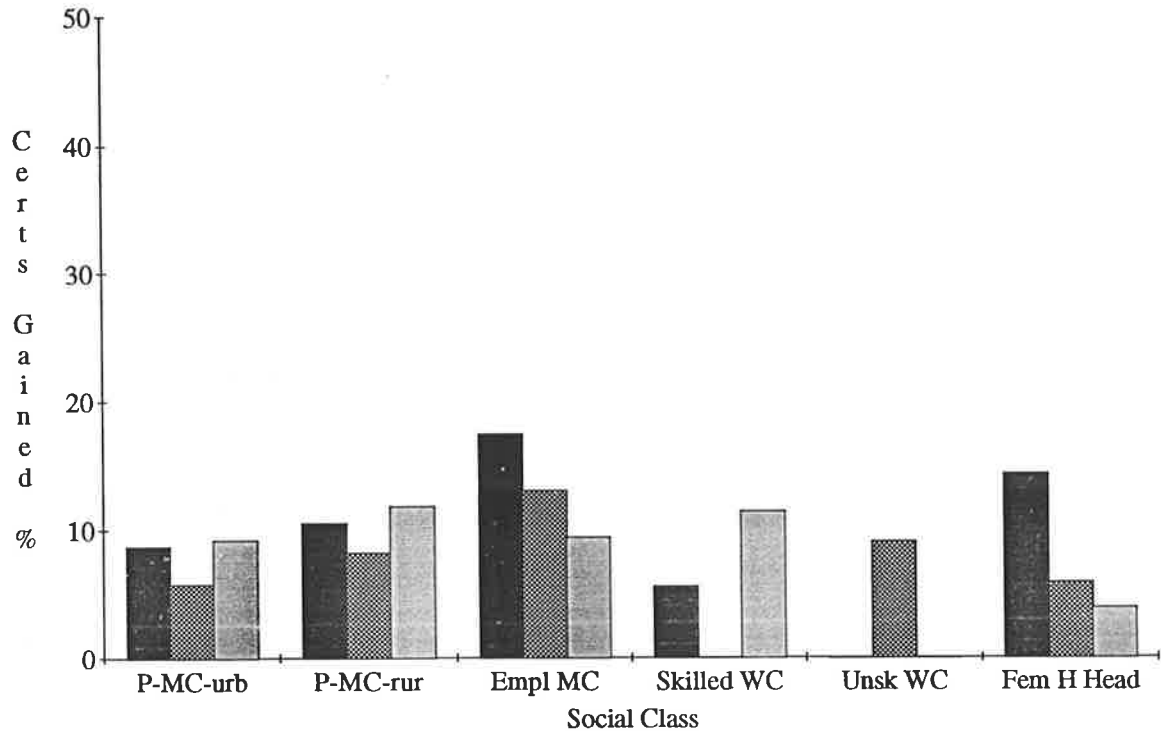
Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

■ 1911    ▨ 1921    ■ 1933

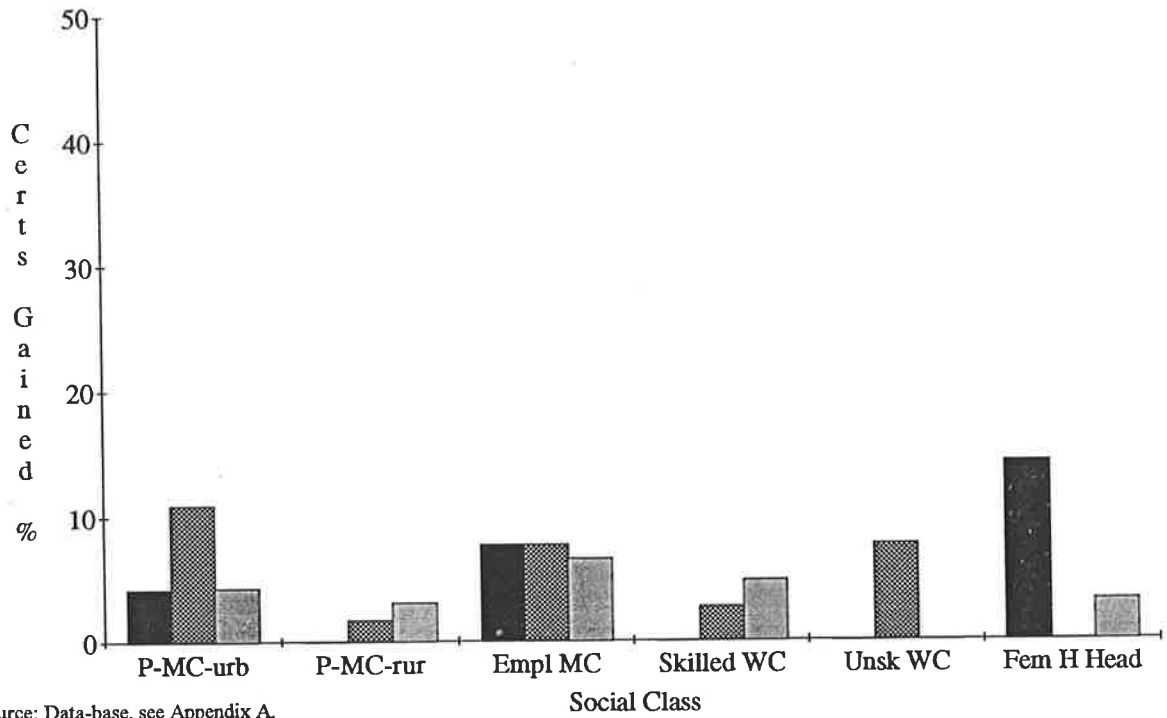
Figure 3.3

Leaving gained by Social Class (% of success within each class):  
1911, 1921, 1933

(a) Males



(b) Females



Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

■ 1911    ▨ 1921    ▩ 1933



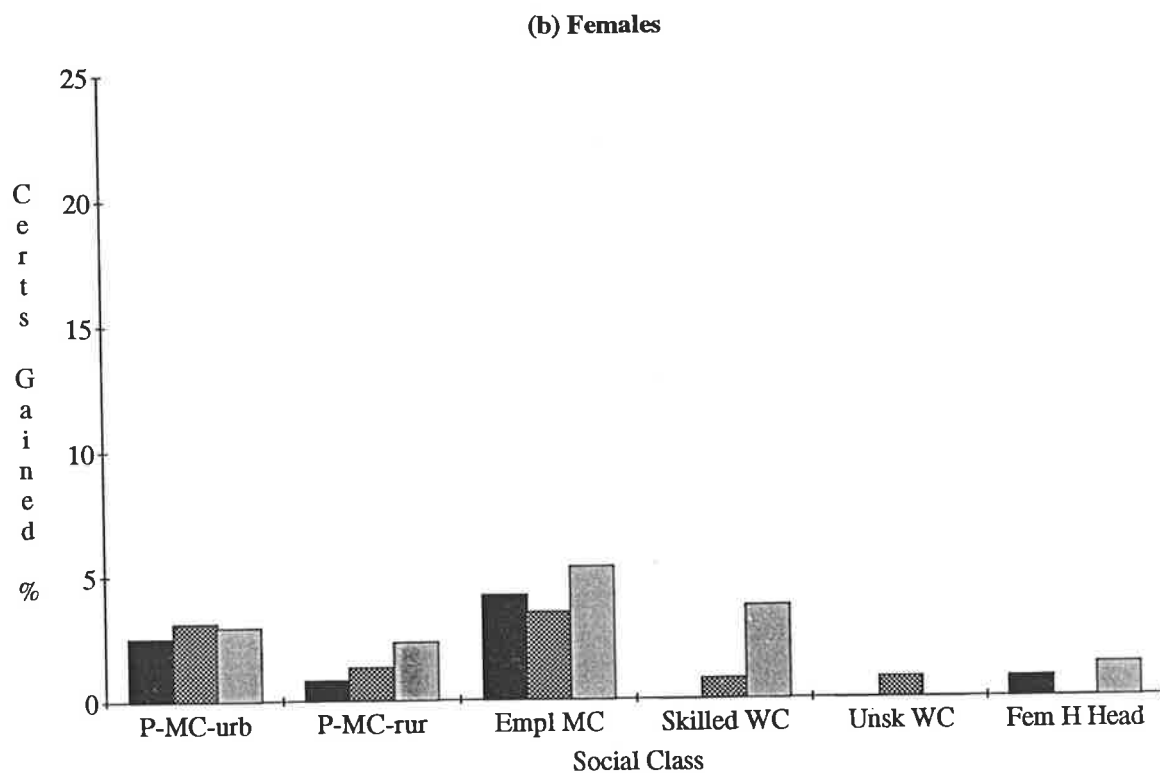
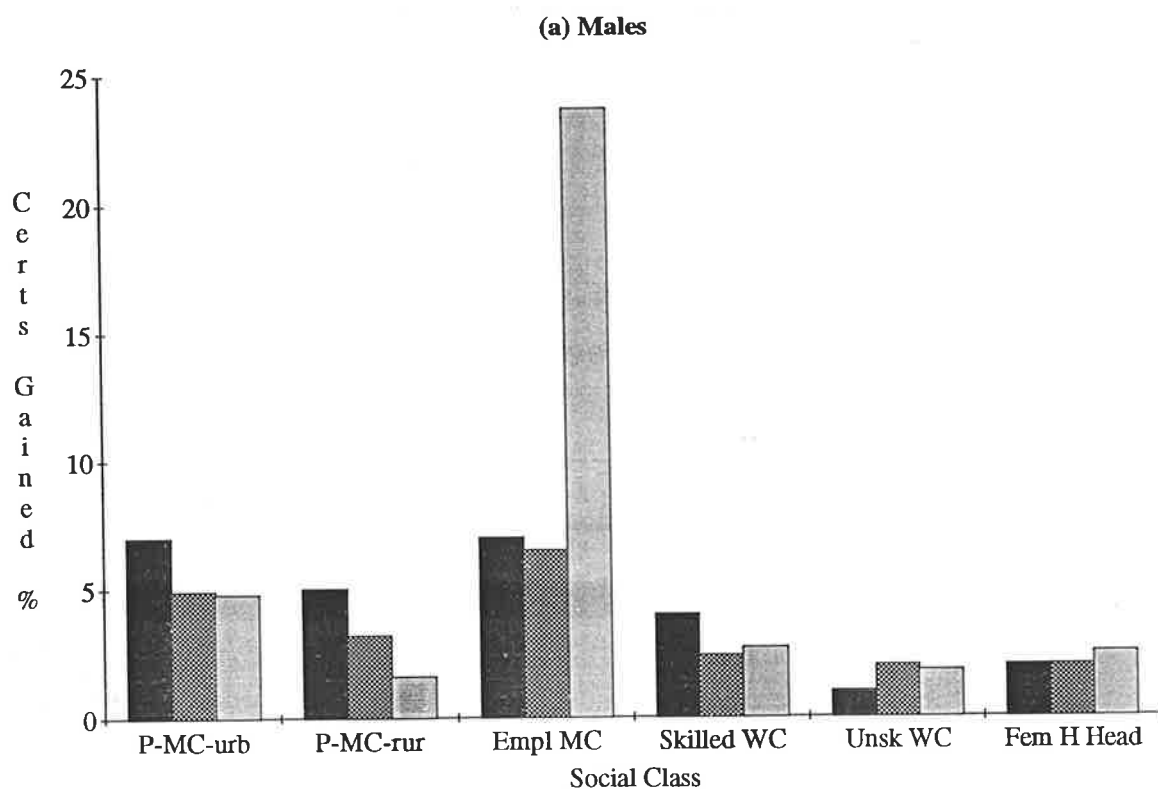
In the first third of the century, boys from the urban proprietary and employed middle classes, with those from female headed households had the best over-all success rates in the Junior and Intermediate examinations, though there are differences between the three years. This is also true for girls though the employed middle class was more consistent across the twenty years in sustaining high levels of success. The effect of the inclusion of the state central school students in the 1933 figures, and the drop in the number of students from rural districts as a result of a probable inability to pay fees was to cut by over 50% the success rate of the unskilled working class from 1921, and improve the rates for the boys of rural proprietors. These effects are even more dramatically apparent for the girls. No girls in 1933 from the unskilled working class gained their Intermediates. Those few girls from the rural districts remaining in boarding school for the two or three years needed to complete the Intermediate in 1934 and 1935 achieved the highest success rates of all the social groups. Figure 3.2 shows that girls were much less consistently successful in the Unley and Mitcham schools across all social groups but one, the employed middle class. Another feature of these graphs is the comparison between the success rates for girls and boys. In 1911 and 1921 boys clearly succeeded more often than girls in all social groups. This was untrue for 1933 when girls were marginally more successful in three. Only the unskilled working class retained the earlier pattern. This class appeared to be the least progressive in terms of supporting even some of its female youth through an academic secondary programme. "Progressive" may not be the right word. This group had minimal economic resources to survive the Depression.<sup>27</sup> We have already seen that other classes resorted to an obvious gender preference for boys in the sustaining of secondary schooling in the later years. Again it must be remarked, that an apparent declining trend of success across the three census years is a function of increasing access to secondary education. So it is that the high proportion of the few boys from the skilled working class who had entered the secondary schools as a result of selective examination in 1911 appeared to do well compared with the increased number of boys, subject less to selective entrance in 1921 and 1933. For girls, the pattern is a little different. 1933 tends to provide the year of success, but as has already been noted, the Depression tended to reduce the number of girls sitting for the public examinations. Presumably those who had a real chance of success were more likely to be supported at the secondary school.

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27. Continuing problems with central school enrolments were well recognized by the state Education Department which in 1934 reported that a high proportion of 13-16 year olds still received no secondary schooling. *MR 1934*, p. 7.

Figure 3.4

**Junior & Intermediate Certificates gained by social class (% of success within each cohort):  
1911 1921 1933**



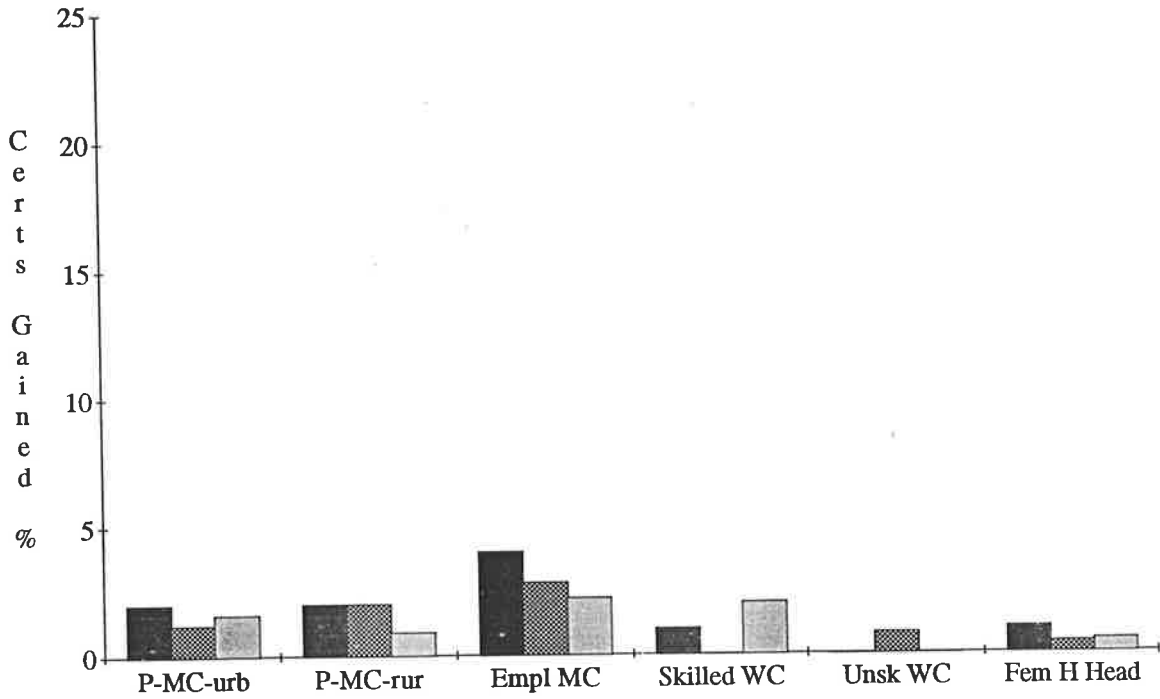
Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

■ 1911    ▨ 1921    ▩ 1933

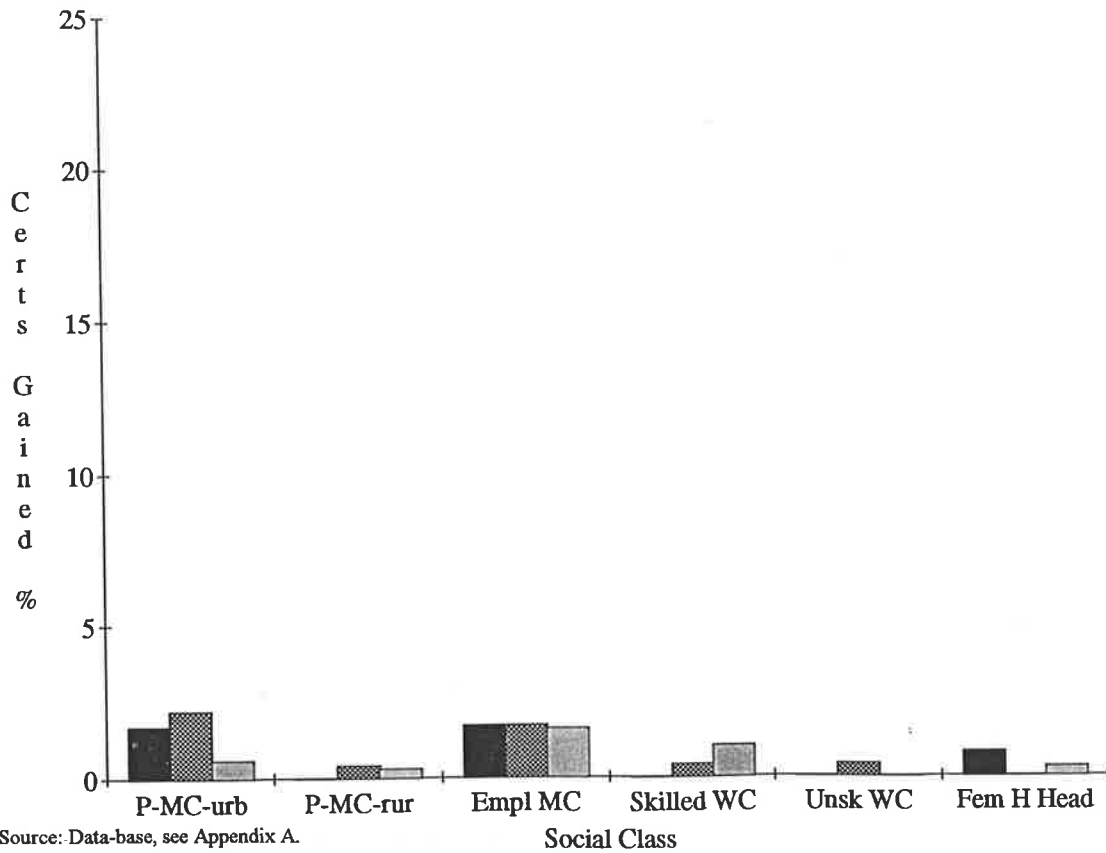
Figure 3.5

Senior & Leaving Certificates gained by social class (% of success within each cohort):  
1911 1921 1933

(a) Males



(b) Females



Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

1911 1921 1933

The numbers continuing to be enrolled for the Senior and Leaving years were very many fewer than for the Junior and Intermediate. Nevertheless Figure 3.3 also shows different patterns of class success. For boys and girls, the middle class groups were the most consistently successful. The parents of working class youth, skilled and unskilled had obvious difficulty in getting their children over this hurdle which also provided university matriculation and access to teaching careers. Boys were generally more successful than girls.

Figures 3.4 and 3.5 (above) show the success of students from the different social groups, not as percentages of their own group, but as percentages of each cohort. These graphs restore a sense of the actual numbers of students from each of the social groups engaged in secondary education. They also confirm the strength of the credential gaining capacity of the middle class groups, with the employed middle class in particular impressing with its determination at both Junior/Intermediate and Senior/Leaving levels. The extraordinary tripling of the success of boys from the employed middle class in the Intermediate in 1933 from the 1911 and 1921 level is important. Secondary education was clearly seen as a worthwhile investment for the future, at a time when families from other groups were either engaged in a struggle to maintain their children at school or were being forced to abandon the effort, which appears to be true for boys from rural proprietor families.

To conclude this analysis, we turn to the persistence of boys and girls from the different social groups in gaining not only the credentials under discussion, but the higher credentials gained at secondary school and at the state university. Table 3.12 combines students from each of the three cohorts. Patterns of performance discussed above have been consistent enough to suggest that not a great deal would be gained by discussing each cohort separately. The table shows the base percentage of students who gained no public examination certificate at all for each group, despite their enrolment in a secondary school, and then the drop-out rate through to the highest of the high school credentials, the Higher Public or Leaving Honours. Those groups with the largest percentages at the Senior/Leaving and Higher Public/Leaving Honours levels are deemed the most persistent in the struggle for credentials.<sup>28</sup>

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28. The percentages in the class columns do not total 100%. Because students who gained their Senior/Leaving and Higher Public/Leaving Honours are counted as having gained the lesser certificate, the Intermediate, the percentages to add for 100% are the "No certificate" and "Junior/Intermediate" figures. The declining percentages from Intermediate to Leaving Honours show the rate at which the groups failed to go on for a variety of reasons to the higher certificates.

Table 3.12

**Class persistence in gaining public examination credentials (%):  
Combined cohorts: 1911 1921 1933**

<i>(a) Males</i>						
	<i>PMC urb</i>	<i>PMC rur</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>	<i>Fem H/Head</i>
No certificate	67.3	74.6	67.3	78.1	87.9	72.2
Junior/Intermediate	24.2	15.9	20.7	15.1	10.6	22.8
Senior/Leaving	7.3	8.7	10.1	6.8	1.5	5.1
Higher Public/Leaving Hons	1.2	0.8	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total (N=)	165	126	208	146	132	79
<i>(a) Females</i>						
	<i>PMC urb</i>	<i>PMC rur</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>	<i>Fem H/Head</i>
No certificate	80.1	86.8	72.7	84.6	95.6	88.3
Junior/Intermediate	12.6	9.6	16.9	10.6	2.9	8.3
Senior/Leaving	6.0	1.8	6.4	3.3	1.5	3.3
Higher Public/Leaving Hons	1.3	1.8	4.1	1.6	0.0	0.0
Total (N=)	151	114	172	123	68	60

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

Table 3.12 shows that no class or social group was extraordinarily persistent or successful in its pursuit of secondary credentials over the period, but for both boys and girls, the employed middle class was the most persistent, with the proprietary middle class second. The limited worth of the Higher Public and Leaving Honours for entry into areas other than the University or teacher training is reflected in the greater persistence of middle and skilled working class girls through to the highest level compared with boys. Boys easily predominated for the lower levels.

The number of university degrees taken by these pre-World War II cohorts was very small. The cohorts have been combined once more for Table 3.13. The degrees are only those taken at the University of Adelaide. It is possible a very few students took their undergraduate University studies interstate or overseas.

Table 3.13

**Graduates of the University of Adelaide by academic degree and social class origins of their parents (household head) (N): Combined cohorts, Male & Female, 1911 1921 1933**

	<i>PMC urb</i>		<i>PMC rur</i>		<i>Empl MC</i>		<i>Skilled WC</i>		<i>Unsk WC</i>		<i>Fem H/Head</i>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
Arts	1	3	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	0
Science	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Medicine	4	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Law	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dentistry	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Engineering	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Agric Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total (N=)</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

Of the 43 graduates who could be tracked from the three cohorts (including those students whose parents' occupations could not be found), 21 came from the corporate and private Protestant schools, 22 from the state high and none from either of the corporate catholic or state central schools. But within that rough equality of two of the school systems were other biases. The corporate Protestant schools provided all the law graduates (3) and 9 of the 12 medical graduates. By contrast, the state high produced graduates qualified to take up high school teaching: 11 of the 15 arts graduates, and 4 of the 6 science graduates. This localised survey certainly confirms the findings of J. A. La Nauze who argued that the University courses which held the key to entry to the older professions were dominated by students from the private and corporate schools.<sup>29</sup> Table 3.13 above shows that youth from the employed and urban proprietary middle classes provided the greatest numbers for the University. The children of farmers and graziers, and the working class were minimally represented.

Entry to school teaching or the older professions was an aim for a small minority, even within the middle class groups. University studies were not required for entry into the banks, insurance companies, public service or commercial houses, nor very often were secondary studies beyond the Junior or Intermediate level. As a means of studying "success" at secondary school, this knowledge must qualify conclusions drawn from graduation at the higher levels of secondary and tertiary education.

29. J. A. La Nauze, "Some aspects of educational opportunity in South Australia" in J. D. G. Medley and others, *Australian Educational Studies (Second Series)*, no. 59, Melbourne, 1940, pp. 45-47.

## **An assessment of the strength of the contributing factors for secondary school success**

While conclusions could be drawn at this stage about the anatomy of secondary school success, it is useful to go one step further before doing so. The form of multivariate regression called Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) allows a comparison to be made of the differing responsibilities that a number of categorical variables may have for an interval level dependent variable.<sup>30</sup> In this case, the dependent variables chosen were the age of secondary school leaving and success in winning public examination credentials. The following variables were used in the MCA procedures reported in Tables 3.14 and 3.15 below:

- Social class (based on occupation of household head)
- Residence of student (rural or urban home of student)
- High grades (number of credits gained in Junior or Intermediate examination)
- Sex of student
- Sex of household head (parent)
- School system (Corporate and private, state high and state central).
- Examination success (public examination certificates gained)

The procedure produces coefficients (called betas) for each variable. It is from the comparison of these that the responsibility of different variables for the dependent variable may be discussed. This and similar procedures contribute to a discussion; they do not provide conclusions. Clearly the variables able to be entered in this or similar historical analyses depends on the nature of the data able to be gathered. Undoubtedly there were factors which influenced success in gaining credentials and school leaving ages which are either missing from the data-base, or are simply resistant to formulation in quantifiable form. Undoubtedly the choice of groups by which variables were composed influenced the outcome; as did the unavoidable fact that some of the variables are not quite independent. Such regression analyses as MCA work on the assumption that the variables are independent; an assumption which is often violated especially in the application of such procedures to contemporary and historical social problems. Nevertheless, MCA is considered a "robust" procedure, able to cope with some degree of variable multi-collinearity.<sup>31</sup>

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30. See Appendix F for further discussion of this procedure.

31. The tests applied to detect its presence in these analyses suggest that multi-collinearity was no greater problem than in similar analyses.

A greater problem is that of interpreting the beta coefficients and the variables. Social class is a special case. In a discussion of class as a variable in MCA and related statistical procedures, Katz argued that class in particular resisted reduction to a "wooden, static variable whose influence in American history hinges on a beta weight." Like E. P. Thompson, Katz argued for class as a "social relation" with "shifting forms and meanings."<sup>32</sup> In the tables below, classes as categorical variables are constructed primarily from grouping parent occupations as recorded in school attendance registers, with supplementary information from the South Australian business directories to distinguish where necessary between owners of businesses and employees. It is very likely that the beta statistics do under-estimate the actual influence of class on schooling, let alone begin to summarize the complexities of the relations between them. The other major reason why the influence of class, even as a categorical presence is under-represented is because of the selective nature of secondary school attendance in the period before World War II. The children of semi- and unskilled workers were hugely under-represented in the secondary schools, with some improvement in 1933.

Table 3.14 summarizes three regression analyses (MCA), one for each cohort, with the age of school leaving as the dependent variable.<sup>33</sup> The beta statistics should not be compared horizontally, at least initially. They have their primary meaning in relation to the other betas in their (vertical) column. Of interest first of all is the declining grand mean of the leaving age over the three cohorts. This is in great part a result of the universalization of secondary school attendance. The 1933 figure (14.74 years) occurs also as a response to the Depression, in which the proportion of students, especially from rural families, dropped their representation in the boarding schools. There was also the major effect of the new system of state schooling, the central schools, where lengthy attendance was structurally impossible, and probably unpopular as well.

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32. Michael B. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1987, p. 143.

33. School leaving age was coded in five categories: less than 15, 15, 16, 17, 18 and older. (For the 1911 cohort, the compulsory attendance provisions ceased to apply on a youth's thirteenth birthday; for 1921 and 1933, the fourteenth birthday marked the age of non-compulsory attendance.) Each of the cohorts was constituted from the students from schools with data on each of the variables. M.L.C. is the main school absent for want of leaving age data. See Appendix A for an outline of the data available in each school cohort.



Table 3.14

**Multiple Classification Analyses of school leaving age:  
Cohorts 1911, 1921 & 1933**

	<i>1911</i>		<i>1921</i>		<i>1933</i>	
Leaving age (grand mean)	2.30 (15.3yrs)		2.28 (15.28yrs)		1.74 (14.74yrs)	
<i>Factors</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>
Social class		.12		.12		.11 <sup>a</sup>
Proprietary middle	59	.15	154	.07	165	.06
Employed middle	35	-.21	87	.06	172	.16
Skilled working	33	.09	68	.01	137	-.05
Unskilled working	14	-.32	32	.02	148	-.12
Other & unknown	22	-.01	50	-.34	101	-.12
Sex of student		.05		.07		.06 <sup>a</sup>
Male	111	-.04	265	-.05	471	.04
Female	52	.09	126	.11	252	-.08
Sex of parent		.05		.05		.06
Male	153	.02	361	-.02	647	-.02
Female	10	-.28	30	.20	76	.17
School system		.42 <sup>c</sup>		.29 <sup>c</sup>		.24 <sup>c</sup>
State high	128	-.30	239	-.26	323	-.06
Corporate & Private	35	1.1	152	.41	49	.85
State central	-	-	-	-	351	-.06
Examination success		.26 <sup>c</sup>		.49 <sup>c</sup>		.49 <sup>c</sup>
No certificate	109	-.24	256	-.36	527	-.26
Sat Jun/Inter	22	.38	69	.50	82	.46
Gained Junior/Inter	21	.38	43	.48	77	.58
Gained Sen/Lvg/&	11	.86	23	1.65	37	1.50
Residence		.34 <sup>c</sup>		.09		.03
Adelaide urban	126	-.26	304	-.06	661	.01
Rural	37	.87	87	.20	62	-.08
N	166		395		753	
Missing (n)	3		4		30	
Missing (%)	1.8		1.0		4.0	
Multiple R <sup>2</sup>	.73		.37		.36	

a = significant at .05 level

b = significant at .01 level

c = significant at .001 level

This leads to the next feature of the table, that is the consistently high beta statistics, and strong significance levels for the variables of school system and examination success. In 1911 for example, the adjusted deviation from the mean of 1.1 years for the students of corporate and private schools reflects the fact that the state high school had only been open a year, and had yet to really establish its new role; it also represents the influence of Concordia in the analysis, given the absence of M.L.C. and Kyre data. Nevertheless high positive deviations are sustained for 1921 and 1933 when the data is more complete. In 1921 and 1933 the beta statistic for examination success displaces school system as the most significant factor predicting a late school leaving age. The size of this value needs some discounting since the very fact of examination success required a stay of some time in secondary schools, nevertheless it does point to the growing importance of the meritocratic function of secondary schooling.

Social class as a variable is of importance in each of the three years under analysis. The reasons why the beta statistics are less than might be expected have been discussed above. Even so, examinations of the adjusted deviations from the mean, say for the unskilled working class, which was grossly under-represented in secondary schools in 1911 and 1921 at least, points to the fact that even having overcome all the hurdles before enrolment in a secondary school, their class origin was a factor in lower leaving ages. Social class achieves significance at the .05 level in 1933, which is the first year in which secondary school intakes began to reflect the social class distributions of the broader society. The employed middle class, a group crucial to the argument about a developing strength for the meritocratic basis of secondary schooling progressively improved its distance from the mean leaving ages, with the Depression proving no barrier to this.

The analysis of the sex of the student as a variable suggests that this variable was less important than some others in accurately predicting the likelihood of a late school leaving age. The sex of the household head also appears to have a minor influence on the dependent variable. Where a student's home was situated is most significant for the 1911 cohort, in the very early days of the state school system. By 1921, with Unley High as the largest school in the area, and a day school, where students lived had much less importance as a predicting factor.

Because this MCA analysis is of those who enrolled in a secondary school, rather than all youth in the district, it is of limited value in developing a clear understanding of the relative contributions of the variables to the secondary school leaving age. The analysis systematically undervalues the importance of class and sex in the forming of impediments to

secondary school enrolment. Nevertheless, once in a secondary school, class and sex continued to exert an influence, an increasing influence with the growing accessibility of secondary schooling. School system and merit gained through examination performance have been identified in particular as additional very influential factors in the analysis of school leaving age.

A similar analysis of examination success in Table 3.15 has lower multiple  $R^2$  values, an indication that the proportion of total variance explained by the variables is lower. The students examined here are those who are known to have either sat for the Junior or Intermediate examinations, or reached an equivalent year level in the central schools. The cohorts were reduced in this manner to provide for the limitations on one of the variables, that is the high grades variable. Information on academic performance represented by grades was only available for public examination students who were distinguished by the number of credits they may or may not have gained. Because the majority of students left secondary school without or before sitting for public examinations, they had no opportunity in this study to establish their "merit". Table 3.15 therefore examines a select group who had already shown better than average persistence levels at secondary school. The dependent variable, examination success was measured in three groups: no certificate gained, Junior or Intermediate gained and Senior or Leaving or higher gained.

Except for 1911, high grades provide the largest beta statistics among the predictor variables, again substantiating Labaree's argument that in selective secondary schooling, grades as measures of meritocratic practices are the most important of variables, in his case, predicting graduation.<sup>34</sup> In 1911, the effects of class and school type provide the strongest betas. Again this is to be expected at a time when the state high, to become the most meritocratically driven school, was in its foundation period. (The apparently significant contribution of "sex of parent " for 1911 is disregarded given the extremely small number of women included as household heads.)

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34. The comparable MCA analyses of Central High School (Philadelphia) graduation rates are Tables 3.6-3.8, Labaree, pp. 57-9.

Table 3.15

**Multiple Classification Analyses of examination success:  
Students from cohorts who passed at least one subject in the Junior/Intermediate exams or reached  
Grade 10 (Third Year) in the Central Schools: 1911, 1921 & 1933**

	1911		1921		1933	
Exams passed (grand mean):	1.89		1.72		1.84	
<i>Factors</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>
Social class		.30		.22		.09
Proprietary middle	32	-.23	71	-.08	67	-.09
Employed middle	19	.42	39	.25	68	.04
Skilled working	9	.02	21	-.14	40	.07
Unskilled working	2	-.13	12	.29	16	-.12
Other & unknown	8	-.07	16	-.28	33	.08
Sex of student		.20		.00		.02
Male	48	.12	109	.00	139	.01
Female	22	.27	50	.00	85	-.02
Sex of parent		.29 <sup>a</sup>		.09		.05
Male	67	-.05	149	-.02	195	.02
Female	3	1.22	10	.31	29	-.12
High grades		.15		.36 <sup>c</sup>		.44 <sup>c</sup>
No credits	58	-.04	117	-.19	160	-.24
1 credit	8	.01	23	.48	44	.50
2 or more credits	4	.54	19	.57	20	.80
Residence of student		.10		.01		.06
Adelaide urban	45	.07	119	.01	187	-.02
Rural (incl. interstate)	25	-.12	40	-.02	37	.12
School system		.46		.12		.17 <sup>a</sup>
State high	40	-.36	84	-.10	168	.02
Corporate & Private	30	.48	75	.11	43	.09
State central	-	-	-	-	13	-.59
N	76		159		227	
Missing (n)	6		0		3	
Missing (%)	7.9		0.0		1.3	
Multiple R <sup>2</sup>	.22		.18		.27	

a = significant at .05 level

b = significant at .01 level

c = significant at .001 level

As for the sex of students, residence, whether in Adelaide (urban) or rural, didn't achieve statistical significance though examination of the adjusted deviations in both cases show there were differences in examination success. The positive reversal of fortune for rural students in 1933 was dependent on many fewer of their fellows enrolling in the Mitcham and Unley schools; they tended to be the few who were very committed to academic success. Differentiated examination success on the basis of sex is most obvious for 1911, and exposes the important link between the highest level of secondary school examinations, the Higher Public, girls, and preparation for teaching. It may also reflect the lack of a large boys' corporate school in the district.

The importance of academic performance as a factor in keeping a student at secondary school increased in the first half of the twentieth century. With the intervention by the state in providing high schools, its role expanded. Entrance itself was usually dependent on good performances in the final elementary school examinations. Many of the students in the secondary schools, especially those of the state, required success in examinations to secure employment as white collar workers. Their parents had no farms or businesses which could absorb them. At Unley High, with its near military organization, the credential was matched with a culture designed to produce reliable employees. For example, in the 1920s and 1930s the Commonwealth Bank used to send to the state high school for students to begin as clerks; the students were known for being well-disciplined.<sup>35</sup> The meritocratic mission of the state high school was maintained despite the pressure to make secondary education available to an ever greater proportion of youth. That the central schools had different courses, and did not present students for public examinations preserved the high school's credential market position.

The issue of academic performance, or success, is an important part of the discussion of emerging modern adolescences in South Australia. In Mitcham and Unley, entrance into the state institutions which most defined adolescence as a peculiar life-stage, were dependent on merit, as was the length of stay. Where merit was less important for the central schools from the mid-1920s, possible and actual lengths of stay were shorter. The corporate and private schools also had competing purposes. From the beginning of the century, Way, then Concordia, Kyre and Scotch colleges all emphasised their academic programmes and successes, but in fact they were few in proportion to the number of enrolments. This is also

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35. Interview with Arthur Burfield (teacher at Unley High, 1920s-1930s), 1984. (In the possession of the author.) See also J. W. Sutterby, *Social mobility and social classes in Adelaide circa 1880 - 1921*, M.A. thesis, Flinders University, 1988. This study concentrates in particular on the historical sociology of the clerk. Chapter 2 confirms the role of the early high schools in opening white collar work to the sons of manual workers.

true for M.L.C., Walford, the other private girls' schools, and especially true for Cabra. Many students experienced only a year or so of the secondary curriculum, without examination success. But, over the forty years the numbers of students from the private and corporate schools involved in public examinations, and in pursuit of secondary credentials increased. Part of the cause was the very effective competition from the state high school, another the growth in white collar employment.

## Conclusion

It is on the basis of this last comment that one turns to the question of secondary schooling and class formation. From the evidence provided from the cohorts who enrolled in secondary schools in 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1933, it is clear that secondary schooling was of enormous importance for the reproduction and reconstitution of the middle class in early twentieth century South Australian society.<sup>36</sup> Throughout the period students from the middle class were over-represented in the Unley and Mitcham secondary schools for their proportion of the population. More interesting is the perceptible shift from a preponderance of students from proprietary and professional middle class families to the growing persistence and success of youth from employed middle class families. The children of public servants, bank clerks, white collar business employees, agents, commercial travellers, teachers and others were increasingly represented among those who attended, stayed the longest, and were the most successful in terms of gaining the public examination board credentials. Yet reproductions and reconstitutions of the middle class are only part of the story. The establishment of the state high schools contributed a significant moment in the continuing constitution of class society. For the first time in the Unley and Mitcham schools, substantial numbers of youth from skilled worker families entered secondary schools. They were not immediately as persistent in their lengths of stay or successful in examinations, but the potential and actual use of state high schools to achieve upward social mobility had been recognized and begun. That the high schools were recognised as performing this function by contemporaries was commented on in many different places. Inspector Smyth of the Education Department had written in 1911, after noting the examination results and scholarship successes of the early high school students that

were it not for the facilities of advanced education so recently provided by our Department the boys and girls represented in the above lists of successes

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36. For related discussions of the role of secondary schooling and middle class formation for the U.S. see Ueda, *Avenues to adulthood*, pp. 117-8 and Labaree, *The making of an American high school*, pp. 170-2.

would, for the most part, have to go through life deprived of the educational advantages thus acquired, besides being excluded from all possibilities of future advancement.<sup>37</sup>

Two years later, William Adey, founding Headmaster of the Adelaide High School, was bemoaning a utilitarian demeaning of the cultural mission of state secondary education. He argued that public examinations were only the "stepping stones", not the object of the climb through high school work:

I feel that too frequently a wrong idea of the purpose and aims of the High School pervades the minds of both parents and students. The High School is too often looked upon as a place merely for the preparation of a boy in order that he may by and by become the possessor of 1,000 [pounds] a year and a motor car.<sup>38</sup>

When the competition intensified during the Depression for the few white collar jobs available to school leavers, the state high schools were immediate targets for the Liberal Country League government of 1933, dominated as it was by country and town capital. The imposition of fees had arguments such as these to sustain them:

It is more important that boys should have a job than that they should have secondary education and the solution is to help industries absorb them.<sup>39</sup>

The Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce argued that High School resources should not be wasted on boys who were going to be labourers, "it does not make them better labourers."<sup>40</sup>

It is no accident that one sex only is the object of the previous comments. Few girls were in competition with boys for the better paid white collar jobs. The responsibilities of girls in reproducing, making and protecting the middle class were changing in this period. Even so, their intended activity continued to be centred on the domestic sphere despite the emergence of new careers for some women from the health and applied social science areas. In many

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37. Inspectors' Reports, *MR 1911*, p. 28.

38. Inspectors' Reports, *MR 1913*, p. 56. Tracking the post-school employment patterns of the students in the data-base was not part of the study. Some information has been gathered however. State schools were required to comment on the destination of their school leavers, but too often the space was left blank, or filled in with the ubiquitous word "work".

39. Mr C. Cudmore, Member of the Legislative Council, quoted in *Advertiser*, 30th August, 1933, p. 15.

40. Quoted in Colin Thiele, *Grains of Mustard Seed*, Education Dept., S.A., Adelaide, 1975, p. 168. For a detailed study of the effect of the Depression on state education see Donald P. Allan, *Equality of sacrifice? An investigation into the reduction of public expenditure on state education in South Australia during the Great Depression, 1929-34, and its impact on state schools*, M. Ed. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1987. See also Miller, *Long Division*, ch. 10.

respects increased attention to child rearing and home was being demanded of middle as well as working class women given the entrenched domestic servant shortage and the new knowledge being produced by applied social and medical science on domestic life seen to be relevant to the welfare of family, nation and race.<sup>41</sup> Yet, as the research into the presence and success in the secondary schools has shown, girls participated in secondary education growth at all levels. Indeed, past the Junior or Intermediate level, from which boys were most often recruited into white collar jobs, girls often constituted a majority of secondary students. They also went on to the University, though in very small numbers. Why girls constituted such a prominent presence in secondary education early in the twentieth century cannot be explained by the importance of long term vocational considerations alone. The following two chapters explore the discourses surrounding the importance of secondary education in relation to gender in some detail.

In universalizing access to secondary schooling, which despite the Depression, continued once started, the process of universalizing adolescence also occurred. The process was subject to set-back however. It was also subject to differentiations through the creation of two systems of state secondary schools, with radically different educational and social purposes, and co-existing with an older, now mainly church-affiliated corporate "system". The consequence was to give the youth in each system a qualitatively different experience of adolescence, related very much to the interactions of gender and class, and in so far as it remained an organizing principle for some of the schools, religion as well. It is important also to situate this growth of the different forms of secondary schooling and modern adolescence firmly within the contexts of changing family and work structures arising from the circumstances of the demographic transition and economic transformations. The new concentration on the male wage as the most important economic foundation of family life, certainly in the new middle class and skilled working class, and increasingly for unskilled workers, with ever larger industrial, business and state organizations responsible for new definitions of work, and re-making the conditions of labour, had a considerable impact on the history of youth. Fewer children were produced by families as the period of time they needed to be supported in schools continued to grow. Some attempted to deliberately turn the new circumstances to advantage by sustaining their youth for the maximum periods possible at the new schools, as part of a long term set of strategies to secure their children's futures.<sup>42</sup>

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41. See Kerreen Reiger, *The disenchantment of the home*. (For example, pp. 38-42.)

42. This argument is based on a number of sources. Davey's presidential address to an ANZHES conference in 1987 ("The decline of the birth-rate and the rise of schooling") provides a useful overview of research to that time, with South Australia as one of its focuses.



The next chapter begins the qualitative discussion of adolescence. When Headmaster Adey found himself disappointed by the materialistic aspirations of his boys to thousands of pounds and motor cars, he also went on to say:

Certainly we do not despise the increased earning power of a properly trained lad, but I take it that the advancement in life that the High School should stand for is advancement in all the powers of the soul which tend towards the highest ideals of Christian manhood. It is the daily task that counts in the long run, more than examinations; and if we can inculcate habits of self-reliance and resource, and strength of purpose, even if he fail in the examination test, he will not fail in the eye of the Great Taskmaker.<sup>43</sup>

This represents one of a number of long standing gendered visions of how youth should develop towards adulthood. As secondary schools grew in size, number and diversity, they were increasingly seen not only as places to encourage the old visions but also as ideal sites for the implementation of new psychological insights into adolescence. Who went to the secondary schools, and who succeeded in them are crucial questions for the understanding of modern adolescence, but so are the questions arising from the moral and cultural economy.

Gillis' argument that the middle class led the way in Europe in pioneering modern adolescences holds true for the youth in the schools of the Unley and Mitcham district in South Australia for the first part of the twentieth century.<sup>44</sup> At the same time, the gaps between the classes were not fixed. Within the middle class, new and old were developing different relationships with secondary schooling and adolescence. The state's intervention in raising the school leaving age was crucial for the working class in particular. The universalization of the experience of adolescence began in this period. The two state inspired institutional contributions to this social process were the meritocratically based high schools, and the much less exclusive central schools.

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43. *MR 1913*, p. 56 (Inspectors' Reports).

44. Gillis, *Youth and history*, p. 133.

## Chapter 4

### Inherited images of youth, and the "modern" (1901-1940)

From the late nineteenth century average family sizes began to decrease quite rapidly. The proportions of youth in the population became less, and a range of social institutions, including the state as well as families, concentrated their attention on the management of youth. In the Unley and Mitcham area, the period of the two or three decades spanning the turn of the century was the great age of corporate and state secondary school establishment. It has already been shown however, that youth from the district and beyond entered and remained at these schools for differing lengths of time. The social class origins of the students, and their sex were important factors in this process. There were other factors as well, one of the most important of which was the ability to succeed, examination by examination, in completing the mainly academic curriculum. The consequence of this increased secondary school attendance was to change the experience of being a youth. This historical transformation was linked to a number of other social and economic transformations of the same time. They included, in South Australia, progressive shifts in the status of women, symbolised most obviously by the winning of the right to vote in 1894, the beginnings of the Labor Party and the increasing presence of the factory in industrial production. At the same time there was the realization that the best agricultural lands had been occupied; beyond were the marginal lands where the drought years outnumbered the good. There were also changing structures of employment, a feature of which was the rapid increase in the availability of white collar work.

The death of Queen Victoria and the birth of the Australian federation were not the only reasons for the common supposition that the new century would be one of unprecedented change or "progress". As a cultural construct, "youth" performed a role as metaphor for the nation itself.<sup>1</sup> The alleged optimism and energy of youth were attractive qualities which could be applied to a variety of nation building rhetorical purposes; but there were other alleged qualities of youth current which were less readily admired. The problems of larrikinism and dead-end jobs were defined as part of the problem of the working class in general, and as such, subjects for reforming interventions by the state. If males were often seen as the immediate objects of concern, women were often not far behind. Unscientific, unclean mothering, and vicious family lives in general were commonly regarded as the "breeding grounds" of the larrikin and boy problems in

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1. See K. S. Inglis, "Young Australia 1870-1900: the idea and the reality" in Guy Featherstone ed., *The colonial child*, Royal Historical Society of Victoria, Melbourne, 1981, pp. 1-23.

the cities of Australia.<sup>2</sup> Though the description of these conditions often formed the basis of arguments about what needed to be done for youth, the early twentieth century secondary schools failed to engage with the issues. Youth from the unskilled working class did not begin to enter secondary schools in any great number until the 1920s, and then their schooling was an extension, not a break with their elementary schooling. In this, the central schools followed their namesakes in England during the same period.<sup>3</sup> The new state institutions, the high schools, initially concerned themselves with a minority of youth, those whose intellectual achievements in the elementary schools had won them a place. They were not socially representative of their peers.

This process was not without its conflicts and paradoxes. The simultaneous celebration and deprecation of the family, the encouragement of youthful independence and dependence, the girl as future mother and scholar or professional or clerical worker, the problems of reproducing and producing certain forms of masculinity and femininity in schools increasingly devoted to a meritocratic ideology, all contributed to the tensions. The representations of youth discussed in the following pages bear a changing and often indeterminate relation to the social experience of the youth under study. The voices that are heard are often those of adults, often in powerful positions as state education bureaucrats and the heads of schools or teachers. Sometimes the voices of youth are heard, but they are usually voices in full knowledge that their first audience was adult authority, even if only as supervisors of a school magazine. At the same time, the distinction between social representation and experience is a fluid one. Idealist representations can inspire the ambition to fulfil them, as well as the necessity to reject them. Most of the representations discussed in this chapter and the next helped constitute vital discourses which created meanings for their social experience. Future employers and the state were interested in what schools had to say about youth in general, and as individuals. The politics and process of giving a student a job reference depended on such discourses. The more common representations of youth constituted a means by which an individual's experience could be compared, described, and if need be, judged. A direct link from these representations to the processes of class and gender formation may be anticipated.

Because secondary education was so closely associated with questions of employment opportunity, and consequently, class formation and reproduction, the social definitions of youth produced in the secondary schools were of considerable importance. Particular representations of youth were recognised as more legitimate, more admirable than

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2. See Lynette Finch, *The classing gaze: sexuality, class and surveillance*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1993, for a recent study of the history of the representations of the working class (based on a Foucauldian perspective). See also Reiger, *The disenchantment of the home*.
  3. See Brian Simon, *The politics of educational reform 1920-1940*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1974, pp. 118-123.

others, and worthy of reward. In the Australian context, the politics of that process have often been bitter. With schooling so divided between free state, fee-paying corporate Protestant, and low-fee Roman Catholic systems, and each system characterised by different mixes of religious and social class patronage, it was necessarily so. The discussion of the representations of youth helps show the means by which youth were managed, and the means by which schooling contributed to continuing reconstitutions of society as a whole. The process was shaped by many interrelated forces which included the strategies families planned to secure the economic futures of their children, schools' needs to create a demand for their distinctive offerings, to the state's desire to create a loyal and economically "efficient" citizenry. Also involved were the new social sciences, and especially psychology. They provided a vocabulary enabling the "social criticism of adolescents to appear an objective description of their condition" and played a role in the "discovering" of adolescence, and the production of "a new and generally incapacitating image of youth."<sup>4</sup>

The discourses about youth were often inconsistent. Coexisting with emergent new or "modern" images and representations of youth were very much older ones. There were many aspects of nineteenth century representations of youth which continued well into the twentieth, and co-existed, at least for a time with the emerging modern. The elitist character of secondary schooling in the late nineteenth century, with its source of inspiration so often the English public schools ensured paradoxes and contradictions. This chapter concentrates, though not exclusively, on the survival of the older discourses and representations fostered by secondary schools, many of them well into the twentieth century. Chapter 5 has as its focus the emergence of more "modern" representations, with special regard to the relationships between meritocracy, the new middle class and the new social science discourses about youth and "adolescence".

### **Reading the sources**

The school magazines which provided the main sources for the following two chapters had their origins in the reform of English public schools, and the arrival of those reforms in Australia. The names of the magazines of Way College (magazine founded in 1892) and the Methodist Ladies College (1906), respectively *The Boomerang* and *Wattle Blossom*, reflect Australia's significant period of pre-World War I nationalism. There was less reason also for Methodist schools to slavishly follow Church of England public school magazine naming patterns. The *Kyrian* (1910) and the *The Unleian* (1919) belonging to Kyre College and Unley High simply converted their school names on the

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4. Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, p. 116.

example of English public school models. That the state high school used this pattern is an indication of where it perceived its significant schooling origins and future traditions to lie. *Veritas* (1918) of the Cabra Convent school appropriated the motto of its founding order, the Dominicans. Concordia College used its school colours for the *Brown and Gold* (1924), while the others were content with the unimaginative title, *Magazine* (Unley High from 1922, Scotch, 1921, and Walford, 1930). The magazines, with school colours, uniforms and school songs for example, were a common means of establishing stable school identities and encouraging loyalty to the schools by present and old scholars.<sup>5</sup>

Towards the end of the Introduction, I introduced some of the problems associated with using school magazines as texts illuminating social history. The issues of supervision, authorship, censorship and readership expectations associated with magazines were briefly discussed. From time to time the magazines outlined their own policies. At Concordia the magazine was a means of advertising the school to prospective parents of students. It was to provide "inside glimpses of life at Concordia". It was also to encourage students to understand their school better, and love her more. It would provide a measure of "healthful entertainment". It was there to convince the "purse-keeper" of the school's worth, to "make members of Synod certain that we appreciate all that is done on our behalf". It would also help old scholars keep in touch.<sup>6</sup> This statement was more direct than most, with the magazine's propagandist role within the market and its community clearly stated. At the Methodist Ladies College, the two stated aims were: to provide an outlet for the girls' literary efforts, and to provide a means of connecting past students to the school.<sup>7</sup> At the largest state high school, the magazine was to encourage the spirit of union among the students, working with the sports teams which also served that function:

What has been needed is something produced by the School as a whole to replace the residential system of the English Public Schools.<sup>8</sup>

With this evocation of the English public schools and the assumption that a state high school should develop a comparable ethos, was the celebration of merit. This, with the prominent celebration of the public examination results for 1918, was an indication of one of the magazine's major purposes. It was also one of the first indications of modernity. Over the century, this function was increasingly common to all the school magazines except Concordia's. The general tendency to publicly celebrate merit was resisted. In 1932 the Principal justified the policy arguing that successful secondary

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5. Sherington, Petersen and Brice, *Learning to lead*, p. 16.  
6. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1924, p. 6.  
7. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1906, p. 1.  
8. Unley High School, *Magazine ("The Unleian")*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1919, p.5.

schooling was not necessarily the same as success in public examinations, and the school would continue to refuse to publish. This insistence held until after World War II.<sup>9</sup> At Unley High, a 1930 editorial argued that the magazine "should be a true mirror of our little commonwealth of school ...".<sup>10</sup> That would never be achieved by any school magazine, nor could it be. Though the term, "the hidden curriculum" had yet to be invented, its existence was well known among teachers, students and parents, and school magazines were not the place for its airing.

Many, often differing perceptions exist about the workings of any institution, including schools. It is from the idea that "reality" is variably experienced, perceived and represented, which suggested a means of reading the school magazines. An understanding of the politics and general nature of the discourses from which the magazines were produced allow a contextualization of their texts. At the same time, the magazines also produce evidence of the nature of those discourses. Among the influences of major importance are the framing of the discourses by the location of the schools within their markets, their need to attract enrolments and their differing relationships with the state. They are also framed by a growing necessity as progressive approaches to education took hold, to give students published voices in their schools, but not in a way which disrupted the market imperatives. Behind the desire to retain the contact with old scholars was, in part, the market consideration. Old scholars could become future parents, could bring glory to the school by their achievements and some might even contribute to the funds. School magazines were not only these things though, they were a part of that revolution which is attributed to the influence of Arnold of Rugby. Magazines could be an instrument in the development of Christian character. By the twentieth century they also had the linked function of recording and celebrating the students' and schools' efforts at competitive sports. The games field was another arena for the development of right character, increasingly among girls as well as boys. Such functions were not detached from the market considerations however.

Usually market and moral functions did not clash. For both it was important to present a limited range of youth "types". Usually these types were local distillations of broader social discourses about youth, whether the source was Victorian ideologies of domesticity, first wave feminism, Australian militarism or nationalism or formulations of ideal Christian manliness. Always the school magazines presented versions of youth which had uncertain links to the experience of youth. Youth were often idealized, the representations were often didactic in intent, seeking not only to portray youth but to form it. Sometimes they were successful, but not always. The magazines allow the

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9. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1932, pp. 34-5. The first full list of results was published in *ibid.*, 1947, p. 31.

10. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1930, p. 2.

possibility of an archaeology of public discourses about youth in association with the principal institutions dedicated to their reformation and education.<sup>11</sup>

The remainder of this chapter and the next are concerned with an analysis of these mainly school magazine composed representations of youth, with government reports as a source of additional evidence. First is a discussion of representational elements whose inspiration was in the main, discourses originating from the previous century. They include discussions of the ideas of "character" development, manliness and womanliness, relations between the sexes and sex, the roles of sport, war, nationalism and Empire, and Christianity. The chapter concludes with an introduction of the "modern", a discussion of the secondary school experience perceived as a separate and new life stage.

### **Constituting the representations of ideal youth:**

#### **(a) Character and desired gender identities**

As part of the representations of the secondary school boy and his development, the word "character" was very frequently used. It was less commonly applied to girls. Its origins in schooling contexts therefore, were gendered. They were male (and English), the range of associations stemming from the reforms associated with nineteenth century public school reform. But the application of the word and idea of "character" in Australian discourses sometimes produced emphases of a different kind to those in England. The speed with which wealth could be gained and lost, the absence of an aristocracy, the resistance to self-proclaimed and spurious aristocracies in the colonies in the nineteenth century, and the growth of meritocracy in the twentieth century, with the extraordinary accession of organised labour to sustained social influence, and even government, all meant that the early twentieth century secondary school product was to require a different "character" to that of his ruling and middle class counterparts in England. South Australia's different relationship with the Empire would also have its effect; the character required at the periphery was not the same as that required at the centre.

In his study of the "boy problem" in Edwardian England, Hendrick argued that the discourse surrounding "character" was a key to middle class criticism of working class

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11. For another discussion of school magazines as primary sources, see J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, Appendix III, pp. 243-245. Interesting examples of the use of school magazines in studies of secondary schooling and youth, where these sources are not problematized are Christine Heward, *Making a man of him*, p. 34, and Ueda, *Avenues to adulthood*, pp. 123-6.

boys. In opposition to boys of developing character were city bred youth, with "animal" or "mercurial" temperaments, ready to succumb to degenerate moral and physical influences.<sup>12</sup> There is no doubt that this is a theme also of the local discourse on character, but the object of negative comparison is rarely made explicit. Themes of the accessibility of character's traits, and democratic resistance to snobbishness are apparent in the state high school's discussions of the issues for example.<sup>13</sup>

As one might expect, the less democratic versions of character come from the corporate Protestant boys' schools, where "character" was seen as an exclusive commodity, very unlikely to be properly marketed elsewhere. One of the major components of character, the capacity for "leadership" was one "of the greatest advantages derived from corporate school life" during the course of which "ample opportunity is afforded for a boy to show his capacity in this direction."<sup>14</sup> The establishment of prefects, and their exercise of disciplinary power over other students was the most obvious means by which leadership of this kind was encouraged. While not in evidence in the earliest days of the state high school, the institution was established by the end of World War I, and an attempt had been made to erect the same cultural framework around it as in the boys' corporate schools.<sup>15</sup> Discipline, like leadership was part of the discourse of character: in both its external form, and the more admired internalized form, that is, through self discipline. At Scotch a magazine editor wrote that:

The system of discipline in the school is, of course, the biggest factor in the formation of character, and by it we learn habits of obedience, self restraint and punctuality, which are too often lacking in home life.<sup>16</sup>

At Walford, the girls' school, much the same sentiment was in evidence:

Although we have sometimes chafed against the restrictions and endless school routine, now, on looking back, we see that it was these same restrictions that helped in the moulding of our characters, for they taught us obedience and self control.<sup>17</sup>

The actual elements listed for character development (acceptance of routine, punctuality, self-discipline and habits of obedience) were much more suitable for the conditions of

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12. Hendrick, *Images of youth*, pp. 148-9.

13. For example, see Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1932, p. 10.

14. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 6, 1923, p. 7.

15. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1931, p. 14; Interview with Cyril Fidock (Student of Unley High, 1911-14), 1984. (In the possession of the author.); Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1919, p. 9 (prefects' notes). On the relationship between the rituals and institutions of English public schools, colonial corporate schools and the new state high schools of Victoria, see Bob Bessant, "The influence of the "public schools" on the early high schools of Victoria", *History of Education Review*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1984, pp. 45-57.

16. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1933, p. 6.

17. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 25, 1925, p. 1.



modern industry, public service employment and commerce than for exploring the wildernesses of the Empire or leading charges of the light brigade. At the state high school, by 1925, the development of a sense of tradition was approvingly noted, and its ally, "the general improvement in the moral tone of the School ...".<sup>18</sup> Leadership, discipline and moral tone were part of a middle class discourse on the character development of early twentieth century secondary school youth. The formal structures of student leadership and discipline through prefects were developed in girls' schools as well as those for boys. (See Plate 1 for the Methodist Ladies College prefects of 1930.)

The link between character development and the demands of white collar employers were often complex however. William Adey's problem with the boy who only wanted his 1,000 pounds a year has been noted. At Kyre College the same contempt for the boy motivated by material reward was boldly stated:

It is our aim to give a boy an education which will make him a good man and a useful citizen. We would rather turn out manly men than vulgar pot-hunters.<sup>19</sup>

One of the other images apparently in opposition to "character" was the effete artistic and perhaps aristocratic type. An article in the Walford school magazine painted that damning portrait:

Intense young men loll in armchairs, and talk highly inflated nothings, stating gloomily that "life is hollow", or making such intelligent remarks as "the earth of a dusty to-day is the earth of a dusty tomorrow". Next door you find the spotty-tied enthusiast gravely painting square cows in vivid blue rectangles.<sup>20</sup>

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18. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1925, p. 3. On early expectations that the state high schools would develop all the "advantages and benefits of a college education" see Minutes of Evidence, (Alfred Williams), 10th February, 1911, First Progress Report of the Royal Commission on the Adelaide University and Higher Education ..., p. 2, *SAPP 1911*.

19. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 6, 1911, p. 62.

20. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 42, 1932, p. 30.

Plate 1

Arnoldian institutions for girls: M.L.C. prefects in 1930



THE PREFECTS OF 1930.  
Front Row—J. Gilmore and J. Goodes (Heads).  
Back Row—M. McDonald, G. Rooney, J. McMurtrie, K. Griffiths.

The first Chairman of the Unley High School Council, writing at the end of World War I summarized his image of character in the new state school. The school magazine would be engaged in the task of bringing before "the boys and girls of your High School not only the great privilege they have in attending such an institution, but a duty they owe to the School ...". They were assured of "the necessity of always living up to the high standard of your mental and moral training."<sup>21</sup> The development of "character" was their major task, and in defining that, the recent war and the Australian soldiers' role in it, was an obvious point of reference. Students should be

worthy of the advantages you have and the freedom which has been bought for you by the sacrifice of so many noble Australian boys, including a large number from your own school. ...

Cultivate a life of unselfishness, and you will develop a character worthy of the highest and noblest traditions of our dear old British Empire.<sup>22</sup>

There was no room here for "vulgar pot-hunters" or effete artistic types. So, the construct of the high school boy, and his desired character, embraced only one version of a number of possible middle class representations of masculinity and youth, let alone the possible representations associated with other social classes or non-heterosexual gender identities. The version offered in the schools of Mitcham and Unley owed something to shifts associated with the popular influence of characters like Teddy Roosevelt in the United States, but more importantly, the work and influence of Lord Baden Powell and writers like Rudyard Kipling.<sup>23</sup>

At Scotch College, in the first edition of the magazine, these immediate post-war representations of masculinity were confirmed. The school itself was dedicated to the education of boys "fit to inherit the traditions of those whom the School commemorates for so nobly serving King and Country."<sup>24</sup> The school looked forward to the time "when its boys, each grown to man's estate, assume the duties and privileges of Australian citizens, and thus assist to forward the destinies of the Great British Commonwealth."<sup>25</sup> The Headmaster's report addressed the boys directly. The model of masculinity put before them was very clear:

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21. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1919, p. 1.

22. *ibid.*

23. The essay by John Tosh, "Domesticity and manliness in the Victorian middle class" in Michael Roper & John Tosh eds., *Manful assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, Routledge, London, 1991, pp. 44-73, argues that there was a shift from domestic to public definitions of manliness from the mid- to late-Victorian period. The new definitions, based on arguments about masculinities and "character" formed in public schools among other places, and explored in this chapter, were functions of a world of increasingly large organizations and the feminization of occupations such as clerking. There was a flight from domesticity, at least in the male imagination, which constituted a distinct shift from mid-Victorian times.

24. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1921, p. 4.

25. *ibid.*, p. 1.

You have acquired a name in your School for that which is clean, straight, and honourable. I hope you will carry these ideals of manhood, which you have learnt at school, into life's activities.<sup>26</sup>

At the high school in the late 1920s, two teachers, for their own amusement during long staff meetings, recorded the sayings of the Headmaster of that time, since the leader in question apparently had no rival in the Education Department for his original use of the English language.<sup>27</sup> Many addressed the question of desired and undesired masculinities among high school boys. Boys for example were exhorted to "Be manly. I want you always to show your little points of manliness.(sic)" (Girls on the other hand were told: "Always be courteous. Remember the dainty points of niceness.") Three "types" of boy were despised in particular. First was the "Jelly-fish type", presumably without backbone, and worse, the "nasty namby-pamby, snake-in-the-grass, tied-to-your-mother's-apron-strings type", and third, the ubiquitous, "typical type".<sup>28</sup> The language of these "types" carries with it a sense of the practical politics of the oppression of the undesirable types in schools of the period. As a matter of course, the school magazines ennobled the sentiments and ignored the repression involved. *The Kyrian's* formulation was framed in acceptable language for public consumption. The school should be

an institution for the building of character, and for giving its boys a moral, mental and physical equipment (sic), which will enable them to become "men" in the real sense of the word.<sup>29</sup>

Norman Vance attempted to define the idea of manliness in Victorian public schools (English) according to four types: chivalric, sentimental-benevolent, sturdy English and moral.<sup>30</sup> Though pre-dating much recent work on gender, its typology is useful. In describing the chivalric form as identified by courage, loyalty, stainless integrity and the like, and combining it with the "sturdy English", transformed into "open Australian", with its physical activity and love of sport (but also gambling, violence and intemperance) it is possible to identify the gendered representations of boys in the Mitcham and Unley school magazines. The forms not represented to any great extent in the images of manliness are Vance's "moral" and "sentimental-benevolent". Though the former had some influence as a function of the Evangelical revival in the schools under study, the latter, associated with images of the loving neighbour (in literature, Henry Fielding's

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26. *ibid.*, p. 16.

27. These sayings were recorded in a booklet by Arthur Burfield and Colin Thiele, *The benedictions of Benjamin Gates*, Wattle Park Teachers Centre, Adelaide, 1977.

28. *ibid.* (Booklet unpaginated.)

29. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 6, p. 62.

30. Norman Vance, "The ideal of manliness" in Brian Simon & Ian Bradley eds., *The Victorian public school: Studies in the development of an educational institution*, Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 1975, p. 115. See also Jill Roe, "Chivalry and social policy in the Antipodes", *Historical Studies*, vol. 22, no. 88, 1987, p. 401 where Roe argues the strength of the "archaic code" in Australia in the very early twentieth century.

Squire Allworthy), had very little. A problem with sociology, historical or otherwise, dependent for analysis on typologies is that the complex relationships between the types, and social contexts, including that of class, tend to be overlooked. Sonya Rose argued her definitions of manliness not only in terms of character traits such as honour, but in relation to the changing structures of work and family.<sup>31</sup> Manhood for example was associated with "independence", and stood in contrast to boyhood as well as womanhood:

To be manly was to be honourable and respectable, which meant being brave, strong, and independent. For a woman, by contrast, to be honourable and respectable meant to have the virtues of sexual purity, domesticity, and motherhood.<sup>32</sup>

Rose went on to argue that such gender attributes caused tension for working class men and women - the "constructions and people's experiences often contradicted one another."<sup>33</sup> Kelly Boyd has argued that there was a change in the definitions of manliness from the Edwardian to the inter-war period. Using evidence from readings of popular boys' literature, he argued there was a shift from aristocratic to middle and working class heroes, who increasingly accepted the advice of their elders and demonstrated a responsibility to the community.<sup>34</sup> The Unley and Mitcham school magazines certainly reflect that shift in their discussions of manliness, masculinity and character. More importantly, for the Australian context, is the almost complete lack of recognition of the version of masculinity identified by Russel Ward in *The Australian Legend* as the national, arguably hegemonic version of masculinity.<sup>35</sup> The relevance of Ward's version of the national (male) character based on a nineteenth century mainly itinerant working class, and its applicability to non-convict South Australia with its smaller Irish population and less influential pastoral industry has often been disputed. Even so, it is unlikely that any early secondary schools in Australia provided voices for the expression of either this putatively hegemonic "national" character, or representations of working class masculinity, not even in its sentimentalised forms such as in the larrikin

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31. Sonya O. Rose, *Limited livelihoods: Gender and class in nineteenth-century England*, Routledge, London, 1992, p. 15.

32. *ibid.*

33. *ibid.*

34. Kelly Boyd, "Knowing your place: The tensions of manliness in boys' story papers, 1918-39" in Michael Roper & John Tosh eds., *Manful assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, Routledge, London, 1991, p. 162.

35. Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, second ed., Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1965. The summary of the typical male ("a practical man, rough and ready in his manners and quick to decry any appearance of affectation in others ..." appears on pp. 1-2. For a review of the Australian historiography on masculinity to 1986, see Marilyn Lake, "The politics of respectability: identifying the masculinist context", *Historical Studies*, vol 22, no. 86, 1986, pp. 116-131.

poems of the South Australian, C. J. Dennis.<sup>36</sup> The secondary schools belonged to the "independent Australian Britons", not the bush nationalists. They belonged to the middle and aspiring middle, not working class. The gendered identities expressed in them were a function of these class relationships.

There were other constituents involved in the formulations of character. More detailed discussion of the roles of Empire, Anzac tradition, sport and Christianity come later. Before doing so it is necessary to pay a little more attention to the influence of the Arnoldian and public school tradition in the schools.<sup>37</sup> It is not the intention here to go over the same ground as Bessant's essay on this subject for early twentieth century Victorian schools<sup>38</sup>, but rather, to define a little more clearly the social meaning of this tradition in Australia. Harold Perkin, writing of the social significance of the tradition in England argued that class was always an issue in the reforms. The reformed public schools were "designed to inculcate professional ideals and values into the sons of the aristocracy and gentry and, increasingly but not enough for the reformers, those of the business middle class."<sup>39</sup> He also explored the idea that these professional values were responsible for an antagonism to commercialism and industrialism, rather than residual aristocratic values. The public schools and universities "held up the ideal of selfless public service in professions and in government at home and in empire, and it was the sons of the middle class, both professional and business men, who most fully imbibed these values from them."<sup>40</sup> In Scotch College, Mitcham, in particular, but in the other schools as well, evidence of such attitudes exists. The diffusion of such values in Australia was efficiently pursued through the hiring of Headmasters and other staff directly from England. In Australia however, the influence of business was strong and a degree of compromise between business and professional values was necessary.<sup>41</sup> C. E. W. Bean, the first major historian of the Australian boys' corporate schools, implied this in 1950 by arguing that the Australian schools were different from the English, despite the adoption of Arnoldian institutions, perhaps through the determination of the well-to-

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36. C. J. Dennis, *The songs of a sentimental bloke*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1915; *The moods of Ginger Mick*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1916.

37. On Arnold, Rugby and the reforms see J. R. de S. Honey, *Tom Brown's universe: The development of the English public school in the nineteenth century*, Quadrangle, New York, 1977.

38. Bessant, "The influence of the "public schools" on the early high schools of Victoria", pp. 45-57.

39. Harold Perkin, *The rise of professional society: England since 1880*, Routledge, London, 1989, p. 119.

40. *ibid.*

41. See Peter Gronn, "Schooling for ruling: the social composition of admissions to Geelong Grammar School, 1930 - 1939", *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 25, no. 98, 1992, pp. 72-89, for a well documented study in the politics of this process in one corporate boys' school.

do middle class to "acquire for its sons the culture, and, if possible, status, of the class with which its upper layer had always been merged."<sup>42</sup>

Thus, for reasons of differing social class relations in Australia, the Arnoldian tradition was not the same as in England, though its relevance to changing middle class formations was direct in both. In terms of its contribution to the development of male gender identities, there was also adaptation. In England by the end of the nineteenth century a more athletic, muscular version had displaced much of the moral earnestness of the earlier period.<sup>43</sup> In Australia, without aristocracy, and with an indigenous sporting culture in the making which bridged class division to a greater extent than in England, masculinity in secondary schools developed its own peculiar definitions and "character". It was more amenable to commercial life for example. In its turn, much of the religious and moral earnestness of the English Arnoldian influence, had become a residual, not very influential, element of the developing secondary school cultures.

In the Mitcham and Unley schools, the struggle between commercialism and professionalism was not evident in the discourse surrounding the issue of the character development for girls. Indeed the idea of "character" was a very much less used construct than others in the developing of ideal adolescent femininities. At the Methodist Ladies College, the concept of character discussed in the following extract was less public, and more about the ways in which desired models of femininity were learnt:

The discipline of the schoolroom, the association with girls of her own age and of varying dispositions, and, above all, the personal influence of her teachers have been potent agents in the moulding of a girls' character at a plastic stage.<sup>44</sup>

Such a re-working of the discourse of character for girls in secondary schools was also suitable to the attempts to re-create the family as a basis for schooling at the Walford private school for girls.<sup>45</sup>

Scholarship, yes; but never at the expense of culture and true womanliness. It is, then, in the character-building of our children that the parents - the third estate of the school - can give so much help by their co-operation in fostering the ideals that we are striving after.<sup>46</sup>

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42. C. E. W. Bean, *Here, my son: An account of the independent and other corporate boys' schools of Australia*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1950, p. 3. Quotation, p. 99.

43. Michael Roper & John Tosh, "Historians and the politics of masculinity" in Roper & Tosh eds., *Manful assertions*, p. 3.

44. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, vol. 5, no. 5, 1911, p. 1.

45. "We at Walford try to live in the spirit of a family ...". Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 8, 1920, p. 23.

46. *ibid.*

"True womanliness" was the desired character for girls, and though an occasional issue for boys, and manliness, scholarship was more often seen as a problem in gender identity formation for girls. At both M.L.C. and Walford there was extracurricular activity based on tracking down the meaning of this womanliness or womanhood. In 1911, The M.L.C. Christian Union, with a membership of some 70 girls attended meetings around topics such as "The Building of Character".<sup>47</sup> A school girls' camp in 1920 had as its chief study the topic, "Womanhood".<sup>48</sup> In 1912 at M.L.C. an article took a modern view on what was required for a woman to be effective in the private and nurturing spheres:

A girl cannot be truly womanly if she is shut off from the great world around her. How is she to be a "ministering angel" and how is she to feel for the suffering of others if she cannot actually see and know what that suffering is and where it lies? How can she be the true and helpful companion of a cultured man if she herself is, intellectually, an infant.<sup>49</sup>

This argument is not only to do with gendered identity, but also to do with the role of women in the professional middle class. Responsibility for housekeeping, works of charity and supervision of child rearing were still tasks to which was added a necessity to be an intellectual companion to her husband. An older Victorian patriarchal model was thereby challenged, but the sphere for middle class women remained primarily domestic, at least in these representations of ideal womanhood for secondary school girls. At Walford, and the state high school, Unley, during the Depression the nurturing, ministering roles were reinforced by involving girls (not boys) in practical good works. The Walford boarders had been making clothing in their spare time "to relieve the distress of the families of the unemployed ...".<sup>50</sup> The Junior Red Cross circle at Unley High between 1931 and 1934 undertook a variety of relief activities, including the making of clothing for the Mitcham Poor Relief Fund.<sup>51</sup> At the same time, the notion that "accomplishments" were still a core part of the curriculum for girls, and that their mastery was a key part of feminine character building dragged on into the thirties, as can be seen in an Inspectors' report on Unley High at the same period:

The singing and general musical appreciation of the girls is as unusual as it is delightful. The effect of this work upon the general tone and culture of the school cannot be estimated.<sup>52</sup>

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47. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, vol. 5, no. 5, 1911, p. 15.

48. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 10, 1920, p. 19.

49. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, 1912, p. 30.

50. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 38, 1930, p. 12. The students at this school also developed a long standing relationship with the Mothers' and Babies Health Association in Unley (established in 1922). See *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 39, 1939, p. 23, for example.

51. Campbell, *State High School*, p. 62.

52. Inspectors' Report (E. Allen & A. Miethke), Ordinary Inspection, 1930. (Held at Unley High School.)



At the Catholic girls' school, Cabra, an essay on *King Lear* argued that one "of the most beautiful things in life is a beautiful and noble character", typified by Cordelia with her "deep filial love, her great sincerity and simplicity."<sup>53</sup>

Dyhouse argued that parents of English middle class girls at the turn of the century were much less committed to secondary schooling for their daughters than their sons, that a home education "cultivated 'feminine' virtues in a number of ways. The daughter was schooled in dependence and protected from undesirable social contacts."<sup>54</sup> In the post-World War I period in Australia there is evidence that girls were not so constricted, either in fact or representation, but the importance of femininities based on cultivation, nurturing and domesticity continued very strongly as well. For boys and girls, the range of the definitions and representations of "character" were narrow. Though they differed for boys and girls, both were tied to middle class conceptions of masculinity and femininity.

## (b) Sport

By the twentieth century, in schools deriving their culture from English traditions, organized team sports were well established. Much more was made of them in the boys' schools, where vigorous physical activity and the development of team loyalties were seen as important contributors to the defining of emerging masculinities (and the corporate identities of the schools themselves). Sports also existed in the girls schools, and competitions between schools became common. However, the girls' school magazines gave less attention to sports than did the boys'.<sup>55</sup> While there were expressions of the beneficial effects of sport for girls, the competitive aspects were usually de-emphasised.<sup>56</sup> At Unley High, on occasions such as vice-regal visits, they boys gave physical displays, but the girls sang.<sup>57</sup> At the same time, even in the boys' schools, there were few extreme expressions of the cult of athleticism, and on occasions criticisms of its excesses.<sup>58</sup> The tired metaphors of the Rev. Donald McNicol were reported in the Kyre College magazine:

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53. Cabra College, *Veritas*, 1918, p. 58.

54. Dyhouse, *Girls growing up in late Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 44.

55. A random survey of the relative contents of the M.L.C. and Scotch magazines showed these proportions for sport (number of pages devoted to sport as % of the contents of the volume for the year): 1921 M.L.C. (9.4%), Scotch (20.7%); 1925 M.L.C. (6.3%), Scotch (17%).

56. For example, see Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, vol. 5, no. 5, 1912, p. 29.

57. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1926, p. 3.

58. On the cult of athleticism, its rise and fall in England and the Empire, see the books by J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, & *The games ethic and imperialism: Aspects of the diffusion of an ideal*, Viking, Harmondsworth, 1986. For Australia, see Geoffrey Sherington, "Athleticism in the Antipodes: The AAGPS of

Physical culture went hand in hand with moral culture, and the man who "played the game" in the schoolyard, or on the sports ground, was better fitted to resist and overcome temptations to do evil ...<sup>59</sup>

Life was also a cricket game in which the objects were to defend ones' wickets and not be bowled out.. Such language was part of school sport's contribution to the discourses of youth.<sup>60</sup>

In examining the role of sports and physical training in the making and representing of youth in the early twentieth century secondary schools of Unley and Mitcham, the importance attached to the provision of facilities, and the pressure put on male youth to participate is very noticeable. Even a small boys' school such as Kyre, early in the century had secured playing fields, including two cricket pitches and football ground, two tennis courts and "up-to-date gymnastic apparatus". All boys "unless excused by a medical man" learnt gymnastics.<sup>61</sup> The earlier Way College, where Kyre's Headmaster, David Hollidge had been sportsmaster had used sport as a means in the campaign for its acceptance as one of the greater boys' corporate schools in South Australia.<sup>62</sup> At Scotch, corporate goals were also evident in the proposition that improving teams and records would result "in an increase in the moral strength of each individual player and the raising of the prestige of the School."<sup>63</sup> At the state high school, lack of provision by the government led to substantial borrowing and fundraising activity by the school council and its supporters.<sup>64</sup> The energy required to mount sporting programmes and the cost involved in buying, renting and building facilities all point to sport's importance in the emerging secondary schools.

Two schools, Scotch and Kyre, one corporate, the latter private, mounted full analyses of the "place of sport in the life of a school" in their magazines. In 1912, the Kyre writer argued that sports helped build "community" in a school, developed character, encouraged democracy through the self-management of the team, and helped boys cope with the realities of defeat as well as victory. School games benefited from the absence of "professionalism".<sup>65</sup>

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New South Wales", *History of Education Review*, vol. 12, no. 2, 1983, pp. 16-28 & Sherington, Petersen & Brice, *Learning to Lead*, pp. 49-55.

59. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1912, p. 108.

60. *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 5, 1911, p. 51.

61. *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1910, p. 3; vol 1, no. 7, 1912, p. 78.

62. Bob Petersen, "Extramural sports at Way College", Proceedings: Twenty-first annual conference, Australian and New Zealand History of Education Society, vol. 1, 1992, p. 438.

63. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1930, p. 6.

64. Campbell, *State High School*, pp. 18-19. Sport was a major feature of the first school magazine, Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1919.

65. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1912, p. 111.

Plate 2  
College boys as sportsmen, 1927



FIRST EIGHTEEN, 1927

The games are for all, without fear and without favour, and the delight a boy feels in witnessing a brave contest between rival schools is only equalled by his desire to emulate the players and do his part for the honour of his *alma mater*.<sup>66</sup>

At Scotch some years later, the influence of World War I led to new arguments. Sport was better than war for the development of a hardy race.<sup>67</sup> (Plate 2 above gives visual expression to such an idea.) Sport, it was argued, provided an outlet for the energy of youth. It helped develop a corporate spirit and subordinated the individual to the team. It promoted both health and relaxation; encouraged the qualities of determination and courage in the face of adversity. Defence of the honour of the school was transferable to the defence of nation.<sup>68</sup> "The boy who has played fair on the field will do the same in later life."<sup>69</sup> But the article also ended with the insistence on a sense of proportion. More important was the Greek ideal of the harmonious development of soul, mind and body.<sup>70</sup> The representation of the male youth through engagement with sport in these articles incorporates material from a number of cultural sources. Corporatist and nationalist ideals, beyond mere loyalty to school were there, as was a confirmation of the need to build character already discussed. Sports were argued to have a special role in the developing of "manhood", in the transformation of "striplings, mere boys" into "men in every sense of the word".<sup>71</sup> Engagement in sport was regarded as especially suitable for male youth, represented as energetic, in preparation for the struggles of life and in the process of having characters formed. The closest the school magazines came to a critique of sport in the lives of schools and students was the call for a balanced approach to the development of youth. There was none of the conflict marking the different approaches of the French and Irish Marist brothers to the question in the New South Wales school, St Joseph's.<sup>72</sup> Concordia, with its seminary was occasionally concerned about some sports which may have injured the developing dignity of its students, but such sports appeared not to include Australian Rules football which was thought to be a well regulated code discouraging the touching of men below the knees, on the back and interfering with his arms, giving "little opportunity for players to be rough".<sup>73</sup>

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66. *ibid.*, p. 112.

67. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 6, 1923, p. 5.

68. *ibid.*

69. *ibid.*, p. 6.

70. *ibid.* See also Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1924, p. 14 for a similar sentiment.

71. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, vol. 1924, p. 14.

72. Geoffrey Sherington & Mark Connellan, "Socialization, imperialism and war: Ideology and ethnicity in Australian corporate schools" in J. A. Mangan ed., "*Benefits bestowed*?": *Education and British imperialism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988, p. 140.

73. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1924, pp. 14, 15. Tyack & Hansot, in *Learning together*, p. 193, argued that sport in America had a role in "winning public support for high schools that had been tainted with femininity. For those who equated masculinity with contact sports, the football contest was a reassuring spectacle."

Sports had the capacity to generate images of the ideal male youth, a function they did not have for girls. The Captain of the Unley High football team in 1927 was "a true leader, for he knows the game, has rare disciplinary powers, and inspires the team by his play on the field and gentlemanly manner off it."<sup>74</sup> At the end of the previous century, the Way College magazine, in an obituary for a former student demonstrated the same process of image making:

He won the College Swimming Championship three years in succession, and had made a name for himself amongst the leading swimmers of Australia. During his time at the College he gained the respect of both masters and boys by his gentlemanly conduct and upright bearing.<sup>75</sup>

The magazines present a restrained representation of the role of sport in the making of male youth. Nevertheless sport was a foundational element of character development in the early twentieth century schools. Part of the restraint may have been a result of the growing claims of meritocracy. Attention to study, and through it, to future career, was an increasing imperative in the period.<sup>76</sup> There was also an important critique of the excesses of athleticism which had developed within the public schools in England at the time of, and after the Great War which was known in Australia.

### **(c) Religion and purity**

Another source of rhetoric in the making of youth was religion. A visitor to a meeting of Kyre College's Christian Union referred "to the too prevalent belief amongst boys that to belong to the Union meant being a weakling."<sup>77</sup> The attitudes behind such statements may have been reflected in the declining attention boys' school magazines paid to Christianity as a provider of models of manliness. In the girls' schools it was a different matter; there the influence of religion remained more vital, though not openly, in the state secondary schools.

Of all the girls' schools, the Roman Catholic Cabra College most consistently framed the desired image of female youth in Christian terms, as was to be expected given the fact that the school was run by the Dominican nuns. The dates of the confirmation of girls in the faith were recorded for long periods in the school register, information at least as important as the more usual facts recorded in such documents. There were annual retreats for the Children of Mary, a sodality organised within the school which involved

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74. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1927, p. 20.

75. Way College, *The Boomerang*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1899, p. 61.

76. See Heward, *Making a man of him*, p. 52 for a parallel argument.

77. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 8, 1912, p. 94.

most, if not all the girls.<sup>78</sup> The Dominican girls' schools were required to educate for citizenship, for the development of the intellect, but also for religion and morality.<sup>79</sup> The 1918 magazine asked:

To whom can this sacred trust of nurturing the life of the soul and of the mind be better entrusted than to religious, and by whom more specially can the culture of womanhood, that formation of an ideal womanly character, that training of the mind and of the heart, be better undertaken than by those who have no other ties, no other ideals than the fulfilment of duties to which they have irrevocably bound themselves?<sup>80</sup>

Before the girls was the all pervasive image of Mary; there was no equivalent Christian female model for Protestant and state secondary school girls:

Sweet and gentle and forever divinely true is the Mary-like influence of good women; polluted and forever noxious is the breath of home or nation where woman loses delicacy of thought and feeling, or where she ceases to be strong only with the strength of goodness. Mary, the tender Mother lost in the ecstasy of her Babe's smile, the modest maid walking in Nazareth's obscurity, has been the lamp of light to the feet of Christian womanhood. She is the inspiration of purity, of lowliness that exalteth, of weakness that is strength, of pride that is the gift of God.<sup>81</sup>

In contrast to the image of Mary was that of Eve, the cause of the Fall.

The *Manual of the Children of Mary* outlined a practical code for young Catholic women belonging to the sodality:

As a Consecrated Child of Mary, I should

1. Not make a mixed marriage.
2. Never read unwholesome books.
3. Not drink intoxicants.
4. Never fail to return books etc.
5. Not miss a Meeting.
6. Never countenance impropriety.
7. Not dance to excess.
8. Never holiday unchaperoned.
9. Not exceed in use of personal adornments, e.g., jewellery, cosmetics.
10. Not smoke.<sup>82</sup>

The model of desired adolescent femininity revealed in these sources is uncompromising. While concessions were made to women going beyond the domestic sphere, and pride could be taken in those who made careers and won academic honours, the

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78. Cabra College, *Veritas*, 1939, pp. 30, 33. See also Stephanie Burley, *None more anonymous? Catholic teaching nuns, their secondary schools and students in South Australia 1880-1925*, M.Ed. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1992.

79. Cabra College, *Veritas*, 1918, p. 26.

80. *ibid.*

81. *ibid.*, p. 54.

82. *Prayer book or manual of the Children of Mary*, Australian ed., Pellegrini, Sydney, 1932.

encouragement of the pure heart, modesty and devotion was far more significant than changes in other life circumstances. First wave feminism appeared to have hardly made an impact on the representations of the feminine, though the activity of women in the church often belied the representations.

At Walford and M.L.C., the school magazines occasionally discussed the Christian influence, though often in the context of voluntary club activity.<sup>83</sup> M.L.C. girls were told that "Christ was, and is, woman's champion", and that it was "only within the precincts of Christendom that woman enjoys freedom and liberty, and the just respect that is due to her."<sup>84</sup> At Walford the annual confirmation of girls was an important event.<sup>85</sup> But femininity was much less often couched in terms which owed their sustenance to overt Christianity. Another important influence on the framing of youth representations, common early in the century, the idea of "purity" had strong Christian links, but purity could also be discussed as a secular concept, and appropriate for boys as well as girls.

The idea of "purity" was very much an element in the broader discourse surrounding character. The end of the nineteenth century was a great age for various social purity movements, the most important of which in South Australia was the Women's Christian Temperance Union.<sup>86</sup> Where concern over temperance tended to fade, a continuing theme was the reading matter of youth. Mother M. Columba of Cabra was renowned for her supervision of the reading of the girls.<sup>87</sup> Unley High students were told by a visitor during Boy Week to avoid trashy novels. "You will be better boys and men if you read better books."<sup>88</sup> At Kyre, some years earlier, the boys belonging to the Christian Union had discussed the topic "Purity vs. Smut". Boys were told that good books would benefit them "mentally and morally."<sup>89</sup> M.L.C. girls were told that their school had been part of "a steady stream of healthy girl life", "flowing into its pure atmosphere and out again into the broad fields of life which await the cultured mind."<sup>90</sup> But, the days when purity was ostentatiously a daily concern of schools were passing. Way College, which closed in 1902, had demonstrated the most activity in this area. Boys were required to note sermons, and a competition was held for the best notebook.<sup>91</sup> But even there

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83. For example, the activities of the Bible study circle, Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1918, p. 14.

84. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, vol. 4, no. 4, 1909, p. 2.

85. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 12, 1921, p. 20.

86. See Isabel McCorkindale ed., *Torch-bearers: The Women's Christian Temperance Union of South Australia, 1886-1948*, W.C.T.U., Adelaide, 1949 for the social thought and work of this organization. See also the section on the "youth savers" for a comparison with the U.S.A. in Kett, *Rites of passage*, pp. 189-198.

87. Communication of Sr. Helen Northey (Cabra Convent) to the author.

88. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1927, p. 6.

89. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 5, 1911, p. 60; *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 6, 1911, p. 72.

90. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, vol. 5, no. 5, 1911, p. 1.

91. Way College, *The Boomerang*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1899, p. 14.

disappointment was registered at the low membership of some of the societies which included Anti-smoking (30 members), Temperance (27) and Social Purity (35).<sup>92</sup>

The state also had an interest in purity questions, as had early been evident in the work of the State Children's Council<sup>93</sup>, but the new forms of entertainment extended the discussion of the censorship of books to the cinema in particular. There was a significant development in the twentieth century formulations of the purity issue. The new discourse surrounding the modern adolescent revised the problem, from being primarily an issue of religion and the saving of the soul, to an issue of healthy youth development and eugenics. Moving picture shows all too often depicted "crime and depravity" in ways which could affect the "emotional development of the child".<sup>94</sup> The impurity of popular culture and the harm it might do to the adolescent became a very strong theme in the schools after World War II. The purity debate was certainly associated with the construction of ideal representations of youth, but it revealed all too readily the differences between representation and experience. Youth often resisted the prolongation of their childhoods through adolescence by seeking access to disapproved entertainments, alcohol and tobacco, sexual experience and other supposed adult rights and behaviours.

The Lutheran school, Concordia, with its seminary for young men, was the most likely of the schools other than Cabra, to assert specifically Christian representations of youth. Not only Christ, but Luther, "The Great Reformer", were potential models.<sup>95</sup> There paganism was a clear enemy.<sup>96</sup> Kyre College attempted to deal with the problems of Christ, whose mission involved the assertion of peace and love, as a model for twentieth century manliness by asserting the muscular version of Christianity. The life of the Master was a model for all men to copy:

The study of such a life, far from making those who studied it effeminate, would rather lay a strong foundation for all manly virtues.<sup>97</sup>

But such expressions were rather rare in comparison with the models provided by sport - or Empire. Of greater significance is the repeated complaints about the problems in attracting boys to the Christian Union, and like meetings and the repeated assertions that Christianity was not for "weaklings".<sup>98</sup> Bean implies that the religion of cricket may have been the more significant religion in many of the boys' corporate schools of the period.<sup>99</sup>

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92. *ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1899, p. 63.

93. For example, Report of the State Children's Council ... 1906. *SAPP 1907*, p. 11.

94. Advisory Council of Education. Report ... 1923. *SAPP 1924*, p. 1.

95. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1924, p. 1.

96. *The Educational Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 14.

97. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1911, p. 40.

98. *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 10, 1913, p. 122.

99. Bean, *Here, my son*, p. 132.



Except for Cabra, and perhaps Concordia, it is difficult to argue that Christianity as an explicit socializing cultural system had much influence on the representations of youth in the secondary schools of Unley and Mitcham. The school magazines do not allow for such a conclusion. There were too many prohibitions, too many aspects of Christian teaching which set it at odds with more powerful influences shaping and governing youth. One detects more problems for the boys than the girls; there was still a close enough alignment of many of the gendered expressions of femininity in the churches' teachings with the residues of Victorian domesticity to allow some continuing relevance. The competitive aspects of an increasingly meritocratic culture in the boys' schools, and the responsibilities of male youth in the making of nation through soldiering and "getting on" made Christianity problematic. Perhaps an involvement with it beyond the cursory really was for "weaklings" in an age when war and Depression all too readily confirmed Spencer's social Darwinism, that life was a struggle for the survival of the fittest.

#### (d) Empire, citizenship and war

Of greater significance, especially in the making and representation of male youth was the influence of nationalism, citizenship, war and Empire. These were fertile grounds on which the state as well as the boys' corporate schools could draw. Fear of Germany and the national efficiency debate in the lead up to the Great War produced boy conscription; the compulsory training of male youth as soldiers.<sup>100</sup> After the war, there was still the Empire, and if there was not compulsory military training, there were other ways youth could make their contribution. At Unley High, the Governor

hoped all would be ambitious for the future of their great country, and that to achieve that ambition there were three ways - by all becoming Girl Guides or Boy Scouts, by buying British goods always, and by being kind to new people settling in Australia.<sup>101</sup>

Later, during Boy Week in 1931, the local member of Parliament recommended Mussolini's example of "devotion to service" to the students.<sup>102</sup> At Scotch, the visit of boys from England inspired self-criticism. Among these boys there would be "some who, in due time, will play a big part in directing the destinies of our great Empire."<sup>103</sup> It was deplored that the great questions of the time received so little attention in Australian colleges and Universities.<sup>104</sup> Citizenship was an issue in the secondary schools of the period. Federation in 1901, and threats to Empire made that inevitable. Did not the

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100. See John Barrett, *Falling in: Australians and 'Boy Conscription' 1911-1915*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1979.

101. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1926, p. 3.

102. *ibid.*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1931, p. 14. (The date, 1931 is crucial here, in interpreting the reference.)

103. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1926, p. 5.

104. *ibid.*

school-yard itself "contain an embryo nation, an incipient empire?"<sup>105</sup> The potential contributions of the products of state secondary schools to economic development, nation and Empire had been a major force in their very foundation.<sup>106</sup>

Boy conscription lasted only five years (1911-1915), but it secured a place for drill, and eventually cadets for boys in secondary schools which lasted well beyond the operation of the amendments to the Defence Act (1903-1910) which established the scheme.<sup>107</sup> At Kyre, the problems of implementation were considerable. It had to join with Concordia and for a time Unley High in order to meet the provisions of the Act regarding sufficient numbers of boys to form a company.<sup>108</sup> Joining district based activities disrupted the school too much.<sup>109</sup> Military drill had been taking place in the school before the Act, but this was entrenched for the Junior Cadets, the 12-14 year olds after the Act. Senior Cadets undertook a wider range of training activities.<sup>110</sup> As a student of Unley High, Mark Oliphant experienced the last year of the scheme. On one day a week, a "visiting Sergeant-Major" took physical drill at the school. Only the over-14s were provided with khaki uniform and boots. Other than a couple of route marches into the Adelaide Hills, drill and marching were the main activities. Practising shooting with the archaic rifles was also done; it was much more enjoyable than the marching!<sup>111</sup>

World War I greatly boosted representations of secondary school boys as future soldiers and officers. That war provided many exemplars for boys to admire. Founded as a memorial to the soldiers of the war, Scotch emphasised the boy as inheritor of Australian and Empire war heroism through its magazine more than any of the other schools. Old boys of Kyre College were adopted by Scotch to frame its own link with the war.<sup>112</sup> Anzac Day, 1925, produced these thoughts for the magazine editorial:

The whole meaning of Anzac is, however, lost on us today, unless we realize that the torch of glorious tradition has been handed on to us for safe keeping.<sup>113</sup>

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105. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 8, 1912, p. 85.

106. Williams, Preliminary report of the Director of Education ... 1907, pp. 3-7; Director's Report (Alfred Williams), *MR 1909*, p. 20.

107. Barrett, *Falling in*, pp. 63-75. See also David Kirk & Karen Twigg, "The militarization of school physical training in Australia: the rise and demise of the Junior Cadet Training Scheme, 1911-31", *History of Education*, vol. 22, no. 4, 1993, pp. 391-414.

108. At least 60 boys between 14 and 18 were needed to form a detachment. This was very difficult to achieve for the great majority of private and corporate boys' schools early in the century. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 5, 1911, p. 49. Also Barrett, p. 70.

109. It may also have been considered undesirable for College boys to mix with district boys.

110. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1910, p. 22; vol. 1, no. 5, 1911, pp. 49-50; vol. 1, no. 7, 1912, p. 83; vol. 1, no. 13, 1914, p. 164.

111. Interview with Sir Mark Oliphant (student at Unley High, 1915-1917), 1984. (In the possession of the author.) See also Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1919, p. 17.

112. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1921, p. 26.

113. *ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1925, p. 6.

Scotch's Cadet Corps assumed the responsibility for the general fostering of initiative and independence, and leadership, that essential component of "character":

The boy who is in charge must realize that he is shouldering a responsibility, and those below him, even though they may be better footballers or cricketers, must obey his commands ... The Cadet Corps properly organized can do for the public school boys what the Scout movement is doing so magnificently for boys in other walks of life.<sup>114</sup>

By 1940, the relevance of such sentiments was all too obvious. Scotch's Cadet Notes argued that "the spirit existing in modern youth will vastly affect the assistance which we in Australia can give to our Mother Country ...".<sup>115</sup>

At Unley High the sentiments were similar. The school magazine more directly demonstrated the grip of the Great War on students' imaginations through the numbers of short stories published with Empire and allied heroes.<sup>116</sup> Anzac Days saw the visits of ex-soldiers such as Captain Blackburn, V.C., who told the school

he had left the shores of Australia with that magnificent band of men, the Expeditionary Force, many of whom had paid the supreme sacrifice. His hearers could not do better than follow the example of those fine men.<sup>117</sup>

There was no suggestion of contradiction between the emulation of these Australian heroes, and those of the Empire throughout the period.

The 1898 speech day address at Way College had linked the school, character building and Empire in unequivocal terms. A recent speech by Lord Rosebery was mined for appropriate sentiments:

the best and highest part of education was not the education of the brain but the education of the character. It was character that made the Empire what it was, and the rulers of the Empire what they were. That could be furnished by Way College on this side of the world as by Eton on the other.<sup>118</sup>

At Unley High, Rhodes and Ross Smith were the subjects of admiring student essays and poems, as was the punishing of rebellious natives in Africa.<sup>119</sup> Empire Day called forth

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114. *ibid.*, vol. 11, no. 3, 1934, p. 6.

115. *ibid.*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1940, p. 41. (This was written before the direct entry of Japan into the war and the threat to Australia.)

116. Some of these with World War I settings in the first two editions of the magazine, were "Cairo Adventure", "Jean the Heroine" and "From Hatred to Love" in Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1919, p. 31, p. 33; vol. 1, no. 2, 1919, p. 8.

117. *ibid.*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1933, p. 6.

118. Way College, *The Boomerang*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1899, p. 11.

119. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1919, p. 38; vol. 2, no. 1, 1920, p. 3; vol. 5, no. 1, 1926, p. 4.

the greatest energy in the school calendar. At Scotch and Unley High, the students were conceived of as "young Empire builders".<sup>120</sup>

The Empire meant far more than military activity. It also allowed for the creation of a discourse which included secondary school girls. The League of Empire was a voluntary club for girls taken up with talking about patriotic subjects and providing a pen-friends network. It was active at both M.L.C. and Unley High.<sup>121</sup> World War I saw many girls sharing in the glory of their brothers. M.L.C.'s honour roll named those brothers who had gone to war.<sup>122</sup> More common was the construction of girls as providers of knitted socks and other home comforts to soldiers overseas. The war also boosted the demand for girls as domestic economists and scientific managers:

The return to their homes of numbers of invalided men needing special care, the demand for stricter economy, without lowering the standard of living which has produced the physique of the race, the endeavour to preserve infant life and so to protect the natural increase of population - all demand from the wife and mother, knowledge, skill, and wisdom to a degree hitherto unknown.<sup>123</sup>

The onset of World War II initially saw the same patterns recur. In 1940 at Unley High girls were busy knitting "over 425 garments" including socks, mittens and balaclavas.<sup>124</sup> At Walford there was concern that after the Great War, women "should not sink back into indolence". It was suggested that they occupy spare time by "helping the babies and the poor and working in the Church".<sup>125</sup> This was taken up at Walford and girls were involved with the support of the new Mothers and Babies centre established at Unley. Whether in the traditions of nineteenth century female charity, or in the spirit of the new domestic science and eugenics movements, the active citizenship of women was conceived as remaining essentially domestic.

The introduction of the girl guiding movement was potentially fraught with difficulty. Desired forms of femininity and scouting did not necessarily go together.<sup>126</sup> Active in the 1920s, the Unley High Guides hardly challenged the gender order with activities such as parading on Sunday, "Violet Day", and attending an Anglican evening service.<sup>127</sup> Guiding was for a minority of girls, and while it added to those modernizing tendencies

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120. *ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1925, p. 3; Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1924, p. 41.

121. Interview with Jeanne Storey (student at Unley High, 1926-31), 1984. (In the possession of the author.) See also Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, 1921, p. 7.

122. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, 1916, pp. 43-4.

123. Report of the Supervisor of Domestic Arts (Edith Devitt), *MR 1916*, p. 45. See also Reiger, *The disenchantment of the home*, chs. 1 & 2, for the broader context of such statements. See also Campbell, *State High School*, pp. 14-16.

124. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 19, no. 3, 1940, p. 3.

125. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 5, 1919, p. 16.

126. See Dyhouse, *Girls growing up in late Victorian and Edwardian England*, pp. 110-11.

127. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1925, p. 5.

in the history of adolescence which increasingly confined youth to the society of their age-based peers, the magazines had little to say on girls as guides. More fuss was made of scouts. During the war, scouting was an outlet for younger boys who eagerly anticipated "the time when they will undergo military training ...".<sup>128</sup> At Scotch, the introduction of scouting in 1923 provided ready opportunities to reinforce the dominant representations of the corporate school boy. Because the movement aimed to produce "good citizens, self-reliant and ready for emergencies ..." it fully deserved the support of the school.<sup>129</sup> In 1924 the Head of Scotch could not

speak too highly of the good influence that this movement exercises in the school. It considerably reduces the stress of discipline. It helps to inculcate a sense of honour. It inspires a boy to do his best for the sake of that which is good. It stimulated unselfishness, and, consequently, a love of his fellows at home and abroad. In short, it encourages an ideal of healthy, virile, and honourable manhood.<sup>130</sup>

Such expressions give support to the relevance in Australia of the conclusions Gillis drew about the movement in England. It was a great success in the middle class, and while proceeding under the banner of classlessness "was stamped indelibly with the life-style and ideology of those higher on the social ladder."<sup>131</sup>

Secondary school boys were not only represented as future citizens and active defenders of their country and the Empire, but state and non-state organizations provided for the activity of youth to prepare them for that role. While the image of the boy soldier gave way to the scout as World War I receded the power of that representation should not be underestimated. It gave rise to a widely admired photographic genre, the results of which no doubt decorated lounge room mantle-pieces for many years. (See Plate 3 for one Unley example.) But such images were of boys as men, and the more progressive idea was to create institutions and images of youth *before* adulthood. Scouts were ideal for this purpose. Scouting was an institution purpose-made for modern adolescent boys, as were the Guides soon accepted for girls.<sup>132</sup> In general, the discourses surrounding war, Empire and nation represented girls in more domestic, and less active ways. Yet the eugenics movement had at least made girls' contribution to all three central in one way or another. It was no mean responsibility to have the future of the race dependent on girls as the future mothers of the nation.

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128. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 18, 1915, p. 228.

129. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 7, 1923, p. 32.

130. *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1924, p. 42.

131. Gillis, *Youth and history*, 1st ed., p. 147. See also, Hendrick, *Images of youth*, pp. 164-7, for a more recent brief summary of the relationship of the movement to the history of adolescence.

132. Baden-Powell's criticism of drill in favour of more creative activity was part of this process. See John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and society: British youth movements, 1883-1940*, Croom Helm, London, 1977, p. 54.

Plate 3  
**An Unley boy as soldier**



## The challenge of the "modern"

Despite the vigorous introduction of the modern conceptions of the "adolescent" and "adolescence" to South Australian educational discourses at the beginning of the century, they failed to become popular terms in the schools, if the school magazines are a guide. Used far more often were the terms "boy", "girl", "student", "scholar" and "pupil". This was not unexpected given the academic bias of most of the schools, nor the effort needed in a period before an all pervasive electronic mass media, to change the language of the people. Secondary schools existed for students and scholars, rather than adolescents who may or may not have been scholars. The new social science perspectives of educators and psychologists, which included the modern word and idea of adolescence, were not much apparent in the school magazines before the 1930s.

The pioneering role of Alfred Williams in the work of introducing the idea of adolescence, and particularly the writing of Stanley Hall, to South Australia has been referred to previously.<sup>133</sup> There were associated influences which helped modernize the discourses of some of the professional educators. The "New Education" was influential at the turn of the century, as was its "spirit born of the study of the method of the child, as well as the method of the subject" and its willingness to reform educational practice on the basis of a "profound study of physiological psychology". It certainly influenced the education of younger children, if not immediately, older youth.<sup>134</sup> Inspector Whitham, whose words are those quoted, also reported that it "is now generally admitted in all civilized communities that education is a progressive science."<sup>135</sup>

The South Australian *Methodist Sunday School Year Book* for 1917 provides another insight into the influence of the new social sciences on the conception and intended

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133. See Introduction, pp. 1-2. For a further example of his proselytizing work, see Director's Report (A. Williams), *MR 1909*, p. 20.

134. The quotations are from the Report of Assistant Inspector-General C. L. Whitham, *MR 1903*, p. 14. See also R. J. W. Selleck, *The new education 1870-1914*, Pitman, London, 1968, especially pp. 212-214 for the contest and history of such ideas.

135. Report of Assistant Inspector-General (C. L. Whitham), *MR 1903*, p. 14. The influences affected areas beyond education. In government reports dealing with prisons for example, experiments in separating youth from older men (to keep them "from contamination and association") were occasionally discussed. (Report on Gaols and Prisons for the Year 1904, *SAPP 1905*, no. 24, p. 2. Also the next report of the same Department, *SAPP 1907*, no. 24, p. 2.) See also criticisms of the site of South Australia's agricultural school. "It is very undesirable - from a moral as well as a sanitary standpoint - that so many men of a certain class should be allowed to camp in proximity to the school." It was recommended the (unemployed) men be sent to an asylum. Report of the Agricultural School, *MR 1900*, p. 36. Nor was the interest in the progressive and new scientific approaches evident only in the state education system. For his European leave from Way College in 1899, Headmaster William Torr intended taking "the opportunity of visiting various leading educational institutions and making himself *au courant* with the most recent developments in educational science." (Way College, *The Boomerang*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1899, p. 40.)

management of youth. Rev. Alfred Gifford applied Stanley Hall to the prospective Sunday School attending youth with the enthusiasm of the convert. In doing so, and despite occasional references to girls, he was true to Hall's gender bias in developing his concept of modern adolescence. The issues of adolescence were mainly the issues of male youth. The "misunderstanding of the boy or girl at adolescence" could lead to "life-tragedy".<sup>136</sup> Sunday school teachers needed to know that every individual went through the same evolutionary stages as the race itself, adolescents passing through the stage where emotion and imagination were uppermost.<sup>137</sup> Teachers needed to develop "sympathy" above all else with youth in this difficult stage.<sup>138</sup> The restless activity of youth could be harnessed, the tendencies toward sociability and "clubability" could also be turned to wonderful effect. The idealism of youth had to be met by sincerity in the teacher. The possibilities for religious conversion were never greater. The inevitable "period of storm and stress in the region of faith" would come in late adolescence, and was to be regarded "as a quite healthy and normal thing. It comes to the young, thoughtful soul inevitably, as winter's storms follow the summer." The one thing to be avoided was "repression".<sup>139</sup>

The opposite point of view appeared in Cabra College's school magazine of 1918. It also assumed the child was male, somewhat remarkably since the school was mainly a girls' school.<sup>140</sup> The writer of "The Modern Child and his Education" reluctantly recognised that "This is the age of the child".<sup>141</sup> The modern "cult of the child" produced "tyranny in the home which is not alone tolerated, but actually encouraged." The influence of these tendencies had transformed education. While the older pedagogies had had their faults, the new created an unreal approach to learning. By avoiding difficulty and challenge, moral discipline was lost. A consequence was the rise of the "trained teacher" who had to be sensitive to the child:

The child-mind must be taken tenderly, its constitution must be studied, care must be exercised not to press it unduly, not to overburden it with facts, not to ask it to exert itself too early or upon matter uncongenial to it. Knowledge must be gently unfolded in the most interesting of all possible ways and the instructor's fitness for his post judged by the amount of attention which the pupil chose to bestow on him.<sup>142</sup>

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136. Alfred Gifford, "The Intermediate Department" in William J. Mortimer ed., *Methodist Sunday-school year book*, Hussey & Gillingham, Adelaide, 1917, p. 15.

137. *ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

138. *ibid.*, p. 20.

139. *ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

140. The explanation for this, I suspect lies in the source of the article. It was not written by a member of the school's teaching staff, and may have been intended to be used in a variety of church publications.

141. Cabra College, *Veritas*, 1918, p. 80.

142. *ibid.*



The consequence was a youth, about to "go out into life" who had been morally and intellectually coddled, fed "with a system of soft knowledge and soft ethics", and having been "hopelessly spoiled in his own home by parents who pamper him ...". Self-discipline and self mastery were lost in the process. The modern child had little hope of finding "that power of character and strength of will that makes the effective man and the effective citizen."<sup>143</sup>

So it was that the new and progressive discourse on education, the youth and the child was contested, though in the examples presented here, families were criticised from both sides. In the progressive, and new social science based discourse, the family tended to be seen as neglectful in its duty towards the child and youth. This was especially so for the families of inner urban working class youth where tendencies towards vice and degeneracy were common descriptors of city dwellers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In the *Veritas* article, the family is criticised for excessive solicitousness over the welfare of the child. Though not stated, it is probable that the target of this criticism was not working, but middle class families.

While argument at this level of intensity was rare at the local level, there were echoes of it through the whole of the period under study. The conflicting attitudes of schools and parents to the meritocratic procedures and ideology sustaining the public examination system were the most common causes for a resurgence of the debate. Youth could be confined and debilitated by the system on the one hand, or challenged to hard work and the development of persistence and "character" on the other. The debate was in fact, part of the process by which modern conceptions of youth and the function of secondary schooling fitfully began to displace the old.

There were other sources of criticism of the progressive approach to youth which derived from nationalist and conservative sources.<sup>144</sup> Despite the conservatism often involved, they hardly resiled from putting a new effort into the moulding of youth. They could also contribute to the making of adolescence a special life stage in so far as organizations like the Scouts contributed to the process of separating youth from adult society.

Early in the century, progressive educators had difficulty in implementing new approaches. There was occasionally a frustrated sense that South Australia was a "by-water in education". The Superintendent of Secondary Education thought in 1922 that

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143. *ibid.*, p. 81.

144. A series of booklets written by Baden-Powell, Kipling and Kitchener among others, current in the British Empire early in the century appealed against indiscipline in all classes, seeking the reassertion of duty to God, family, King and country. (See Selleck, *The new education*, pp. 303-304. The series title of the booklets discussed was *Essays on Duty and Discipline*, 1910.)

unfortunately for the State, "there is no school of experimental psychology under a trained expert ...".<sup>145</sup> A common paradox was that modernity in some areas of social life appeared to threaten the appeal to modern ideas of adolescence and its management. At the Methodist Ladies College, the Headmistress thought that sensible approaches to the raising of girls were being countered by progress in science and technology. Their effect had been the unfortunate speeding up of transition to the adult world:

As it is, modern scientific discoveries and inventions tend to thrust a child too soon into an adult world, and we are doing untold harm when we seek to give a girl in her 'teens the worldly experience of adults. There is time for this when school days are over ....<sup>146</sup>

This argument constituted a new conservatism, where the modern adolescent, increasingly protected from the adult world by prolonged institutionalization in schools, found her survival under threat from the quickening rate of social change. But there was an older discourse as well which had sought to protect girls from the harshness of life's realities, a discourse which had been part of the modernizing approach from the beginning, at least as far as Stanley Hall influenced it. Williams, the Director of Education in 1910 had used Hall to dilate on the "problem" of the adolescent girl. Girls' allegedly highly strung and emotional natures were taken for granted by him; by the very fact of being girls they suffered from physical defects. Girls needed "the kind of physical training which strengthens the nervous system and imparts larger power of self-control". The "school girls of today" were the mothers of the next generation whose own fitness would depend on that of their future mothers.<sup>147</sup> Such approaches were not always accepted, but they had their influence, for example in the origins of the home economics, mothercraft and physical education curricula in the early twentieth century.

A major contribution to the scientific and progressive definition of and approach to adolescence and secondary schooling was the haphazard diffusion of the ideas of the British Government's Hadow Report of 1926. Though it failed to deliver R. H. Tawney's, and the British Labour Party's demands for "secondary education for all", its arguments were cast in a progressive framework.<sup>148</sup> The journal of the main South Australian teachers' union "adapted" the Hadow discussion of adolescence for an article beginning: "There is a tide which begins to rise in the veins of youth at the age of eleven or twelve."<sup>149</sup> In it the relationships between physiological and psychological developmental stages were discussed, as were hypotheses about the probable origins of

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145. Report of the Superintendent of Secondary Education (W. Adey), *MR* 1922, p. 32.

146. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, 1927, p. 11. For a similar sentiment, see the same school magazine four years later, *ibid.*, 1931, p. 12.

147. Director's Report (A. Williams), *MR* 1910, p. 21.

148. See Simon, *The politics of educational reform 1920-1940*, pp. 125-148.

149. *The S.A. Teachers' Journal*, vol. 18, no. 9, 22 September, 1932, p. 17.

criminality and delinquency in adolescence, and the contribution that good discipline in schools could make to the problems. It argued for raising the school leaving age from 14 to 15.<sup>150</sup> This report was also part of the background to Cole's collection, *The Education of the Adolescent in Australia*, published in 1935. In it, Tate argued that there was a long way to go before the schooling envisaged by the "justly celebrated Report" would be organized in Australia.<sup>151</sup>

From 1930, the Australian Council for Educational Research, with which Cole's book was associated, made its increasingly influential impact on scientific and progressive approaches to education in Australia, especially in the area of psychology and intelligence measurement.<sup>152</sup> While at the local level, at least in the Unley and Mitcham schools, the fruit of these approaches was not felt systematically until after World War II when streaming on the basis of intelligence and other tests was thoroughly implemented, it is possible to see the beginnings of the discussion in the 1930s. Edgar Allen, Superintendent of Secondary Schools following Adey's elevation to the Directorship explored the social consequences of wide scale differentiations at an institutional level. Though the need for differentiation was not questioned, he asked:

Should we, as in England, segregate students into different types of schools on insufficient data, or should we as in America, have many different courses in one school? The former is a caste system and tends to associate too much education with social status; the latter tends to sacrifice standards ... The chief concern of any new philosophy of secondary education is the quality of the education to be given to increasing quantities of students with widely divergent abilities, and to this we must give our attention in the immediate future.<sup>153</sup>

The decision was made in favour of a "caste system" when the central schools were converted to single sex technical high schools in 1940. But this was arguably a progressive as well as a reactionary solution. In his radio talks on Australian education, the American, Professor Kandel of the Teachers College, Columbia University, had noted with approval, "the beginning of some measure of differentiation in accordance with the abilities and interests of the pupils ...".<sup>154</sup> The major issue was not really differentiation within or between schools, but differentiation itself. The Mitcham and Unley schools had always had different social compositions, and especially after the introduction of the central schools in 1925, different courses. What was new was the envisaged application of psychometrics to establish the differentiations on a "scientific"

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150. *ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

151. Frank Tate, "Some problems of administration" in Percival R. Cole ed., *The education of the adolescent in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1935, p. 22.

152. David McCallum, *The social production of merit: Education, psychology and politics in Australia 1900-1950*, The Falmer Press, London, 1990 is the major study of these issues. See pp. 82-94 for his discussion of the Hadow Report's influence.

153. Report of the Superintendent of Secondary Education (E. Allen), *MR 1938*, p. 22.

154. I. L. Kandel, *Impressions of Australian education*, A.C.E.R., [Melbourne], 1938, p. 5.

basis. Scientific method was to be added to class and family strategies, as well as exam success as a means of managing the educational experiences of youth. But in 1935, the implementation of this form of management was still largely for the future. To repeat Cole's metaphor: between the conflicting views of secondary education, "the education of the adolescent hovers, like Mohammed's coffin, in mid-air."<sup>155</sup>

In *Keywords*, Raymond Williams pointed to the connotation reversal for the word "modern" during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Instead of suspicion, the word began to arouse approval; it came to mean improvement and efficiency.<sup>156</sup> "Modern" was one of the adjectives commonly used to describe early twentieth century secondary school youth in Mitcham and Unley. The contexts and extensions of its use tell us more about constructions of the "modern" adolescent.

One can detect differences in connotations when "modern" is applied respectively to males and females in school magazines. It was far more likely to suggest an acceptable, even admirable image of a boy, especially one interested in such technical marvels as the crystal set and wireless, but for women in the early twentieth century, "modern" could invoke negative images of first wave feminism, where girls resisted assumed domestic futures. The Methodist Ladies College at Wayville was undoubtedly a modern girls' school, created with many of the virtues and ideals of the English schools for girls associated with Dorothea Beale and Frances Mary Buss.<sup>157</sup> Yet a wary approach marked the encouragement of girls into higher education and careers. Co-existing was a continued celebration of the domestic female, whose proper sphere was the private, not public.

The paradoxes appear in a 1912 article, "The Girl of Today", by One of Them.<sup>158</sup> At first the wary approach appears to have been cast aside, but it was all too easy to create a straw creature of the Victorian girl from the standard literary representations:

The typical girl of today presents a striking contrast to the maiden of the early Victorian period ...

Extreme modesty, primness and unobtrusiveness are indicated in every fold of her dress, every line of her figure. In comparison the girl of today is not modest, certainly not prim, and most certainly not unobtrusive. ...

The modern girl as a rule is not given to fainting and hysterics as a habit, and if there is such a one she is not generally admired by her stronger-

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155. Cole, *The education of the adolescent in Australia*, p. xii.

156. Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*, Fontana, Glasgow, 1976, p. 174.

157. See Sherington, Petersen & Brice, *Learning to Lead*, p. 43.

158. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, vol. 6, 1912, pp. 28-30.

minded sisters. For the indulgence in bodily exercise has strengthened not only muscle, but also nerve and the power of self-control.<sup>159</sup>

Yet there was qualification:

Unfortunately, as many will point out, there is here and there a tendency in the modern girl to progress too far on the athletical side ... Such peculiar notions as girl scouts have, so far, met with decided opposition.<sup>160</sup>

The girl guiding movement became as popular in the Mitcham and Unley area and schools as anywhere else within a few years, but the concession to female modesty had been made, and qualified the final celebration of women in the professions. (The modern girl was "not content to live a quiet, sheltered, humdrum life at home ...".<sup>161</sup>) Despite its qualification, this construction of the modern girl was on the edge of acceptability. There is evidence to suggest that the effect of World War I, the domestic arts curriculum reforms, and the gradual winding down of the activity associated with first wave feminism had a retrograde effect on continued pressure to loosen, if not break the bonds of domesticity. Certainly the state Education Department rarely pretended to definitions of femininity which breached the demands of domesticity. The reforming Director, Williams, did not wish to see the prevailing gender order disrupted. He approved of the excellence of the gendered curriculum of American high schools which he visited in 1907. Courses for girls on physiology, nutrition, sanitation and health were inspired by a "knowledge" of girls; the curriculum was one "calculated to arouse the deepest interest of the students". Her (female) teachers saw

the girl in her future home as wife and mother, and tries to give her pupil such training as will help to make her life and the lives of those associated with her contented and happy.<sup>162</sup>

Even so, women had the vote, and teaching, nursing and clerking continued to expand as careers for women, structured as they were by gendered assumptions and rules. On a cultural level, girls in the schools explored their modernity, if only in terms of responsiveness to the changing fashions of hair style, dress and music. "To bob or not to bob: that is the question ...?"<sup>163</sup> Or, could girls do without jazz? "Jazz is part of the wave of modernism which is sweeping over the world."<sup>164</sup>

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159. *ibid.*, p. 29.

160. *ibid.*

161. *ibid.*, p. 30.

162. Williams, Preliminary Report ... 1907, p. 29.

163. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 21, 1924, p. 30.

164. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 32, 1928, p. 18. At the same time there could be less than whole hearted embracements of modernity. A Walford girl wrote in 1934 of T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, and a generation after the Great War which was "quickly losing faith in itself ...". The writer found her own joy in the escape to simple and natural things, like Alice (in Wonderland), and Wendy and Peter (Pan). (*ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 45, 1934, pp. 24-25.)

R. W. Connell among others has argued that schools have been and are actively implicated in the process of gender formation. Schools "do not simply adapt to a natural masculinity among boys or femininity among girls. They are agents in the matter, constructing particular forms of gender and negotiating relations between them."<sup>165</sup> The new secondary schools early in the century were not only making and re-making social class relations, they were also making and remaking gender relations and gendered identities. The capacity of schools to engage in this process increased in impact as the proportion of youth enrolled increased over the century. The sixth form notes for Walford School may not have overstated the case in 1933:

Such as we are, we are the product of the School. It has moulded us year by year, leaving room always for the individual development of character. It has guided this development in the right way, and this is one of the greatest gifts of our schooldays.<sup>166</sup>

Nor were schools necessarily uncritical about their engagement in the process of gender formation. School debating topics are often a good guide to questions of the day. In 1924, Methodist Ladies College girls not only debated the abolition of public examinations, the harm that popular cinema might do, the admission of Asiatics to Australia, but also the comparative vanities of men and women and "Should boys learn Domestic Science at school?" In the same year, the South Australian government's Advisory Council on education came to a gender exclusive resolution of the last issue. Its motion summarized the official, state scientific discourse on the prime curriculum need of the modern girl:

That in the view of the great importance of the right kind of education for girls in their early adolescence, this Council emphasises the necessity for the establishment, in the metropolitan area, of at least one special domestic economy school for girls from 13 to 16 years of age.<sup>167</sup>

Such statements also reinforce the perception that the use of the word "adolescence" in this period was an instrument of state policy, rather than a term for popular use.

Definition of the modern boy engaged the essay and editorial writers at Scotch College. One piece in 1927 resisted the notion that romance and idealism had disappeared with the Great War and Industrial Revolution, but degenerated quickly into the mundane when sport was elevated as "a healthy and harmless outlet" for the expression of the restlessness of modern youth.<sup>168</sup> The writer thought the modern possibilities of friendships between boys and girls were an improvement on the past, but despite the

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165. R. W. Connell, "Cool guys, swots and wimps: the interplay of masculinity and education", *Oxford Review of Education*, vol. 15, no. 3, 1989, p. 292.

166. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 44, 1933, p. 10.

167. Report of the Advisory Council of Education ... 1924, *SAPP*, no. 45, 1925.

168. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1927, pp. 5-6.

devotion of modern youth to "physical pleasure", it thought youth still sought the higher things of life, evidenced by higher public examination entrance levels!<sup>169</sup> An article a few years later, written at the height of the Depression argued that since World War I, parents had changed their attitude to their children:

Determined to treat us differently from the way in which their Victorian parents treated them, they have endowed us with more than sufficient pocket money, splendid clothes, auto-cycles, and in many unfortunate cases, with motor cars, and with the wherewithal to attend numerous entertainments ... we have come to consider these things our due, and to think ourselves hardly done by if we do not receive them.<sup>170</sup>

The Depression, it went on to argue, changed all this. Youth had also to face adversity and respond to it:

We public school boys, educated on academic principles, must perforce adopt an academic career, and overcrowd the professions, or else leave school and deteriorate, morally and physically, like our less fortunate brothers, for commerce and industry have no need of us.<sup>171</sup>

Such statements are significant for a number of reasons. They show the sense of separate caste, being "public school boys", and they show the pressures of the Depression on previously assumed professional career paths. The article as a whole is informed by the idea of the preciousness of middle class male youth, and corporate schooling, preferably at a school like Scotch with greater public school pretensions, as the means by which parents could cultivate their children and their ambitions for them.<sup>172</sup> The argument as a whole was predicated on the modernity of parental attitudes towards youth. As in the girls' school magazines discussed above, a clear distinction was drawn between the nature of modern youth and the Victorian.

Less extravagant usages or ideas of the modern were current in the state high school. There the connections between modernity, maleness and new technologies tended to frame the issues:

There is no doubt that wireless has captured the minds of the growing boy today. The intelligent boy tries his best to make a set, while the thrifty boy saves all he can in order to be able to buy one.<sup>173</sup>

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169. *ibid.*, p. 6.

170. *ibid.*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1931, p. 5.

171. *ibid.*, p. 6.

172. For a much more detailed examination of such issues, see Janet McCalman, *Journeyings: The biography of a middle class generation 1920-1990*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1993, pp. 135-156.

173. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1924, p. 14.

As in the girls' schools, of all the arts, popular music gave definition to modern youth. At Scotch, the prefect's jazz band was "not fully appreciated by others".<sup>174</sup> The influence of modern cinema and American urban culture in general was increasingly important. In 1927, "sheiks" and "flappers" were the subject of boarders' notes on love.<sup>175</sup>

### Recognition of adolescence as a new life stage

That middle class youth were the subjects of school magazine discussions is not only a function of the sources. In the pre-World War II period many in the working class did not attend secondary schools. They neither wrote about themselves, nor were written about in such a way. In that the great majority left school for some kind of work at the end of their twelfth (or thirteenth year after 1915), suggests that in many important respects they did not experience modern adolescence.<sup>176</sup> The period spent by some youth in secondary schools early in the twentieth century was commonly regarded at the time as a new and distinct life stage. Secondary schooling provided the opportunity to fulfil the promise of youth:

Just as the farmer's most anxious moments are spent over the development of the young crop, although he reaps his harvest only when the wheat is ripe, so we must make the best of our youth, expecting in our maturity or old age to reap the fruit, the seeds of which we have sown in our youth.<sup>177</sup>

At the same time, especially for those enrolled in the state secondary systems, secondary schooling marked an extension of compulsory elementary education. "My Earliest Recollections" by a Leaving Honours student at Unley High in 1939 recalled a childhood in a carefree River Murray setting. "School brought an end to these carefree days."<sup>178</sup> For youth coming to Mitcham and Unley schools from the country, the journey to the city was not only a journey through space, but a journey into a new understanding and construction of self. A former Concordian wrote of the physical journey, but the elements are there to imagine the symbolism of the psychic journey, as home is left, and the city entered:

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174. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1922, p. 10.

175. *ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1927, p. 55.

176. In other respects they did. They increasingly participated and located themselves in modern popular culture, the makers of which were just beginning to develop the young as a separate consumer market from the adult. They also experienced and located themselves in the general modernity of post World War I social conditions. The Victorian world had passed for all classes. Nevertheless, the prolonged stay at a secondary school, and the dependency associated with it, marked some youth as different, and more modern than others.

177. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1930, p. 6.

178. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 18, no. 2, p. 31.



First impressions of the College live long. Many country boys, away from home for the first time also have recollections of luggage troubles. Mine was the inevitable mattress and bedding, which my fond parents had done up in hessian and roped to the trunk, which had to be carried through city streets and put on the tramcar - horsecars in those days ...<sup>179</sup>

Early days at the new school were usually accompanied by youths' own rituals of passage. At Scotch the newcomers were taken to the bathroom "and after having removed their coats and collars they were baptised with soap and gravel", faces were boot-polished, and the initiates forced to sing.<sup>180</sup> The same school's magazine editor for 1927 recalled the seriousness of purpose in the new institutionalized life stage, and the possibility that all would not seize or understand their opportunities:

... let it be remembered that for a boy at school, life has begun in earnest. ... [One] often wonders whether they have received all the necessary equipment to face life's struggle. The chief function of a school is character building. Passing examinations and playing cricket are simply means to this end.<sup>181</sup>

For the boarders, the contrast between the old life and the new was most marked. For day students the discontinuity was less. The writer of Unley High's Class IB notes for 1925 restricted himself mainly to curriculum change as the essence of the change:

After we left the Primary Schools at Xmas, we found surroundings strange and work difficult. We were unfamiliar with some of the High School subjects, but we soon found out that School work seemed easier after some study, and that we began to grasp the foundations of the new subjects.<sup>182</sup>

Nevertheless, students of the early Unley High recognised the difference between themselves and others who had not been elevated to the status of High School student. In the first years of the school, when the same campus was shared by Primary and High schools at Unley, the antagonism between students of the two was fierce.<sup>183</sup>

Curriculum rather than character as the focus of school life was always likely to have been a distinguishing feature of academic state high schools as opposed to the colonial imitators of the great public schools. Students of both understood that secondary schooling involved the realisation "that we are growing up. Each of us is here to prepare himself for the position he is to take in the world."<sup>184</sup> The families of day students retained a close contact with the life-stage transformations of their children associated

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179. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1927, p. 37.

180. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1922, p. 9.

181. *ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1926, p. 6.

182. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1925, pp. 29-30.

183. Interviews with Cyril Fidock (student at Unley High, 1911-1914), Sir Mark Oliphant (student at Unley High, 1915-1917), 1984. (In the possession of the author.)

184. *ibid.*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1937, p. 10.

with the secondary school. The disruptions were more sharply defined for youth away from home, boarding in the city for long periods. Some of the piquancy of the first visit home is captured by a Concordia student, though the didactic purpose spoils the images somewhat:

For the budding youth who is going home for the first time, the journey is of special importance - he is about to show the people of his district how learned he has grown ...

He is now a student in name at least, if in nothing else. From his high pedestal he will look down at the uneducated masses grovelling in the slough of ignorance, little realizing how abysmally ignorant he himself is.<sup>185</sup>

Related ideas are explored in the Unley High magazine illustration, "From Grub to Butterfly" (1926).<sup>186</sup> (See Plate 4.) The title of the illustration points to the transformative role of secondary schooling for youth; it is host to a distinct life stage. The transformation is achieved by the formal and informal curriculum. Almost every constituent drawing is founded on the primacy of gender in the re-making of "Susie Hayseed". First her body is modernized. The hair is cut and bobbed by prefects. The school curriculum she experiences is that considered appropriate for girls.<sup>187</sup> Domestic arts is part of the newer progressive curriculum for girls, and music the last of the old accomplishments. The modern girl plays competitive sport, with skirt well above the ankles. She belongs to the Girl Guides, an even more modern innovation for girls considering the Methodist Ladies College article referred to above. She experiences academic success, and through debating, goes beyond domestic modesty to argue demonstratively, and in public. When she returns home, having abandoned "a string of broken hearts", suggesting considerable experience with the opposite sex previously thought unimaginable for the well brought up middle class girl, she is no longer Susie Hayseed. Instead we see a tough modern flapper wielding an umbrella, unlikely ever to re-integrate into the life of Woop-Woop, signified by the long bearded (ancient, old-fashioned) welcoming denizen.

Other readings of the illustration are possible. This reading links the themes of distinct life-stage, the modernizing of youth, the transformative nature of the secondary school experience and the schisms it brought between youth, family and community, especially for those who boarded in the city.

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185. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, vol. 2. no. 1, 1930, p. 64.

186. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1926, p. 5.

187. See Campbell, *State High School*, pp. 47 & 69.

The transformative power of the high school



Plate 4 is a representation which highlights the potential transformative power of the modern secondary school, for girls as well as boys. We know that only a tiny minority remained long enough in the 1920s, either to become prefects or pass their "Leaving with Flying Colours." The fact of the school uniform is not asserted in the illustration, probably because its effect would have been to muddy the theme of the swift transition to the appearance of independent adulthood. At the same time, notes from the Leaving Boys class were commenting that "a few members of the class have graduated from youth's to man's attire ...".<sup>188</sup> The final adoption of long trousers for boys remained as potent a symbol of coming adulthood as any, but it was only occurring for a few even in the final high school year. Secondary schooling did provide one pathway to a certain kind of adulthood, but the conditions of entry and the price of remaining were prolonged dependence on family and school, in fact a delayed transition to adulthood which many male youth, working and middle class were not attracted by at all. The position was somewhat different for girls, since dependence of one kind or another had long been a condition of life, regardless of secondary schooling.<sup>189</sup> Where students remained long enough, the physical changes, as well as those socially constructed, could be dramatic. "When he came to Concordia he was rather a small boy with straggly hair, and throughout his career at college he has been known chiefly for two things: his phenomenal growth and playful disposition."<sup>190</sup>

The possibility of a modern youth, or adolescence, lived for much of the time within the secondary school was dependent on sufficient means to pay for a private or corporate school education, or sufficient merit (and financial sacrifice) to gain entrance into a state secondary school. Through to the end of the period under discussion, academic performance in the final year of primary school determined entry into the state high schools.<sup>191</sup> The most innovative of the post-Alfred Williams Directors of Education, W. T. McCoy, regarded the high schools as elite schools. He thought that only students who could stay for the whole course should enrol.<sup>192</sup> Even with the lesser standards of entry for central schools, large numbers of youth were not in secondary schools. Figures from the 1933 census showed that for South Australia, of 10,303 fourteen year olds, some 40% were unemployed, some 10% employed and some 50% attended school, not

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188. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1925, p. 21.

189. This is not the whole story however. Janet McCalman highlights the differences in the lives of the middle class school girls of Melbourne with "their working sisters". McCalman, *Journeyings*, pp. 136-8, 147.

190. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, vol. 2, no. 5, 1934, p. 14.

191. *Statistical Register of South Australia*, 1940-1, Part I, p. 19.

192. W. G. Richards, W. T. McCoy and his Directorship of Education in South Australia 1919-1929, M. Ed. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1973, p. 256. When the agricultural high school, Urrbrae, was opened in 1932, students would be enrolled who had passed their Qualifying Certificate examination or who had spent a year or more at another secondary school. (*MR* 1932, p. 4.)

necessarily a secondary school.<sup>193</sup> It was quite reasonable to celebrate the exclusivity of most kinds of secondary schooling such as in one Unley High magazine editorial: "the privilege of being a student or an old scholar of the U.H.S. is one to be cherished."<sup>194</sup> The length of stay was usually determined by parental wishes, the financial capacity to support the stay, and the demonstration of academic merit, not only in the state but corporate schools also. Boys left Concordia early for a number of reasons, including ill-health, but also "on account of lack of talent (or shall we rather say, lack of application!)"<sup>195</sup> These processes of selection need to be kept in mind when discussing the representations of youth in the schools.

The Headmistress of the Methodist Ladies College directly tackled the issue of adolescence and secondary schooling in the 1939 school report. By 1939 the issue for Miss Harris was becoming one of slowing down modern tendencies to reach adulthood too soon, a plaint of the reformers forty years previously:

One is so often tempted to think these girls can manage alone - they appear to grow up so quickly - life moves so fast that even childhood is speeded up - but surely, if ever, childhood should be prolonged these days

...

Parents were advised:

Set yourself against this whirl of time that is striving to carry your girl into complicated adulthood before you have prepared her and safeguarded her, before she has met and mastered, with your help, the lesser of the difficult problems of self-discipline.

In a world newly at war the old virtues of women were again required:

If you let modern life force the growth of your girl and carry her from one stage to another at an ever faster and faster rate you cannot expect to get balanced, serene personalities at home, in life, and undismayed by calamity - and now, as never before, the world needs women growing to their full stature, whole and complete.<sup>196</sup>

The argument is of interest for a number of reasons. First is its assumption that childhood (and adolescence) could be prolonged, or that both could be socially constructed. Second is the vagueness of the desired outcome for these girls whose flight towards adulthood is to be arrested. Somehow a link is made between women of strength, serenity and good judgement, and prolonged childhood. Third is the emphasis placed on the family in achieving this; though absent from the explicit argument, there is an implicit

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193. *MR 1934*, p. 7; Table no. 1, Appendix C, *MR 1934*, p. 21.

194. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1924, p. 2.

195. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1926, p. 8.

196. Methodist Ladies College, *The M.L.C. Annual*, 1939, p. 13.

assumption that the crucial arena in which good women will be made, despite the work of the secondary school, is the family. This is understandable given, by the late 1930s, the growing permeation of a popular culture through the new media technologies of cinema and radio, access to which could not easily be controlled by the school. The Headmistress adverted to the problem of popular culture when praising the girls for their cultivation of the habits of "serious reading" in "this age of easy entertainment."<sup>197</sup> Another reason for interest in the argument is the vagueness about what constituted the fresh cause for anxiety about the accelerating rate of growing up. It is possible that the continuing retreat of the age of menarche was the issue.

Some years earlier at Walford, a magazine editor wondered

whether every girl fully realizes how much her school does for her in the way of preparing her for the day when she must leave school and grow up.<sup>198</sup>

It is possible to detect a difference between the conceptions of the role of secondary schooling in the life of male and female youth. Difficult to prove, or quantify, it sometimes appeared that the discourse about secondary schooling for girls, at least in the private and corporate schools, continued to be about protection and sequestering, and for boys more the issue of actual "growing up" and challenge. In both cases however, and despite gender, the overall effect for all secondary school youth was continued dependence, and lack of freedom. But it was more so for girls.

In 1932 an Unley High girl wrote of her shock at being confronted with the fact of her mother's work. For some reason mother was absent from home, and the daughter had to take over the housekeeping. She found her duties onerous. They included keeping the stove alight, feeding the fowls, scalding the milk, protecting the food from the cat, keeping an eye on the electric lights to save money and cooking for the males. She noted that this included the experience of having her efforts criticised; neither meat, scones nor junket, according to them, was up to standard:

Every morning I, perforce, was up before six in order to get the day's work done. The washing and ironing proved a great bother because I did only a little at a time, shirts and handkerchiefs one day, socks and stockings the next, and the coloured materials on the following day.<sup>199</sup>

It is important to retain a sense of the nature of labour for most women (in which their daughters were more likely to participate than sons), when discussing the issues of the representation of female youth, and dependence and "growing up". This was an age

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197. *ibid.*

198. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 18, p. 1.

199. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1932, p. 31.

when few Australian households had electric washing machines, when the coppers had to be fired and boiled. In an age of rapidly disappearing domestic servants, even middle class girls experienced childhood, youth and dependence differently from their counterparts at the end of the previous century, let alone in comparison with their brothers.<sup>200</sup>

Concordia was the only corporate school to take both girls and boys in this early twentieth century period. Some parents had their doubts about co-education, and the school had considerable reassuring to do. One such reassurer seemed a little uncertain. He thought that a liberal education for girls "will not necessarily ruin them for ordinary household duties ...".<sup>201</sup> His argument was surer when trying to recreate the standard discourse about the value of a liberal education in general, but with a special final application for the future woman. A liberal education would stimulate and strengthen

a girl's physical, mental, and moral faculties, will increase her power in every possible direction - her power to appreciate, to compass, and to enjoy all that is true, and good, and beautiful; her power to think, to plan, and to achieve; her power to serve, to comfort, and to uplift.<sup>202</sup>

The last three infinitives in this passage constituted a turning of the usual cultural arguments for higher education into gendered applications for the modern wife and mother. The most effective strategy in the reassurance process, rather than rhetoric about beauty and liberal education, was the setting up of the "hostel", away from the boys and the school, where despite the strange surroundings, the discipline and structure of the family were quickly replicated, albeit in a matron headed family. The girls "soon got used to the new home, and now they are like one large family."<sup>203</sup> Despite the attempts, more and less successful in different schools, to reproduce the family in the boarding houses, the nature of the care and surveillance was different from home, and the society of the peer group was the most common source of interaction. For many girls, the time at boarding school was an enormously significant part of their life course. When the boarders at M.L.C. arrived back from their Christmas holidays in 1909, they were

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200. On the domestic servant crisis and its effect on the middle class, see Beverley Kingston, *My wife, my daughter and poor Mary Ann*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1975. For a South Australian discussion of the changing nature of women's labour, see Helen Jones, *In her own name: Women in South Australian history*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1986, pp. 184-219.

201. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1927, p. 42. Probably by the same author, was a similar argument that: "A girl with a college education is not necessarily inefficient as a milkmaid or as a farmer's wife, but may be very well able to hold her own in any kind of housework." C. F. Graebner, "The duty of parents in regard to their children", *The Educational Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1927, p. 11.

202. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1927, p. 42.

203. *ibid.*, p. 48. See also, Leske, *Concordia: 100 years*, pp. 72-76 for reminiscences of the first girls to live in the hostel.

greeted "by bright and happy faces of many of our "Old Girls", who cling with devotion to the school of their girlhood, and can hardly tear themselves away."<sup>204</sup>

In 1910, the year of the first edition of Kyre College's school magazine, the school had thirty old boys who, having "received their training for future citizenship" had "gone forth to take their place in the sterner battle of life".<sup>205</sup> This was a very different language from that apparent in the girls' schools, yet the idea of the school providing a refuge from adult life and responsibility is similarly present. At Concordia several years later an inspirational fantasy on the role of the College in the making of a Pastor for the Church developed the idea of the school as host to a life stage in more detail. The mock diary, titled "An Ambassador of Christ in the Making" purported to be the thoughts of his poor but honest father back home on the farm.<sup>206</sup> A number of issues beyond those of detailing ideal adolescent transformations were raised, especially that of an exemplary model of parental self-sacrifice offered to the male child:

*February 12, 1915.* To-day my fondest hope was partly realised - my boy has gone to college. I have given him to the Lord ... But it is hard - he's gone, practically gone for life. No more of his boyish pranks, no more of his boyish questions - ah!

*April 3, 1920.* At tea-time Mother and I discussed whether Paul should take music lessons this year ... But the money? Mother says she will take in sewing; I hope I can help somehow.<sup>207</sup>

*September 20, 1921.* ... I seem to notice that Paul is growing to be more manly, more self-controlled, more thoughtful. I notice that he is acquiring the habit of thoughtfulness. His conversation is not commonplace; on the contrary, he weighs every word he utters: he speaks from the heart. Lightness, jollity has given place to earnestness, to seriousness.

As soon as Paul is ordained ... I am willing to depart, for then my aim in life will have been accomplished. Mother says the same.<sup>208</sup>

Apart from the melodramatic touches, and the specific elements relating to preparation for priesthood, the extract emphasises the behavioural changes in the boy subject to the education of the college. From boyishness emerges a school induced new seriousness, self-control, and "manliness". Nor was his conversation "common" but informed by a higher culture. In the late 1930s at Scotch, the new seriousness became "worry" for one boy about to leave school at 17 (appropriate in a world about to go to war).<sup>209</sup> The celebration of an emergent seriousness as part of a preferred model of manliness and growth was a common idea in pre-World War II school magazines. A contrast between

204. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, vol. 4, no. 4, 1909, p. 10.

205. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1910, p. 5.

206. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1926, pp. 30-34.

207. *ibid.*, p. 32.

208. *ibid.*, p. 33.

209. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 15, no. 3, 1938, p. 10.



"the happy, carefree years of boyhood", and the secondary school-inspired emergence of "the sober and serious state of manhood" was an image worth repeating.<sup>210</sup>

## Conclusion

The early twentieth century secondary schools in Unley and Mitcham inherited well established ideas about youth, and images of ideal youth. The English public schools for boys were a very important source of discourses about male youth. Victorian images of domesticity were the foundation of the representations of girls. In both cases, the images and discourses were subject to challenge. The school magazines derived their representations sometimes from uncontested Victorian images and discourses; at other times the argument with the modern was very apparent. The school magazines increasingly represented secondary schooling as the mid-wife in the succession of life stages, especially that between childhood and adulthood. Ideal representations of youth were constructed. A feature of the descriptions of the new school supervised life stage were the necessarily paradoxical approaches to the exact nature of the transitional stage. The prolongation of childhood, and preparation for adulthood, the one constituted by continued dependence, and the other, growing independence, were forced to coexist.<sup>211</sup> The paradox is mainly reconcilable in the further discussion of the relationship between the emergence of this new life stage, and the formation of the new middle class.

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210. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1940, p. 8.

211. For an American discussion of the paradoxes of schooling extensions, the decline of the family "in preparing the young for adult roles" and the "segregation of young people from adult life", see Glen H. Elder, Jr., "Adolescence in the life cycle: An introduction" in Sigmund E. Dragastin & Glen H. Elder, Jr. eds., *Adolescence in the life cycle: Psychological change and social context*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1975, p. 10.

## Chapter 5

### Modernizing representations of youth

The relationship between new meritocratic values, the rise of the new middle class and the making of modern adolescents is relatively clear. The new academic state high schools in particular depended for their popularity and growth on making explicit their contribution to that relationship. In doing so they contributed to the growing influence of meritocratic values and practices in the private and corporate schools. The establishment of the University of Adelaide, and its control over public examinations provided the early pressures towards secondary schooling devoted to the competitive academic curriculum. But the successes of state high schools in public examinations, anticipated by the pioneering record of the Advanced School for Girls, ensured a growing meritocratic focus for all secondary schools, increasing the pressure on the private and corporate. Such a focus could coexist with older youth discourses fostered by the early twentieth century secondary schools, but there were also tensions between them. Duxes of schools, the new meritocratic heroes, did not necessarily need to be paragons of Christian, manly or feminine character and virtue.

The modernizing discourses about youth drew on the growing status of public examinations and meritocratic practices for their representations of ideal youth in schools. This chapter concentrates on such emergent modernizing discourses, though meritocratic forces were only one of a range of pressures creating the modern. First is an analysis of the representations of youth as "scholars" and future workers, followed by a discussion of the association between discourses on youth, the power relations between youth, schools and families and the making of the new middle class.

#### Meritocratic discourses

##### (a) Youth as scholars

As one might expect, the representation of secondary school youths as "scholars" in this age of limited access to secondary schooling, and the domination of the curriculum by University, was as important as any of the representations discussed previously. Indeed with the increasing relevance of school credentials to the process by which careers, especially in the professions and employed middle class were secured, such representations grew in importance. This was especially so for the state high schools in the district. And while there were counter-discourses about femininity which discouraged

women from becoming ambitious and bookish, girls also shared in the changes. Shifting labour markets continued to offer new career opportunities for women, despite the continuing discriminations against them in terms of salary, promotion opportunity and exclusion from many occupations.

At Scotch College, Professor McKellar Stewart of the University of Adelaide, spoke of the place of corporate schools in the scheme of things. It was from such schools "that the universities drew their scholars, and the education received in those schools was of great assistance to university teachers."<sup>1</sup> In the Prep school belonging to Way College, the habits of the competitive academic curriculum were quickly communicated to newcomers (note that "boys" come from private schools, and "lads" from state in this passage):

... we were pleased to welcome several boys from private schools, and a dozen lads from the sixth classes of two or three good State schools. These last have proved themselves much above the average of new arrivals, both in point of industry and general intelligence, while their presence has excited a spirit of emulation in the class, which has been productive of excellent results.<sup>2</sup>

Extracurricular activities supported a renewed emphasis on the schools as academic institutions, and their students as scholars, and initiates into the higher culture. The Literary and Debating societies found in most schools: private, corporate and state, boys' and girls', were often significant instruments of these intentions. The reading of papers on literary, scientific and other subjects, debating itself, the addition of musical performances, play readings and elocution displays could all be part of the meetings which usually took place in the evenings.<sup>3</sup>

State high schools were founded as academic institutions. The academic sides of the private and corporate schools were also prominent early in the century. Public examinations were the inescapable rituals at the centre of the academic activity.<sup>4</sup> Unley High published lists of class as well as school duxes from the beginnings of its school magazine.<sup>5</sup> The Methodist Ladies College reported in detail not only the secondary examination successes, but the details of the University careers of each old scholar.<sup>6</sup> At Unley, first decimal places were reported for the successes of its scholars. With a photo of Evelyn Moran was the text:

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1. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1924, p. 45.
  2. Way College, *The Boomerang*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1899, p. 35.
  3. For a representative report on a Literary and Debating Society, see Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1910, p. 45.
  4. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1933, p. 40.
  5. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1919, p. 38
  6. For example, Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, 1936, p. 101.

Winner of the Mayor's Scholarship Cup, First Year Division. Her average percentage = 93.5. There was very keen competition for the trophy ...<sup>7</sup>

Here, sport provided both the language of the citation, and the award. "Doggedness" as well as brilliance won a later Unley High student a scholarship.<sup>8</sup> By 1934, "No other school in S.A. obtained more Leaving and Intermediate Certificates than the Unley High School."<sup>9</sup> Cults of old scholars could be based on a number of foundations; Empire and war service being two of the more common. At Unley, the cult was founded most often on heroic feats of meritocratic dedication:

E. W. Palmer, scholar 1929-1931, recommended for Stow Prize, and R. W. Bennett Prize, on result of Faculty of Law, Degree Examination. He receives gold medal, and will be styled Stow Scholar. *He has passed forty-one public examinations in last nine years.*<sup>10</sup>

Gender was no bar to the celebration of the secondary student as scholar. The Catholic girls' school, Cabra, published photographs of its scholarship and medal winners (see Plate 5) in 1918.<sup>11</sup> M.L.C. always celebrated its school dux with a studio photograph, written tribute, and an essay. (For examples from 1912, 1920 and 1940, see Plates 6, 7; and the rather different Plate 8, in which the image portrayed anticipates the "healthy teenager" of the post-war era rather than earlier "serious scholars".) Indeed, at M.L.C., the dux of the school was the pre-eminent role model for other students. The representation of the successful secondary school girl was the girl as scholar, and in this M.L.C. was true to its origins, as a "modern" secondary school for girls.

Public examinations were of great importance in the construction of the modern secondary school adolescent. Like sport, they could produce the deliriums of success and failure, and prove character in the process. Yet, the character proven was not necessarily "virile" since book learning required little use of muscle or the physical aspects of manliness. Examinations for that reason could equally prove the brilliance and tenacity of girls, though at various times there were also arguments which had the physical health and suitability for motherhood of girls, suffering from long hours with books.<sup>12</sup> Examinations were of such importance that school life often seemed to revolve around them utterly:

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7. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1926, p. 31.

8. *ibid.*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1929, p. 19.

9. *ibid.*, vol. 13, no. 3, 1934, p. 5.

10. *ibid.*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1939, p. 33. (My italics.)

11. Cabra College, *Veritas*, 1918, p. 59.

12. See Dyhouse, *Girls growing up in late Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 134. See also Jan Kociumbas, *Children and society in New South Wales and Victoria 1860-1914*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Sydney, 1983. "Reflecting medical theory, the new girls' private secondary schools had a different function. Here the potential conflict with the theory that female adolescent minds must not be excited or fatigued during this critical stage of growth, was overcome by the counter claim that the higher culture of women would improve the racial stock." (p. 152.)

As we write these notes we are looking forward with trepidation to the terminal examinations, which decide whether some of us will sit for the Junior, or not.<sup>13</sup>

As students waited for the doors to open at the central examination centre in Adelaide in 1925, a student wrote, describing the faces of fellow candidates:

But, the predominant feature was either fear or despair - an agony of hopelessness seemed written there. There were many of these, snatching last looks at books, asking endless questions or standing there, hands in pockets dejectedly.<sup>14</sup>

That was an unusually subversive comment. More common was the representation of the student as competitor, about to hurdle the difficult jump:

ID's challenge that they would beat us by 10 per cent in the forthcoming dreaded terminals, has made us look to our laurels ...<sup>15</sup>

The class notes of Unley High's 3A class in 1932 are quoted at length. They inspire as good a recreation of the concerns and mood of a top academic boys' class as is likely to be found for the period:

Recently our Latin master, drew our attention to the difference in the meanings of *dominus* - a master of slaves, and *magister* - a school master. Lately, during the strenuous hours of preparation for the exam, we have failed to see it.

One member of our class, at least, has not upheld the honour of IIIA. In the Latin terminal, he translated a certain English sentence into Latin as: "The Britons were repelled by our feet." ...

Lately we have all been of the opinion that we have worked as hard as possible, but the other day we were disillusioned by the statement of our class teacher, "And now, we must start work for the Intermediate".

So we must begin the great chase for the Intermediate Certificates which we (a few of us) see floating in the hazy future - and at least some of us will find them, "and come through with flying colours."<sup>16</sup>

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13. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1918, p. 3.

14. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1925, p. 8.

15. *ibid.*, p. 17.

16. *ibid.*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1932, p. 29.

Plate 5  
The convent girl as scholar



T. Glover, Senior University Pass, 1917.



M. Braeden, Senior University Pass, Gold Medallist, 1917.



V. Newell, First Convent Pupil to win Government Bursary.



K. Levasseur, A.T.C.L., Winner of University Music Scholarship, 1916-1919, Grade I, Honors.



M. Molloy, Senior University Pass, 1917, Winner of O.S.A. Scholarship, 1918.



M. Jacobs, Winner of the Brewster-Jones Scholarship, 1918.



M. George, Music Pass, Grade III, 1918.

Dux of the Methodist Ladies College, 1912

THE DUX OF THE COLLEGE.



ELLEN RUTH LATILEAN REED, the Dux of the M.L.C. for 1912, entered the College in 1910, having already passed the Junior Examination. She passed the Senior in 1910 in Latin, German, History, Trigonometry, Arithmetic, and Algebra. In 1911, although, unfortunately, ill at the time of the examination, she passed the Higher Public in English Literature and Mathematics (now two subjects). She entered for the same exam. this year, and has been most successful. Her name appears on the general honour list, and she has passed in all her five subjects, *viz.*, English Literature, Modern History, Latin, Algebra and Trigonometry, and Geometry and Trigonometry. Her unfailing politeness and courtesy have endeared her to all her teachers, and her kindness and sympathy have made her a great favourite with all her schoolfellows. A high tribute was paid her last year, when, by the almost unanimous vote of the school, the good-fellowship prize (given to the girl who is considered to have exercised the best influence over others, and whose own conduct is beyond reproach) was awarded to her. She has captained the first tennis team this year, and is an excellent player.



MISS ELLEN RUTH LATILEAN REED.



Dux of the Methodist Ladies College, 1920

Wattle Blossom.

23

THE DUX OF THE COLLEGE.



LORA ELIZABETH PIPER began her career in the Port Lincoln Public School and later attended the Gawler Public School for three years.

In 1914 she entered the Methodist Ladies' College, and in 1916 passed the Primary examination in five subjects, viz.:—English, Arithmetic, Algebra, Latin, and French.

In the Junior examination of 1917, she gained the fourth place on the General Honour List, having passed in eight subjects, with credits in Greek (first on list) and Latin. Her success in this examination secured for her the Wattle Blossom Scholarship, giving a year's free tuition at the College.

In 1918 she entered for the Senior Public examination in five subjects—English, History, Latin, Greek, and French. In each of these subjects she passed with credit. The Margaret Shorney Scholarship was then awarded to her.

In the Senior examination of 1919, she passed in seven subjects, with five credits (in English, French, and Greek taking first place on the credit lists).

A Government scholarship, tenable for two years at the College, rewarded this success.

In 1920 she passed the Higher Public examination in five subjects—English, History, Latin, Greek, and French, the last-named with credit, and was placed fourteenth on the General Honour List.

Flora is a girl of exceptional ability, a thorough student with a most retentive memory. She acquires knowledge intelligently and with keen appreciation. In the class-room, her bright interested expression of face and ready answer, have made her a favourite pupil and all her teachers speak of her work in terms of highest praise.

She was an emergency for the first hockey team in 1920 and in many ways has shown her interest in School sport.

As one of the School prefects, she has also rendered good service. Her school-fellows are proud of her ability and success and she has many friends among them.



FLORA E. PIPER  
(the Dux for 1920).



Plate 8  
Dux of the Methodist Ladies College, 1940



SHEILAH HOLDING

This piece of writing demonstrates the submission of boys to the examination process and credential pursuit. The language of character ("honour of IIIA"), sport ("the great chase" and the military ("flying colours")) is used to effect. The academic curriculum and the preparation for the examination is represented as the basis of the relationship between teacher and student and the source of identity for the students. The pervasiveness of the representations is made the clearer from comparison with other class notes. Further down the academic ladder, the class notes of 3G and 3K respectively remark on their students' lack of cleverness; that they were "slack and lazy".<sup>17</sup>

Meritocratic values and distinctions derived from participation in public and internal examinations formed the culture of the state high school, and was responsible for the most admired representations of its students. Criticisms of the examination system, heard at the level above, in the Education Department central office were barely heard at all at the high school.<sup>18</sup> There was more antagonism in the private and corporate schools which often held on to the residual Arnoldian cultures, where a man or boy, woman or girl should never have their worth measured by the mean standard of the examination percentage. The Way College curriculum had admirably resisted the "mistake" to separate technical and "secondary" education too early.<sup>19</sup> At Kyre in 1912 a magazine editorial also resisted the tendency to measure the worth of the school by its examination results. It called for a Leaving certificate which testified to students' achievements in general.<sup>20</sup> Another editorial written from the sixth form described the mien and behaviour of the next lowest form. The passage may be ironic:

We like to study the habits and demeanours of the youngsters on the opposite side of the room. They seem to be engaged in a wild and feverish struggle for promotion. Their avidity for learning appals us: wan cheeks, dim eyes, palsied hands - the evidence of passion for knowledge too freely indulged that is surely sapping the strength of these young enthusiasts.<sup>21</sup>

At Scotch, the Headmaster advocated a separate "agricultural" course for boarders who had no inclination for an education "along certain traditional lines".<sup>22</sup> This was echoed in 1934 at the most academic of the girls' schools, M.L.C., which also advocated a separate non-academic course; but the pleasures of masochism were too great for it to really advocate revolution. "We still groan under the tyranny of examinations, *and we admire the chains which bind us.*"<sup>23</sup> At Scotch, there was a certain resignation in the statement:

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- 17. *ibid.*, pp. 31, 32.
  - 18. For example, Director's Report (W. T. McCoy), *MR 1921*, p. 24.
  - 19. Way College, *The Boomerang*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1899, p. 10.
  - 20. Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1912, pp. 97-8.
  - 21. *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 16, 1915, p. 196.
  - 22. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 5, 1922, p. 6.
  - 23. (My italics.) Methodist Ladies College, *M.L.C. Annual*, 1934, p. 12. Only Concordia College's protest appeared consistent with its actions. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1932, pp. 34-5.

Education today seems inseparable from a chain of competitive examinations, with their ceaseless clamour for "results".<sup>24</sup>

A strengthening meritocratic culture in the secondary schools saw an increasingly dominant representation of boys and girls based on participation in the public examination system. But the boy or girl as an "exam swat" was not without critics. And this was certainly not considered an appropriate model for the student attending the new central schools from the mid-1920s. There, the boy as future artisan, and girl as efficient and skilled homemaker were the representations inspiring the founders of those schools.<sup>25</sup>

### **(b) Youth as future adults**

The link between the representations of youth in the secondary schools and their envisaged roles as adults was not always apparent. In the early twentieth century, in the schools of Unley and Mitcham, links to a range of adult futures became more direct. The reasons are not difficult to discover. One is the entrance of the state into the provision of free secondary schooling. That entry needed to be justified in terms of specified outcomes, given the cost of those schools to the state. Similarly, with the competition provided by the state, functional arguments were also required in the private and corporate schools, going beyond the old reasons, that higher education was necessary for accomplishments, manliness or "Culture". The state was directly implicated in an aspect of this process which had great effect. The vocational guidance movement as it entered the state secondary schools attempted to meet scientifically the demands of the labour market with professionally assessed "aptitudes" of the child. Youth was now represented as "future worker". Within him or her were psychological and other "natural" predispositions to certain kinds of work and career. Unsurprisingly, these predispositions were profoundly gendered in nature. It occurred to few that the structures of the labour market and work itself were social creations, rather than mere reflections of the alleged eternal differences between men and women, bright and dull, and the classes.

The relationship between secondary school and work was not straight forward. Because the credentials on offer were irrelevant to a great number of jobs available to youth, the schools were often defensive about the value of their longer courses. This was so in corporate, private and state schools. In the non-state area, one of the major sources of enrolments, the families of farmers and pastoralists, often saw little use for more than a

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24. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1937, p. 5.

25. For example, Director's Report (W. T. McCoy), *MR 1924*, p. 16.

year or two at "college".<sup>26</sup> It was difficult at the state high schools also to keep students. Such comments as that following in the class notes for the Junior Public Boys of 1922 were common throughout the pre-World War II period: "Several boys have left this class in order to take up an occupation."<sup>27</sup> Arguments about raising the school leaving age from 14 to 15 became common again in the 1930s in government and other circles.<sup>28</sup>

In turning to the representations of youth as future workers, the range of occupations originally envisaged was quite narrow. They were mainly those for which public examination credentials, and longer stays at the schools, fitted students. The futures of the majority of secondary school students, those who only remained a year or more, were ignored for the most part. The successful male youth was envisaged as entering a profession or management in business or the public service. Successful girls were likely to be conceived as educated wives and mothers, but also, and importantly as teachers, nurses and workers in commerce. At Concordia it was argued that education was an asset for a girl in her own home and outside of it:

As a teacher of the Sunday School, as a member of the Young People's Society, and also in other capacities she can put her learning to a very good use. Let us also bear in mind that many a girl has a special gift for a special service. Some are particularly efficient as teachers of a day school or as music teachers, others are excellent nurses, others as accomplished typists, etc. And for all of them a higher education was an important factor in the preparation for their work.<sup>29</sup>

An article on careers for girls at Unley High in the mid-1920s contrasted former times when "women took practically no part in the world's activities, except those social callings which were considered genteel" with modern times:

Now women and girls take their place, not only in the social, but also in the industrial, literary, secretarial, Civil service, and even the political spheres.<sup>30</sup>

An article in the M.L.C. magazine celebrated the presence of eight old scholars on the staff of the Children's Hospital, but more importantly argued that nursing was becoming "no mean profession these days", especially since the new "universal standard" of examinations had been introduced.<sup>31</sup> Teaching was one of the most common occupations envisaged for Unley High senior students, male and female. The writers of the Leaving Commercial class notes in 1925 had no trouble in seeing themselves in the future:

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26. This is discussed fully in ch. 6.

27. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1922, p. 5.

28. Advisory Council of Education. Report ... 1934, no. 54, *SAPP 1935*, pp. 3-6.

29. *The Education Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1927, p. 11.

30. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1926, p. 18.

31. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, 1924, p. 32.

Here we are now doing examinations, and homework, and even impositions, at the command of our teachers. A few turns of the clock, and we ourselves shall be setting examinations, and exacting penalties from unfortunate pupils, who deserve them no more than we did.<sup>32</sup>

Such envisionings were imperative given the possibility of being accepted into teacher training after passing the Intermediate and having reached 15 years of age. From then, the student was bound "by agreement to obey his superiors", being supported at high school for two further years and then two more at the teachers college.<sup>33</sup>

The other side of the imagined future of the high school girl remained indisputably domestic. The introduction of domestic arts centres and curriculum was mainly centred on the state secondary schools. All the high school girls at Unley, from 1910, "did" cooking.<sup>34</sup> Matthews argued that the initial courses were aimed explicitly at daughters of the working class "who were to be broken of the values and habits of their mothers."<sup>35</sup> Such a class interpretation is supported by the minimal introduction of similar curricula in the private and corporate girls' schools. (Which is not to say that domestic futures were not envisaged for the majority of girls at those schools.) The other secondary course which became increasingly relevant, but not in this period, exclusive, to girls was commercial education. It tackled the task of training girls in skills which made them employable in the lower paid areas of rapidly expanding office work.<sup>36</sup> For all these developments, representations of girls as future adults and workers were fewer than for boys. The range of imagined futures for girls was narrow.

At Cabra College, there was one other vocation available for girls, that of joining the nuns themselves. This was a vocation which had a very high status in the Catholic girls' schools of the period.<sup>37</sup> At Concordia College, the male student as trainee for the clergy also had the highest status. There, despite the many more students not seminary bound, who passed through it, the College's "foremost end and aim ... is and has ever been the training of young men for the ministry."<sup>38</sup>

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32. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1925, p. 23.

33. *ibid.*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1926, p. 18.

34. Report of Organizing Instructress for Domestic Subjects (Edith M. Devitt), *MR 1911*, p. 49.

35. Matthews, "Education for femininity: Domestic Arts education in South Australia", p. 41.

36. For an overview of this area, see Jill Blackmore, "Schooling for work: gender differentiation in commercial education in Victoria 1935-1960", *History of Education Review*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1987, pp. 31-50.

37. Burley, None more anonymous?, p. 138. On the status of the religious vocation for women, see Cabra College, *Veritas*, 1918, p. 26.

38. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1924, p. 11. In 1910, Kyre College also recorded with pride that the school was apparently "a nursery for ministers of all denominations", with six ministerial students at the college (including Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist and Congregational candidates.) Kyre College, *The Kyrian*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1910, p. 11.

The vocational guidance scheme introduced in the late 1920s for all state secondary schools was not particularly effective if the standard of record keeping at Unley High is an indication.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless its ambitions were significant as it attempted to integrate labour market demands with scientifically determined student aptitudes. Problems that Concordia had identified could in theory, be dealt with: "It would be absurd to drive a young man through the Seminary, when his natural bent is directed towards farming or engineering".<sup>40</sup> Vocational guidance schemes represented a new tendency to see the student as client, and the school, an arm of the state in processing the future worker.<sup>41</sup>

For the period as a whole, and noting the absence of school magazine representations from the central schools, the youth as future worker, was a professional, semi-professional, or white collar worker of some sort. This included girls as well, if one separates the envisaged future of unpaid domestic from paid labour. The representations of women in the labour force allow an agreement with Modell's discussion for the U.S., that "the high school experience proved to be of particular importance to young women", in part because "they learned there employable skills that were to be useful immediately and were to draw them back into the labor force in later decades."<sup>42</sup> The process had well begun which took increasing numbers of girls and women beyond the state described by Dyhouse, as permanently dependent, and in a sense, permanently adolescent.<sup>43</sup> The images of the secondary school student as future worker were consistent with the demands of the schools by the aspiring new, and new middle class.

### **Representations of youth and the power relations between youth, schools and families**

While many of the images discussed in this and the previous chapter have been of idealised youth, in harmony with the public discourses generated by the schools, there exists in the magazines a sub-text which asserted the need to govern youth, and not only youth but also their families. From this sub-text it is possible to read a different representational process, where youth were unsatisfactory, their families antagonistic or

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39. Most cards have little more than the names and addresses of the students filled in. (The Depression also affected the central resourcing of the scheme. Superintendent of Technical Education's Report (C. Fenner), *MR 1930*, p. 20.

40. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1927, p. 37.

41. For an overview of vocational guidance in Victoria in the period of this study, see Allyson Holbrook, "Slotting them in the right niche: Adolescence and vocational guidance in Victoria 1920s-1930s" in Bob Bessant ed., *Mother state and her little ones: Children and youth in Australia 1960s-1930s*, Centre for Youth & Community Studies, Melbourne, 1987, pp. 167-199. See also Miller, *Long Division*, pp. 174-8.

42. John Modell, *Into one's own: From youth to adulthood in the United States 1920-1975*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989, p. 77.

43. Dyhouse, *Girls growing up in late Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 117.

ignorant of the good work of the secondary school, and where the interventionist project of transforming youth was to the forefront. This critical discourse was present from the beginnings of the free state secondary schools, where the governing and supervision of larrikin, working class, urban youth was an early aim. But a parallel discourse also existed for the middle class, though in a muted form. The changing social relations of class and gender are given the responsibility of explaining many of the phenomena discussed here, but there is also the crucially important issue of age relations. Secondary schools gathered their inmates not only on the basis of class, gender, and merit but also age. Power relations within the schools owed much to these age relations. The question of how much freedom a secondary school youth might enjoy was very relevant in schools which mainly served the middle, as well as the working class.

Though the secondary schools often argued that they brought their students to self-discipline, new seriousness and readiness for independence in the world of work or University, the supervision at the schools was usually very close. Hendrick thought that this was quite deliberate. In Britain there had been the perception that at the end of elementary school the years of obedience and order were "suddenly replaced by excessive freedom, disorder, and lack of guidance, all of which contributed to the dissolution of personal character". Among middle class youth, such tendencies continued to be "watched over and controlled by parents and teachers and, therefore, did not pose a problem."<sup>44</sup> At Scotch in 1924, the school withdrew the right of boarding students to leave the grounds on Saturdays and then later, Sundays:

This term we have had no Saturday afternoon leave and devote our time to becoming paragons of virtue, but we shudder at the thought of what such would be reforms may lead to. Never again shall we be allowed to enter the dangerous precincts of a movie theatre. We must, however, submit to scandal-mongers, and allow our immediate lives to be regulated by a powerful minority.<sup>45</sup>

The lives of students in the early twentieth century secondary schools were overwhelmingly supervised and restricted. The capacity to resist was limited and a voice such as this, using sarcasm to fight the withdrawal of leave, was rare.

In fact, the authentic voice of students themselves was not to last much longer at Scotch. There was a problem, as we have noted, with the school magazines. They were public flagships of the secondary school enterprise. Voices which demonstrated less than manly or womanly character and obedience were not long tolerated. The student editor of the 1932 magazine spectacularly declared for internationalism and Bolshevism, in opposition

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44. Hendrick, *Images of youth*, pp. 125-6.

45. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1924, p. 23; the withdrawal of Sunday leave as well is mentioned, *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 10, 1924, p. 35.

to nationalism, the cause of selfishness and war. He argued that as a result of the Russian Revolution, and due entirely to the Bolsheviks

one sees on the horizon a gleam of hope that some time in the near future (2000 A.D. is as near a date as one could hope, as well as being convenient to start numbering the years of the Bolshevistic Era) the spirit of Patriotism will be dying, and that Internationalism, and all it stands for, will be living and glowing, and enlightening those who now teach us to love our empire, our country, our state, our town, our suburb, and our street, and one hopes that it may even permeate schools of this type and educate men to a rational way of thinking.<sup>46</sup>

Such writing was, of course anathema to the public image of such a school, but it took until the third issue for the year for the inevitable to be announced:

Hitherto, the Editorial has been of the nature of an original article, expressing freely the views of successive editors. With this number begins a new departure, in which the attempt is made to body forth all that is included in the term "the Spirit of the School", and it is hoped that this new outlook will appeal to all members of the school.<sup>47</sup>

Then came the inevitable celebration of Empire and the men who had made the race and nation, ending with the quotation: "They shall not grow old ....". Such an episode was extremely rare, and its handling demonstrated not only the need to suppress any errancy in the politics of youth, but also its freedom of expression. This one episode serves to illuminate the fact that the schools operated within the confines of a set of extremely narrow public discourses, whose nett effect was ideological. The schools existed to produce and reproduce a respectable middle class. The pressure brought to bear on boys identified in the 1930 Scotch magazine, who referred to the school as "this hole" was strong.<sup>48</sup>

If anything, the supervision of girls was closer than that of the boys. The attempts of girls' boarding schools to become as families has already been noted. Along with the presumed love of families, was the parallel close supervision of daughters. At Concordia, no mother

who sends her daughter to us need have any misgivings. For not only in their private life in the girls' hostel, but also in their school hours and work, the girls will be under the loving care and wise guidance of a consecrated Christian lady.<sup>49</sup>

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46. *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1932, p. 7.

47. *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1932, p. 5.

48. *ibid.*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1930, p. 7.

49. "Prospectus for girls' school", *The Educational Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1927, p. 2.



## Plate 9

### Organization and surveillance of girls in a coeducational boarding school

#### VII.—RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR HOUSE AND SCHOOL.

In the interest of good order and efficiency, all the girls who board with us will be expected to submit to the following regulations:—

##### 1.—Monday to Friday—

- 6.30-7.15: Rise and perform morning toilet.
- 7.15-7.45: Breakfast and morning prayers.
- 7.45-8.15: Tidy up rooms.
- 8.15-8.25: Get ready for school.
- 8.25 : Leave house for school.
- 12— : Go home to lunch.
- 1.25 : Leave house for school.
- 4 : Return home.
- 4—6 : Physical exercise, music, important private business, etc.
- 6-6.15 : Get ready for dinner.
- 6.15-6.50: Dinner and evening prayers.
- 6.50-7.15: Free time.
- 7.15-9.15: Home work.
- 9.30 : Girls under 14 retire for the night.
- 10 : Lights out for all girls.

##### 2.—Friday evening—

Private reading, needle work, drawing, music, special lectures, etc.

##### 3.—Saturday—

- 6.30-7.45: As on other week days.
  - 7.45-9 : Domestic duties, music practice.
  - 9-11 : Study.
  - 11-12 : Tidy up living room, music practice.
- Saturday afternoon is free time, which the girls should spend out of doors, weather and other circumstances permitting. They may play tennis and basket ball (in season), take walks, visit friends, etc.
- Saturday evening: The same as Friday evening.

##### 4.—Sunday—

- 7.15 : Rise and get ready for breakfast.
- 8 : Breakfast.
- 8.30-10.25: Tidy up rooms, write letters, music, get ready for church.
- 10.25 : Leave for church.
- 12.30 : Dinner.
- 5.15 : Tea.
- 6.25 : Leave for church.
- 9.15 : Light supper.

The daily timetable envisioned for the girls at Concordia confirms the level of organized supervision involved. (See Plate 9 above.) Other regulations included the sending of all pocket money to the matron, not the girl. Nor were basic freedoms of communication or association allowed:

Girls will not be permitted to correspond with any young men, except with brothers. All mail matter addressed to any of the girls under our care will also pass through the hands of the matron.<sup>50</sup>

Of a different order was the plea of a State Governor at the Methodist Ladies College at the annual prize-giving demonstration, that the girls continue their belief in fairy stories. They should not allow their diligence in acquiring knowledge "to make them hard or too severely practical."<sup>51</sup> On one level, secondary schooling for girls was all about *not* allowing them to grow towards independence. On another, secondary schooling did assist the process by which more women became more independent as the century progressed. But contradictions between representations and experience are not unexpected given the ideological nature of the discourses about women, their education, and the gender order.

A special fear in the governance of girls in secondary schools was unsupervised contact, of any kind, with boys. The possibility of precocious sexuality among young women in particular was to be guarded against. Where there was coeducation in the secondary schools, prohibitions on the mixing of the sexes were vigorous. The regulations governing girls at Concordia have been discussed. At Unley High, nominally coeducational, boys and girls were separated in the school grounds, had separate classes, and were prohibited from consorting before or after school in the street. When, on the odd occasion girls or boys shared a class, it was always the subject of comment, usually derogatory:

The atmosphere of our classroom is somewhat impaired twice daily by the presence of a number of Leaving girls, who are valiantly striving to master the works of Euclid and other celebrities.<sup>52</sup>

This separation of the sexes was not always justified on time honoured English traditions. Stanley Hall had argued the need for separation on the new psychological grounds of the needs and nature of adolescence. He argued:

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50. *ibid.*, p. 6.

51. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, 1921, p. 10. See also, Burley, None more anonymous?, pp. 81-2, for a similar resistance to the intellectual education of girls at Cabra College by a Catholic Archbishop.

52. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1925, p. 26. For a fuller discussion of the history of sexual "apartheid" within this coeducational school, see Campbell, *State High School*, pp. 6, 47-9, 68-9.

While girls may be trained with boys, coeducation should cease at the dawn of adolescence, at least for a season. Great daily intimacy between the sexes in high school, if not in college, tends to rub off the bloom and delicacy which can develop in each, and girls suffer in this respect, let us repeat, far more than boys.<sup>53</sup>

In England, major education reports of the twentieth century, Hadow, Spens and Norwood, all took the necessity for single sex education for granted.<sup>54</sup> Of the corporate and private schools of Unley and Mitcham, Concordia was the only coeducational school, and even there it was necessity rather than a belief in coeducation's merits which made it so. The segregation of male and female students certainly had the effect of making the other sex strange, and school magazines related the innocent adventures of the encounters of students with "the other" from time to time.<sup>55</sup> Plate 10, a cartoon from the high school magazine suggests that even in a state school which had been co-educational from the beginning, gender disorder was an imagined consequence of co-existence in the secondary school. The separation of the sexes in secondary schools was a function not only of the fear of precocious sexuality, but was itself part of a broader argument about what was involved in the making of boys manly and girls womanly, fit to meet their anticipated stations in life.<sup>56</sup> That the secondary school was an institution exercising power over youth, governing its society, and requiring the delay of adult gratification (considered necessary for the attainment of future goals), was never more obvious than in its policies regarding the sexes.

The schools' relationships with the families from which its students came were often difficult. It is possible not only to see the school as an institution re-making youth, but also as an institution which attempted to re-make the family. The issue was especially important in Australia where few schools were completely boarding. The schools had to share their supervision of youth with families, on a daily basis, and the regime of the school was not always supported.

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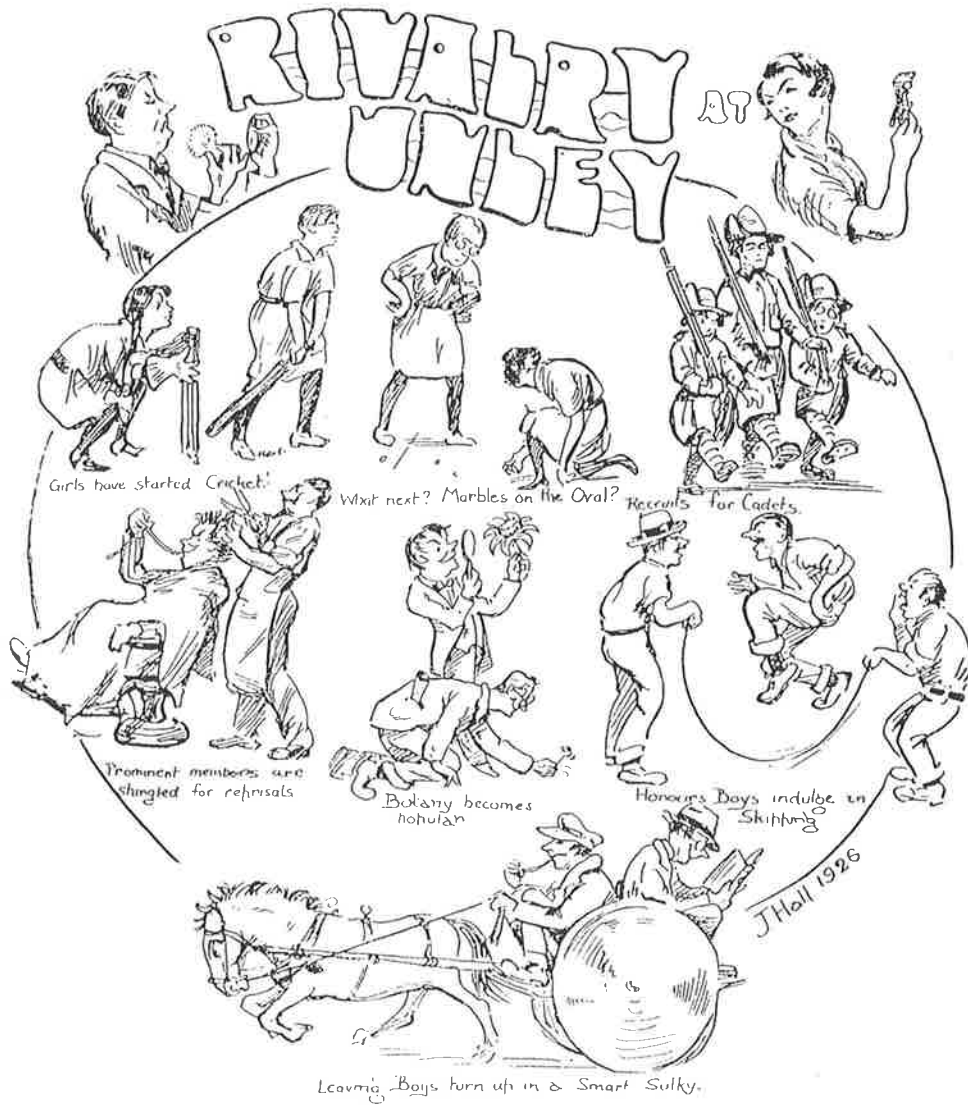
53. Hall, *Adolescence*, p. 635. See also David Tyack & Elisabeth Hansot, *Learning together: A history of coeducation in American public schools*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1990, for an excellent historical study of the issues in U.S. state high schools.

54. Heward, *Making a man of him*, p. 55.

55. For example, Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1928, p. 26; Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 13, no. 1, 1934, p. 9; Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 6, 1919, pp. 1, 12.

56. Heward, *Making a man of him*, p. 54, also argues this, as do Tyack & Hansot, *Learning together*, pp. 129-30.

Gender confusion in the modern coeducational high school



The most obvious of the issues causing conflict was the that of post-compulsory attendance. At M.L.C., it was a constant theme that the girl was being withdrawn from school too early, before her education was finished.<sup>57</sup> As at Concordia, and as expressed in an article "The duty of parents in regard to their children", the clear imputation was that families were often irresponsible towards their children. At Concordia, failure to provide "for the manifold needs of their sons and daughters" was the betrayal of their "sacred duty".<sup>58</sup> Failure to provide for the intellectual growth of their children was a sin!<sup>59</sup> Similar arguments were heard at the Unley High School, though the financial burden was also and sympathetically recognised.<sup>60</sup> Boarding at school could be represented as a pinnacle of youthful experience, as shown in the following reminiscences, also interesting for the calculation within it by the girl, of exploiting a new psychological category invented for adolescence, "uncontrollability", to get her way:

How I envied those boarders. Having an easily accessible suburban home, there was no possible hope of my becoming one of them, but in the secret chambers of my heart I wove many a story of how fortune might bring it to pass that I should be obliged to be a boarder. I transplanted the family to remote parts; on one desperate occasion I thought of becoming so "unmanageable" at home that I should simply have to be sent to boarding school.<sup>61</sup>

In this case the school was in competition with family for the youth, and winning.

At Scotch, the complaints against parents were numerous. Some parents resisted the amounts of homework set; they excused boys from responsibilities on trivial grounds. Families failed to understand that the path of learning, despite the Headmaster's sympathy for "the new ideals of education", was not strewn with rose leaves. Boys needed their school work to be disciplined in preparation for the discipline they would experience at work as adults.<sup>62</sup> At Walford, the request for the cooperation of parents suggested that it was not always there.<sup>63</sup> For the state, distrust of the family was not new, though working class families had been the primary focus of its interest and interventions. The State Children's Council had long dealt with "the unworthy action of parents in wilfully neglecting or deserting their children ...".<sup>64</sup> The Education

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57. Methodist Ladies College, *Wattle Blossom*, vol. 1925, p. 13; Methodist Ladies College, *M.L.C. Annual*, 1940, p. 12
58. *The Educational Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1927, p. 7.
59. *ibid.*, p. 8.
60. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1934, p. 27. Education Department reports argued the issue as well. Attendance at a high school for one year was insufficient, "The parents will realize that the full functions of the school cannot be performed under three or four years." Superintendent of Secondary Education's Report (W. Adey), *MR 1920*, p. 34.
61. Reminiscences of G. I. Mann (student, enrolled 1903), Methodist Ladies College, *M.L.C. Annual*, 1936, p. 90.
62. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 9, 1924, p. 43.
63. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 8, 1920, p. 23.
64. Report of the State Children's Council ... 1902, *SAPP 1902*, no. 82, p. 3.

Department fought its political masters for the raising of the school leaving age; such a measure would be in the interest "of the children and of the State."<sup>65</sup> As scientific discourses on adolescence became more common, the criticisms continued: "the vicious home is a powerful contributing cause of delinquency ...".<sup>66</sup>

At the same time, the criticisms needed to be tempered with cajolery. For private and corporate schools, in particular, families were, after all, the source of their students:

There may be many parents scattered throughout the Commonwealth of Australia who are thinking of sending their children to Concordia. The pages of this magazine may help to relieve them of the anxiety and care which they, no doubt, are experiencing at the thought of parting with their children and sending them to college, in many instances far away from their homes. To such anxious parents this magazine will show that the students' Alma Mater, the mother who nourishes them, is indeed "a home away from home."<sup>67</sup>

The irony, that the idea of the school as a replacement family was potentially threatening as well as reassuring was not perceived.

Secondary schools were increasingly ambitious in the twentieth century. Families had little place in the schools' representations of modern adolescence. Families were potentially disruptive to the formation of right character, behaviour and values. Modern youth required modern institutions for their right governance.

### **Representations of youth and making the new middle class**

As represented in the school magazines of the Unley and Mitcham secondary schools from 1901 to 1940, youth had characteristics which drew on a range of discourses, some of which had seemingly distant origins in English public schools of the nineteenth century and Victorian images of female domesticity. Such discourses represented ideal youth narrowly. For boys and girls, the images were invariably middle class in nature, most readily seen when youth were imagined as future adults. More than this, and without denying some of the tensions they created in relation to one another, the models of citizenship, scholarship, Christian manliness, imperial loyalty, true womanliness,

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65. Inspector's Report (Burgan), *MR 1905*, p. 13.

66. H. T. Lovell, "Psychological and social characteristics of adolescence" in Cole ed., *The education of the adolescent in Australia*, p. 85.

67. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, vol. 2, no. 5, 1934, p. 5. See also *ibid.*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1935, p. 23, for a story whose intent was the impressing of parents with the worth of the schooling received.

sportsmanship and character were all more than compatible with the culture of a respectable Australian urban middle class.<sup>68</sup>

Such an argument is not meant to undervalue the changes in expression and emphasis over the period however. For example, the tone of the extracts from the following poem is not found much after World War I.

### Ode to the Boys of Way College

*By a College Boy's Sister*

Oh! who would not honour the Way College boys?  
So brave, so delightfully bold!  
And think it a pleasure, a joy of all joys,  
Of their valiant deeds to be told.

To hear how they lead both in body and brain,  
How exceedingly clever their mind;  
In exams, they are foremost again and again,  
And in sports they are no wise behind.

They walk through the streets with a dignified mien,  
They smite small boys' hearts with alarm;  
But the ladies - when we in their presence have been -  
We acknowledge their wonderful charm.<sup>69</sup>

Such images and attitudes did not meld easily with the "modern" boy or girl, the former of whom may have turned himself into a crystal set devotee, and the latter, having finally rejected Victorian attacks of the "vapours".<sup>70</sup> Nor are they images which agree with the new professional experts' views on the pathology of the modern adolescent. The following example of those views concentrates on the theme of the vulnerability of youth to the new forms of mass entertainment, such as the moving film:

The excitement, the thrill, the mental dissipation, the emotional aspect, the atmosphere, and the strain on the eye-sight have to be taken into account, and steps should be taken to prevent the admittance of children of school-going age to films intended for adults, for every right-minded parent must know that there are scenes which are bad for children, particularly adolescents.<sup>71</sup>

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68. See McCalman, *Journeyings*, pp. 135-6, for a comparable discussion of secondary schooling, caste and class in Melbourne in the 1920s and 1930s. For a broad overview of class and society in the period, also mainly based on Melbourne, see Stuart Macintyre, *The Oxford history of Australia: Volume 4: 1901-1942: The succeeding age*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1986, ch. 3.

69. Way College, *The Boomerang*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1899, p. 78.

70. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 26, 1926, p. 1.

71. Clarence G. Lewis, "The Educational Screen", *Bulletin no. 5*, Education Dept., Adelaide, 1933, p. 5. For a discussion of youth and the early cinema, argued in the framework of a "moral panic" approach, see R. Shuker & R. Openshaw, "New Zealand youth and the silent movies", *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1, 1987, pp. 87-99.

Plate 11

**The young Christian gentleman of Way College**



Source: Arnold Hunt, *This side of heaven: A history of Methodism in South Australia*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1985.



The wonderful boys of Way College had the aura of men, albeit young men. (See Plate 11 above for a very young version). The modern adolescent had a different aura, the major aspects of which were childhood prolonged, his or her vulnerabilities, and subjection to various protections. The adoring sister of the Way College boy was herself being transformed through a reformed girls' secondary education. In the process, Victorian concepts of femininity were transformed, though not completely rejected.<sup>72</sup>

Confusion over the meaning and status of youth organized by secondary schooling can be detected in a 1926 editorial from Unley High:

When we are at High School some of us are sometimes apt to think that we are "grown up". We feel important and superior, and when someone dispels the illusion we feel, perhaps, just a little peevish. It is a pity, as we would realise more fully if we remembered how really beautiful childhood is, and that childlike thoughts and actions are the most beautiful things on earth ...

It is our duty to realise our responsibilities, and one of the most important of these is that our tastes and inclinations should develop along the right lines. We must take advantage of the experience and help which those above us - our teachers and our parents - can give, and be guided, childlike, by them.<sup>73</sup>

It is a significant piece of writing. The only primary emotion described was a natural peevishness at the exercise of authority by youths' elders. It had to be suppressed for future rewards. The key to the future was through obedient acceptance of the wisdom and authority of teachers and parents. The author rightly supposed that such a state of affairs required an extension beyond childhood of childlike attitudes such as uncritical trust. The increasing importance of winning credentials in an increasingly meritocratic society appeared to require the production of these peculiar social relations. At stake was the creation, acquisition and use of a new form of property, cultural property, essential in the securing of professional and white collar work. Such work was the foundation of an emerging new middle class.

State high schools were the new institutions in South Australia especially relevant for the making of the new middle class. A 1934 article in the Unley High magazine began by arguing that the main advantage of secondary education was to impart a "higher mental training". It argued that such training allowed a better grasp of the higher culture and the principles of justice, humanity, "and courtesy". More than this it allowed the "greater

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72. See Alison Mackinnon, *The new women: Adelaide's early women graduates*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1986, pp. 19-27. See also Dyhouse, *Girls growing up in late Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 59 & Joyce Senders Pedersen, "The reform of women's secondary and higher education: Institutional change and social values in mid and late Victorian England", *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 1, 1979, pp. 61-91.

73. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1926, pp. 2-3.

ability to express thoughts clearly, emphatically, and without hesitation, and to reason fairly and to form sound judgements."<sup>74</sup> The gendered vision of such an expression was immediately recognised by the statement that higher education left "an almost indelible mark on a boy's bearing and character." He had no need to lack confidence or fear patronisation; he could "hold up his head among people of standing" and when he inevitably rose "to positions of prominence among others", he would be able to command respect.<sup>75</sup> So, not only was the vision centred on boys, it was particularly applicable to the situation of socially mobile state high school boys, who may have had difficulty in other circumstances, of either "rising" or "commanding respect".

Secondary education provided essential qualifications for "higher positions in the professional and commercial world". Without the qualifications entrance to the old professions, "Law, Medicine, Church, Teaching, etc." were closed. The author noted changes to recruitment in the business world where "the better positions are rapidly becoming less available to those who have not had an advanced education."<sup>76</sup> The article justified aspiration to the new or employed middle class and implied the critical relevance of secondary schooling to successful entry into that class. In listing the problems with other ways of educating youth, it articulated a model of the ideal modern adolescent. Secondary education needed to be full-time and continuous. Youth should remain at secondary school "for several years" thereby maximising their chances of achieving success. The consequence of leaving too early was clear: "he might never discover his powers at all."<sup>77</sup>

The prolongation of the school-going period means that the boy has the advantage of several years of healthy exercise, physical training, sport and pleasurable association with school-fellows of good stamp, whose presence in a school after years of attendance has ceased to be compulsory evidences a greater keenness for education and a more serious interest in life's duties than the average boy possesses.<sup>78</sup>

All this preparation built a strong constitution in the boy before entry to "the stern and exacting duties of business, etc." The final element in the argument was directed at wayward parents who may have been tempted to save themselves the financial burden of keeping a boy on at school. They needed to recognise their duty to their children, who "in these days of keen competition and highly developed training" needed their support in gaining a "fair chance in the increasingly strenuous battle of modern life." In fact, higher

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74. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1934, p. 26.

75. *ibid.*

76. *ibid.*

77. *ibid.*

78. *ibid.*

education was an "investment" by the head of a family, an investment of the utmost importance.<sup>79</sup>

This article brought together a mix of elements particularly attractive to the ambitions of the aspiring new middle class. Emphasis on the responsibilities that boys carried to further the ambitions of families was one of them. Others were the making of perceived cultural and social attributes of existing elites into commodities which could be secured by the investment in education. Among them were social confidence and the ability to command, including the commanding of respect; no longer attainable through birth or the inheritance of real property alone. "Character" itself was within the grasp and gift of the secondary school. But here character was firmly attached to meritocratic values and school credentials, and their role in modern economic life. The article is explicit in its assumption that secondary education created a form of cultural property, accumulated through an investment of time, money and moral duty.<sup>80</sup> This particular expression of the role of the secondary school in society was one of a number, but it came to dominate as the century progressed, and as the state high schools began to attract the majority of youth to them.

The relationship between secondary schooling for girls and class formation was more complex. If the direct economic responsibility for establishing households was seen as a male responsibility, the essential role of women in the tasks of management and reproduction, not only of family, class and race, but also the culture of family and class life, was recognised as crucial. Nevertheless, "career" was also an option for women, and those who entered careers were celebrated, at least in their schools. Preparation for work and career was increasingly important for girls as the century progressed. The sexual division of labour along with new interventions by the state in the lives of mainly working class families made it essential that some functions in the paid work-force, including the professions, be filled by women. The case for secondary education for girls, though strong, was still contested in some areas of the old middle class and by farming families in particular. The defensiveness of the argument in favour of girls entering the newly coeducational Concordia is obvious in the late 1920's.<sup>81</sup> At the same time reformed and new middle class models of "true womanliness" could be fostered by the secondary school. Secondary schooling had an important role in the re-making of gendered identities. They were especially tied to emergent new middle class conceptions of masculinity and femininity.

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79. *ibid.*, p. 27.

80. On secondary schooling, credentials and "cultural property", see Labaree, *The making of an American high school*, p. 16.

81. Concordia College, *The Brown and the Gold*, p. 42.

Leaders of the state Education Department frequently expressed a functional view of the relationship between secondary schooling and certain kinds of employment. The secondary schools Superintendent, William Adey could express the view that:

The High Schools provide for the education of pupils desiring to take up Commercial careers, professional careers, including teachers, or in the case of girls, an education to fit them for the duties of a home life.<sup>82</sup>

Such expressions obviously represented a narrower argument than that proclaimed by Alfred Williams in the establishment of the state high school system, and were myopic even for their time, on the prospects for girls in the schools. Then there had been a call for "dealing in a new spirit, with the complex needs of adolescence" as had been revealed by Stanley Hall, John Dewey and others.<sup>83</sup> In Williams' description of the high schools of the United States he had written glowingly of a curriculum framed "on broad educational lines". There for example, the students did "not suffer from the cramping influence of examinations and the deadening influence of cram. The high school aims at a general culture ...".<sup>84</sup>

Introduced early in the century, the notion of the probability that meritocratic procedures, such as frequent public examinations would be the enemy of secondary schooling realising its cultural and democratic mission for modern youth was frequently adverted to in all school systems, but the opposition was in fact flimsy. Such procedures were a means of excluding the majority of youth from the upper rungs of "the educational ladder". When in the mid-1920s the central schools were established, the ladder for their students had the upper rungs removed. The vision splendid of the modern youth, experiencing a prolonged secondary school career, accumulating the qualities of confidence, character and perseverance was not a particularly democratic vision. The Unley High magazine editorial argued in 1922 that every civilised country now realised the "necessity of giving every possible facility to the rising generation to improve their minds and thereby being properly equipped mentally for the battle of life."<sup>85</sup> Such expressions were framed in the social Darwinist mould, understandable given that the end of the Great War was still only four years distant. But the prescription was for the training of an elite. The themes of rivalry and survival were also appropriate for the period of the Depression. An essay of 1931, written by a student, argued that secondary education was not simply a luxury for the well to do. (The assertion of which tells us that it was often perceived as such.) A democratic society demanded that merit should have

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82. Report of Superintendent of Secondary Education (W. Adey), *MR* 1923, p. 19.

83. Alfred Williams, *Preliminary Report ... 1907*, Education Department, Adelaide, 1908, pp. 16-17.

84. *ibid.*, p. 27.

85. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1922, p. 2.

its opportunity, that well educated workers would be better workers, and that the state itself was endangered by failing to match its international rivals by failing to educate its "ignorant".<sup>86</sup> An Unley High senior school boy of the late 1930s had internalised the desired culture sufficiently to see others as feckless:

... a youth came tramping down the path in a carefree manner. Like some youths he looked as though he had not grasped what opportunity he had been given in life and appeared as uninteresting as a boy could look.<sup>87</sup>

Ueda's description of the American high school as "the cradle of a new regime of transition to adulthood" and its relevance for the rise of the "new white collar men" has an Australian resonance.<sup>88</sup>

That there was a demand for boys educated beyond the elementary level in commerce and the public service early in the twentieth century was recognised in many places. The senior bureaucrats of the state education department were especially sensitive to the pressure because it legitimised the effort to create and sustain the new high school system with its curriculum based on meritocratic objectives:

There is a current feeling in the city that if a boy wants to go into, say, Elder, Smith, & Co. he must pass his Senior. Other business people look to have the same thing.<sup>89</sup>

There is evidence to show that students were often quite purposeful in their pursuit of commercial, public service and professional careers. Notes from Unley High's Leaving commercial class in 1925 reflect on the division between those bound for the teachers' college, and a smaller group who were not:

A few of us, however, will spend our lives otherwise; we are the prospective bank managers, the captains of industry, the heads of departments; and on the road to that goal we also hope to win our

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86. *ibid.*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1933, pp. 9-10.

87. *ibid.*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1938, p. 11. The elevation of competitiveness and the establishment of merit by examination was apparently a world away from the views of the Dominican nuns at Cabra College. The work of developing "the intellectual faculties" of the child was much less important than the "higher duty of training the child in the exercise of religion and morality." (Cabra College, *Veritas*, 1918, p. 26.) Yet circumspection is needed, since the academic curriculum was offered, and public examination successes prominently celebrated in the school magazine with photographs of girls who passed, won scholarships, bursaries and medals. (*ibid.*, p. 59.)

88. Ueda, *Avenues to adulthood*, pp. 150, 222

89. Minutes of evidence, Edward Jordan (Inspector), 13th February, 1911, First Progress Report of the Royal Commission on the Adelaide University and Higher Education, *SAPP 1911*, p. 17. Elder Smith & Co. was South Australia's largest pastoral and merchant business.

diplomas, either at the University, or at one of the Institutes, as many of our predecessors in the U.H.S. Commercial Classes have done.<sup>90</sup>

The ambitions of a student who projected himself into the future at the corporate school, Scotch College were qualitatively different:

I have just been admitted to the Bar ... people are congratulating me on every side ...

I have reached a turning point in my life; so far it has been easy, but henceforth my responsibilities are my own. I have started a life as life really is, and must be prepared to meet failure and disappointment, which are bound to creep into my career.<sup>91</sup>

There the ambitions were appropriate to a different and older sector of the middle class, the professions, in which partnership and self-employment were usually a goal. The state high school boys' ambitions tended to be the occupations of the new middle class, as white collar employees.

Girls rarely wrote in this way, and when they did, ambitions were often vague and the demands of domestic feminine duty often came first. In the following case the influence of birth order on the pursuit of career was recognised. According to the editor of Walford's school magazine, the girl of today was modern. She looked on the world with open eyes and not from the standpoint of yesterday, when girls were inclined to be "bored or vaporous". She thought home duties were often cramping, but there were qualifications:

Of course, when there is only one girl in the family the call of the home must come first; but when there are several girls, those who have the talent and the desire should be allowed to take up the career they choose.<sup>92</sup>

Not only was there duty involved, but permission was needed in the taking up of a career. This competition between domestic duty and public career was consistent with a period of historical transition, when an emerging new middle class formation appeared to require contradictory efforts from women. In this expression of the issue, the temporary solution was to be found in the use of birth order as a means of discriminating between girls for different "careers".

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90. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1925, p. 23.

91. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 13, no. 3, 1936, pp. 13-14.

92. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 26, 1926, p. 1.

The utility of secondary schooling for boys and their families in early twentieth century Unley and Mitcham, if not girls, was therefore reasonably clear, and its importance for employed white collar or professional work well recognised. They were less clear for others. The relevance of the new high schools and some of the corporate Protestant and private schools was sometimes difficult to prove for social groups other than the professional and growing new middle class. Headmasters of the boys' and girls' schools often had to argue against the current for the youth of farmers to be allowed to remain at school for more than a year. Less effort was put into asserting the utility of secondary schooling for the labouring classes, until the creation of the state central schools.

Though criticisms of materialism and commercialism were not unknown in the state secondary education system, merit, upward mobility and entry into the white collar jobs and the professions were the strongest goals. The boy who overcame the difficulties, the pressures to leave school too early was the subject of lyricism from Directors of Education, though more important in theory and in the long term was the rescue of "the ordinary boy" to whom the state owed the duty of providing practical help.<sup>93</sup> The majority view of the committee of inquiry appointed to look into education and expenditure on education during the Depression was stated very clearly when it came to the discussion the functions of the state secondary schools:

The High School course is designed to prepare pupils, apart from those who will enter the University, for positions the entrance into which demands such knowledge and intelligence as are indicated by ability to pass the Intermediate, or, in some cases, the Leaving Examination. The positions in question are in the State and Commonwealth Public Services, banks, insurance companies, and the more important commercial houses.<sup>94</sup>

At the state high school, Unley, the Inspectors invariably remarked on the work of the school in terms which would have been seen as ideal for the preparation of efficient white collar workers. In doing so the themes commonly found in descriptions of the work and aims of the late nineteenth century state elementary schools endured:

The tone of the school is excellent. Without exception, the students are courteous, respectful and friendly, in and out of school. The rooms present an appearance of cheery endeavour ... The bearing, uniforms, speech, and deportment were admirable; the massed assembly being an inspiring sight. The prefects carry out their duties with dignity and modesty.<sup>95</sup>

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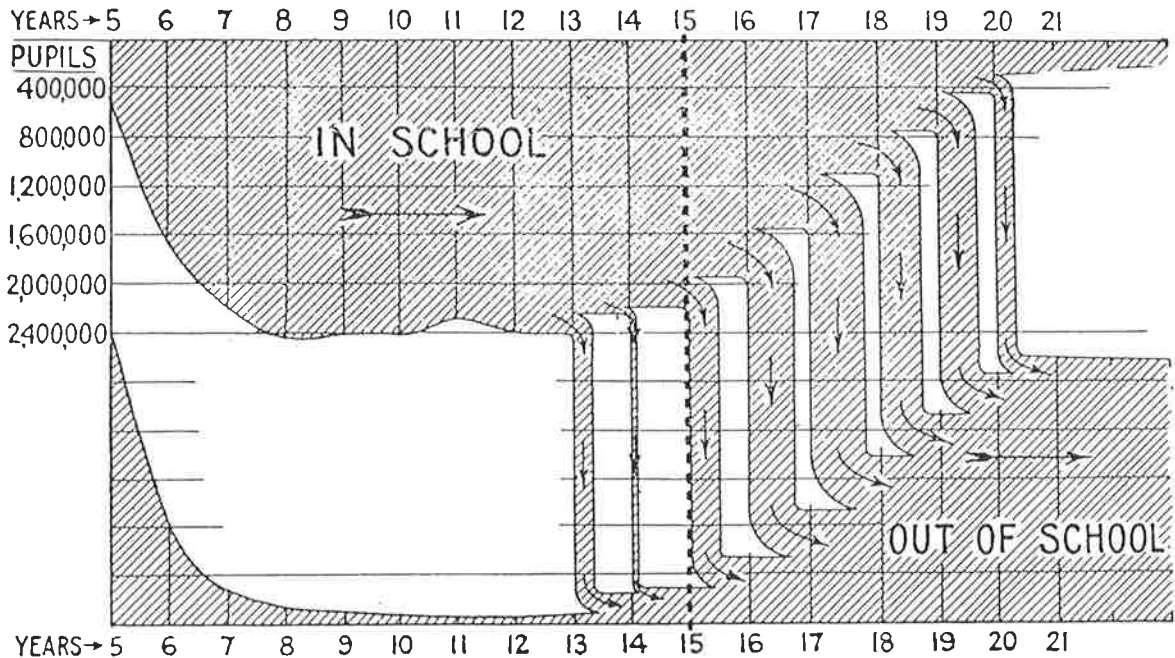
93. Director's Report (Alfred Williams), *MR 1908*, p. 13.

94. First and second Progress Reports, Committee of Enquiry into Education, *SAPP 1931*, p. 14.

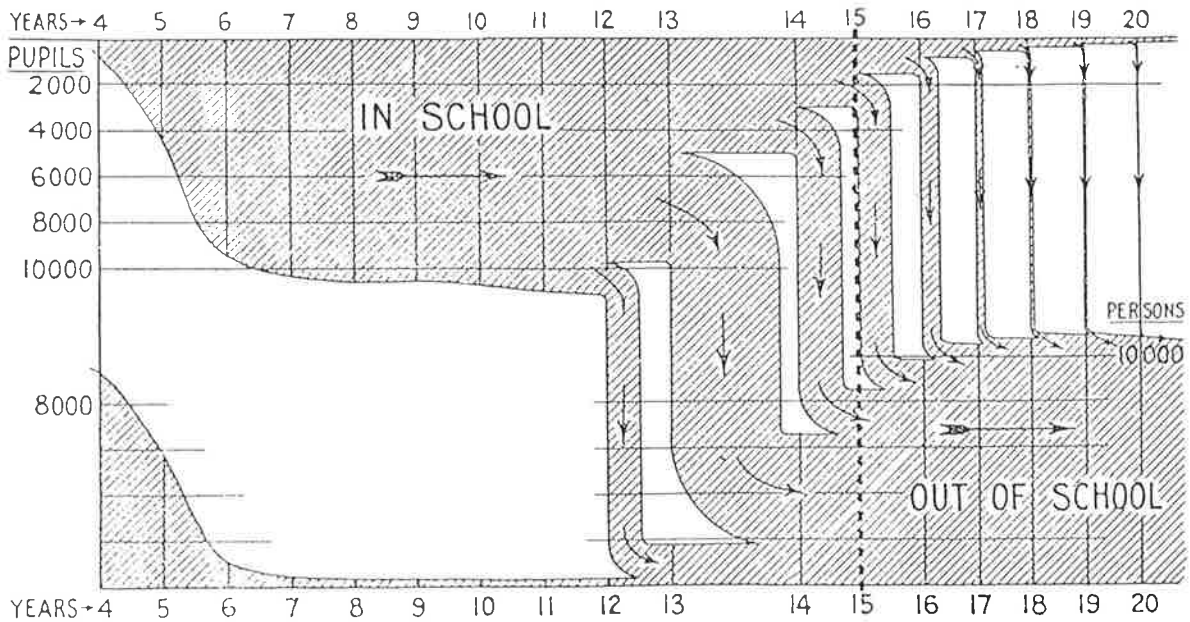
95. Report of the Ordinary Inspection (Inspectors E. Allen & A. Miethke), 1930. (Held at Unley High School.)

Figure 4.1:

"Niagara graphs" comparing school leaving ages of youth in U.S.A. and South Australia



Graph A.—The so-called Niagara Graph of the scholars of U.S.A. In the United States there are about 2,400,000 scholars of each year of age. From age 13 onwards they pour out from the schools over the "Niagara Falls" into the whirling stream of post-school life. The vertical broken line marks age 15. Note the small proportion that leaves before reaching 15, and the large proportion that remains at school after reaching 15 years of age. These figures are from the 1930 census. Compare with Graph B.



Graph B.—The so-called Niagara Graph applied to the scholars of South Australia. In this State there are about 10,000 children of each year of age. From age 13 onwards they pour out from the schools over the "Niagara Falls" into the whirling stream of post-school life. The vertical broken line marks age 15. Note the very large proportion that leaves school before reaching 15, and the correspondingly small proportion that remains at school after 15. These figures are from the 1933 census. Compare with Graph A.



State high schooling in Mitcham and Unley was clearly appropriate for the aspirations of the new middle class. The high school played an important role in legitimising an ideology appropriate to that class, in which individual effort and merit were the key components. Corporate and private secondary schooling increasingly appealed to similar values.

## Conclusion

This and the previous chapter have been based upon a limited number of texts; mainly the magazines from those schools which produced them. In one way or another, all of those schools catered for a more or less broad, elite of youth. The secondary schools, especially the state centrals, which did not produce magazines may well have produced different representations of youth. But even in the schools under discussion, the images of ideal adolescence tended to be selective, produced from the boys and girls who remained the longest, and who shone in sports and examinations rather than those who did not. This form of selection and image elaboration was an ideological process which communicated a number of messages: that a prolonged secondary schooling was best, that application to studies would bring rewards, and that secondary schooling would help produce men and women of culture, character, loyalty and independence, though gender gave cause for different meanings to some of these gifts. They also gave clues to what was required for successful upward social mobility and middle class reproduction. The newly formed state high school was the most vigorous proponent of this approach to youth and the purposes of their schooling. The analysis of the production of representations, discourses and ideology within each school system, but especially the state high school, gives further meaning to the quantitative analysis of the previous chapters. Patterns of secondary school attendance and success were supported by the cultural systems within the schools which encouraged and legitimated the values and efforts of professional and new middle class families to keep their youth at school for prolonged periods.

Modern adolescences as represented in this chapter were still the possession of the few, and though the crucial steps had been taken towards an eventual universalization, so had other steps, which would continue and even expand the differentiations between youth. (Unley High for example, introduced streaming in 1926.<sup>96</sup>) At the same time, the relative lateness of these modern secondary school-mediated adolescences should not be forgotten. Their recent arrival in South Australia is in part shown by Figure 4.1 above.

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96. Pupils in second year "have been graded in order that the brighter pupils may not be retarded and those less alert may not be forced." Unley High School, Inspectors' Reports, Ordinary Inspection (Adey, Allen, Miethke), September, 1926.

The graphs compare the numbers of youth in and out of school for the U.S.A. and South Australia in the early 1930s. The much later date of the creation of free state high schools was responsible for a much later emergence of modern adolescents. Under these circumstances, social class remained an important factor in the determination of who would experience a modern adolescence; not only class as in class of social origin, but also in terms of social aspiration. For the corporate boys' secondary schools, the problem of class could be internal to the middle class, a conflict between the old proprietorial and the new professional:

Why should not every Australian boy be as cultured as boys of their own station in other countries? The pastoralists' and the farmers' sons should be as well educated as the professional man's son. It is distressing to hear a man say, "My son does not need to know anything about this, that, or the other thing. He is going on a farm or station."<sup>97</sup>

Others conceived a new role for such schools given the rise of meritocracy and the end of aristocracies based on landed and other wealth. The demand for a new *moral* aristocracy was urgent, the demand for "character" overwhelming.<sup>98</sup> But that was not the real future.

Representations and discourses of youth were in flux during the pre-World War II period. Nevertheless the newer elements, including those deriving from the new social sciences, had begun to demonstrate their utility in the modernization of South Australian society. The schools contributed to changing (and modern) class formations and gendered identities. The conception, management and purposes of youth were dramatically changing. As part of the process, secondary schooling was not only used by some youth and families to position themselves favourably within changing labour markets and economic structures, they also moulded and managed the nature of that positioning.

World War II would produce the social forces necessary to put all youth into secondary schools for longer, regardless of class and sex. As a result of that and other pressures, the narrow representations of modern adolescents, narrow in terms of ideal attributes, and social class relevance, would change further. The "teenager" of the 1950s and 1960s was to be a more ubiquitous creature. Quoting a British newspaper, Charles Fenner, the war-time Director of Education, argued that the totalitarian states of Europe had provided the challenge to improve the fitness of young people:

The time is now ripe to weld these conceptions into a harmonious whole and to evolve a plan of education, from birth to manhood and womanhood, which will provide for an all-round fitness of body, mind, and spirit.

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97. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1922, p. 3.

98. *ibid.*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1925, p. 6.

According to Fenner the best years for learning and character building were from 14 to 17 years. Wisely he left some role for "factors" other than the school, specifically "The Family, the Church, the State, and the Social Environment" which "chiefly control culture."<sup>99</sup> In the next chapter, the discussion of secondary schooling and adolescence proceeds. For the first time however, the focus shifts directly to the family as an institution through which the day to day social politics of gender and class are experienced. Despite the ambitions of secondary schools for youth, the effect of families on the relationships between youth and their secondary schooling was profound.

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99. Charles Fenner, "Individual educational requirements for modern citizenship", *Bulletin no. 8*, Education Dept., Adelaide, 1940, p. 20.

## Chapter 6

### Family strategy, secondary schooling and making adolescents<sup>1</sup>

The making of modern adolescents was not only the task of secondary schools. The processes of twentieth century class formation were deeply implicated in the timing and nature of the expansion of secondary schools and systems, and their transformations. In this chapter, some of the complexities of class reproduction and formation are discussed by means of family strategy analysis: in particular, the uses of twentieth century secondary schools by old and new middle classes, and an emerging modern working class. This chapter complements the argument of the previous two chapters in that it also concentrates on the emergence of the modern adolescent. In so doing, the idea that this emergence was neither a smooth nor uncontested narrative is continued.

It may appear that the taking up of teaching by a younger son from a farm family in the 1930s was the same process which led to the popularity of this course in the 1950s. Mervyn Schultz enrolled at the teachers college in 1933:

At the age of thirteen, which coincided with the end of my primary education, my father kindly offered me the opportunity of attending college. My contemporaries in the country normally discontinued their studies and remained on the farm, but my father pointed out that I had two older brothers at home at the time.

What a transformation occurred in my life!<sup>2</sup>

Mervyn trained for a teaching career, but he was one of relatively few since the effect of the Depression in South Australia had had dire effects on the numbers of students beginning teacher training. After the war, the baby boom and economic expansion saw greatly increased teacher training intakes paralleled in other occupations, such as nursing. The participation rates of youth in secondary education also increased. So it was that demographic and economic change made for different and increased opportunities. Where the offer of his father could come as something of a shock to Mervyn in the 1930s, rapid economic and labour market development during and after the war made such life

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1. A version of part of this chapter appeared as "Family strategy, secondary schooling and making adolescents: The Indian summer of the old middle class, 1945-1960" in *History of Education Review*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1993, pp. 18-43.
  2. Reminiscences of Mervyn W. Schultz in Leske, *Concordia: 100 years*, p. 87.

"transformations" less unusual. Modern adolescences as a consequence, also became less unusual.

Over the first sixty years of the century families had to deal with rapid social change. The decline of agricultural compared with industrial production in South Australia, and a consequent rural depopulation and urban growth, as well as changing labour markets and opportunities, constituted much of the reason for the necessity for family adaptability. One of the important ways families dealt with the pressures was in providing for their children. The considerations and strategies involved in plotting courses for their economically secure futures have varied over the century, not only as a result of broad structural changes in the economy, but also as a result of developing class relationships and the changing internal dynamics of families.<sup>3</sup>

At the beginning of the century, and as chapter 2 has shown for Unley and Mitcham, many youths from the families of the professional and proprietary middle class spent some time in secondary education, but the position was quite different for the working class. Davey, in reporting on the Hindmarsh study in South Australia, discussed the lack of relevance of schooling for youth in both contributing to family economies and in finding paid work. Most children left school as soon as they were legally able, at the end of their twelfth year, often having exercised their considerable rights to less than full-time attendance beforehand. The labour market was made accessible through family contacts and knowledge of local employment patterns. Such patterns were similar in rural areas.<sup>4</sup> Between the period of which Davey wrote and the twenty years after World War II, the state raised the school leaving age by a year (1915), then another year (1963) and eliminated the loose attendance regulations (1905 and 1915). The state also introduced systems of secondary education through higher primary, technical and high schools. Competition for the credentials these schools offered grew with the changing labour markets as white collar and professional employment sectors increased in size, and skilled blue collar occupations were regulated

3. The "family" appears here as an aggregate of kin, originating from a source household. The question of the changing structures of families (and other issues such as the relationship between families and households), is not directly addressed. See Michael Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family 1500-1914*, London, Macmillan, 1980; and David Levine, "Making the family modern", *Canadian Journal of History/Annales canadiennes d'histoire*, vol. 25, 1990, pp. 387-397 for a more recent discussion. For a good Australian discussion, see Michael Gilding, *The Making and Breaking of the Australian Family*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1991, ch. 1.
4. Ian Davey, "Growing up in a working-class community: School and work in Hindmarsh", in Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville, & Ellen McEwen (eds.), *Families in Colonial Australia*, Sydney, George Allen Unwin, 1985, pp. 170-1. See also Ian Davey & Kerry Wimshurst, "Understanding irregular school attendance: beyond the rural-urban dichotomy" in Ronald K. Goodenow & William E. Marsden, *The city and education in four nations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 158-171.

through new apprenticeship laws. In 1907, the state, through its national conciliation and arbitration court, virtually gave legal definition to the modern Australian family, as nuclear, with a bread-winning father/husband/employee who was entitled to a living wage sufficient to keep a dependent wife out of the paid work-force and three children, also as dependants.<sup>5</sup> These state interventions constituted only part of the changes from the turn of the century world. Yet, families and classes did not respond to the pressures in the same ways or at the same rate. The increasing presence of secondary schooling in the lives of all youth along with the contraction of the youth labour market, though it was uneven over the century, led to new structures of adolescence.

Among the records of schools in the local government areas of Mitcham and Unley are at least two major sources which illuminate changing family educational strategies. In one of the schools, Concordia College (the main secondary school and seminary in Australia for the Evangelical Lutheran Synod until the mid-1960s), considerable correspondence between the headmasters and parents on school expectations and experience has been kept. The vocational guidance movement was responsible for other records, especially in the state secondary schools, which also illuminate the intended and actual use of schools by families. For each child entering these schools the occupational preferences of father, mother and child were recorded. On the same card were listed the names, ages and occupations of all the children in the family. Given several years between first and last child, attendance at the same school by younger children in the family, and families of three or more children, grids of secondary school use and occupational outcome could be plotted, which in turn threw light on the changing patterns of adolescence that families were willing to support. The records are best for the generations of youth immediately following World War II. This period coincides with South Australia's major period of industrialization and, as will be seen, was also the last reasonably secure period for families on small farms in agricultural Australia.

Despite the increased birth-rate for the post-war baby boom, the families studied depart from the "average" in a number of ways. First, the Concordia students were overwhelmingly German in their ethnic origin, though many of the families traced their presence in South Australia to earliest colonial times.<sup>6</sup> Through religion, marriage within the community, and

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5. This was the so called Harvester Judgement, brought down as a response to an application by H. V. McKay seeking exemption from provisions of the Excise Tariff Act (1906).

6. State organized European settlement began in 1836. Pastor A. L. C. Kavel arrived with the first Lutheran migrants from Prussia in 1838. On Kavel and the origins of the Lutheran churches and communities in South Australia see *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1967, vol. 2, pp. 33-34 and Ian Harmstorf, "Some common misconceptions about

the common experience of oppression during World War I, these families had experienced Australia differently from the British majority and Aboriginal core. Second, the families discussed here were often larger than the average; similarly the gaps between first and last child were longer. The way the records have been used is not the only reason for the differences. The work of John Cole on German-Australian families in Boonah, Queensland, showed that such families experienced the fertility decline of the demographic transition later than did the British.<sup>7</sup> At the same time all the families and youth considered in the study lived through a common national history and general economic conditions. The German-Australian families of this study were integrated into broader communities, whether rural or urban. While their Lutheran affiliation made many of their social relations distinctive, their need to survive and profit within the broader community and its markets was a powerful assimilating force. By the 1950s they were overwhelmingly English-speaking.

The method of this chapter will be to discuss families and youth by comparing the educational strategies which appear to derive from occupational differences among their household heads. The first discussion concentrates on two old middle class groups, the families of farmers and clergy whose children attended Concordia College. Use is made of the correspondence between school and families, as well as grids which plot family strategies over time.<sup>8</sup> The second discussion casts a wider net, using material from the largest state secondary school, Unley High, as well as Concordia, this time concentrating on family strategies more broadly organized by social class.

### **Families of farmers and clergy, and their use of the secondary schools**

David and Michael Adler's parents had a problem. With four boys in the family, there was the question of their futures. Mrs Adler wrote to Concordia's headmaster:

To speak plainly it seems we are unable to start more than two boys with a farm. Michael also wants to be a farmer. We feel he hasn't the ability for a

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- South Australia's Germans", *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 1, 1975, pp. 42-45. On the history of Concordia College, see Leske, *Concordia: 100 Years*.
7. John Cole, "Quantitative reconstruction of the family ethos" in Grimshaw, McConville & McEwen (eds.), *Families in Colonial Australia*, pp. 58-63. Many of the Concordia families had farms outside of South Australia, including Queensland.
  8. See Christine Heward, *Making a man of him: Parents and their sons' education at an English public school 1929-50*, Routledge, London, 1988, for a recent historical study also making use of the correspondence between parents and school principal.

profession. Andrew aged 10 shows promise, & Kym aged 2½ years our last hope, to us & some others, shows brilliance!!<sup>9</sup>

Typically it was the farmer's wife who conducted the negotiation with the college over the schooling of the family's children. Mrs Adler was not a typical correspondent, however. She wrote very long letters demonstrating a strong sense of the value of schooling and the credentials it could provide. Her difficulty with David was that he was a poor student. When confronted with repeating a year, he fiercely resisted the school. In reply to the headmaster's counsel that grades were not everything, Mrs Adler wrote (with her son's voice heard through her words):

David is quite definite about not wanting to return to college next year to repeat form II. He said that he feels quite humiliated to be in form II "with all the little kids". ... David looks older than his years and will be sixteen in July. I can understand how he feels, but we have done all in our power to persuade him that the main thing is that he does well with his studies. He said he will return to college only if he is allowed to try for the intermediate exam.

Later in the letter she situated the problem in the over-all educational strategy for the family:

We have four sons to educate and it was our ambition to give them two years of High School and two years of college. By the end of 4 years we had hoped they would obtain the intermediate certificate and if they had the ambition & ability to continue with higher education they would get lots of encouragement and help from us. (We realize the importance of having at least, the intermediate certificate.) David's failure has shown us that we may have to change our plans.<sup>10</sup>

In discussing the reasons beyond the desire for the minimum secondary school credential, Mrs Adler referred to another common theme among these Lutheran farming families; that is, "the benefit of christian training and mixing with christian young people ..." to be gained from college attendance.<sup>11</sup>

David Adler's occupational ambition, by contrast, was uncomplicated. He wanted to take up farming. In this work he did not face the "humiliation" of failing, and having to repeat a year with younger students. The headmaster's advice, that he should repeat the year, was backed by arguments such as: "It is a psychological truth that happiness can exist for the student

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9. Mrs A. Adler to Headmaster, 7 January, 1962, Student Records 60-31, Concordia College Archive (henceforth SR, CCA). Names and places belonging to this and succeeding correspondence have been changed to protect the privacy of the people involved. Punctuation and spelling have been left as in the originals.

10. Mrs A. Adler to Headmaster, 7 January, 1962, SR 60-31.

11. *ibid.*



only when he has a sense of achievement and satisfaction in his work ...", and that David needed to learn "one of the most important lessons for life - namely, that any success can be achieved only through wholehearted application to the work in hand."<sup>12</sup>

Late in 1962, David's father wrote informing the school that the boy had been kept home for a week beyond the school holidays:

I kept David home ... to help with the many extra jobs that have to be done when shearing starts. I myself do the wool-classing which keeps me fully occupied, and it was therefore most convenient to have David who was able to help keep the shearing go along smoothly. I hope to manage the second week of shearing quite alright without his help because we have everything pretty well under control at this stage.<sup>13</sup>

At home, on the farm, the boy had the responsibility for supervising the shearing. He did this successfully. He wanted to be a farmer. The school in the end was not particularly relevant to his future, despite the longer term view of his mother, and perhaps of his father. David repeated the second year, and in 1963 narrowly missed passing sufficient subjects to gain his Intermediate. Mrs Adler was not prepared to give up, inquiring about the possibility of David making up the missed subject by correspondence; but the odds were against her. He was going onto the farm. "His father cannot see how he could possibly do this [i.e. the extra study], seeing that he would be working full time on the farm."<sup>14</sup> The school "psychologised" David's exam failure, suggesting he may have had a phobia about "success".<sup>15</sup>

The story of David Adler's secondary schooling demonstrates some of the complexities in understanding family strategies. Here, David's mother had an articulated strategy which demanded extended negotiation with the school. But there were other forces at work. It is significant that the only letter from the father in the considerable correspondence associated with this family was that which explained David's late return to school. In this letter and in the later one from his wife after the boy had left school, his plans for the boy are visible. David not only had a place on the farm, he was needed there and would have no spare time for part time study. Similarly, David's ambition had been baldly stated when he entered the school: he would be a farmer. Consequently and despite the school's control of promotion procedures, its examination preparation expertise, and access to meritocratic, character building and psychological discourses in explanation of its handling of David, the father and

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12. Headmaster to Mrs. A. Adler, 24 January, 1962, SR 60-31.
  13. Mr A. Adler to Headmaster, 23 September, 1962, SR 60-31.
  14. Mrs. A. Adler to Headmaster, 27 January, 1964, SR 60-31.
  15. David Adler, Record Card, SR 60-31.

son had their plans and carried them through. Mrs Adler was outflanked to an extent. Disunity of families, as well as unity, is a feature of family strategy which is often overlooked. The unequal power distribution associated with gender relations within families is one means of understanding the varying commitments to prolonged secondary schooling within and between families.

In exploring further the possible meanings of David Adler's story, it is necessary to situate it not only in a discussion about the relations between school, family and work, but also in the sociology and economy of rural Australia in the first decades following World War II. From the early 1950s most farmers in Australia experienced some twenty years of prosperity, but after that time the "rural crisis" took hold, with its rapid decline in prices for rural commodities.<sup>16</sup> In their call for the modernization of Australian farming, Roger Mauldon and Henry Schapper described the pre-modern management and ownership of most farms in Australia. They were small, typified by a unified management and ownership, often in partnerships of members of one or few resident families. Almost all were run by the head of the family household so that farm and family affairs were inextricably related.<sup>17</sup> Wages for family members were not regular. Few farmers had any formal training; their work combined that of manager, tradesman and labourer. To enter farming, one needed no formal qualifications, the only need being sufficient capital.<sup>18</sup> For these writers, reform was inevitable. "The philosophy of farming as nineteenth-century individualistic capitalism, now is long outdated."<sup>19</sup> From a different point of view, Geoffrey Lawrence also pointed to the contradictions of such farm businesses within the structures of advanced capitalism, discussing the signs leading to the decline of family farms from the 1950s despite the period of prosperity.<sup>20</sup> In the period of crisis, education and schooling began to assume great importance for the first time; when, unlike the case for David Adler, most farm children began to grow up experiencing "a lack of control over their lives."<sup>21</sup> In a South Australian study Bryant wrote about twelve families who lost their farms in the 1980s. Of the families interviewed who had adult sons or sons in their mid-teens, all stated that moving from the

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16. Roger G. Mauldon & Henry P. Schapper, *Australian Farmers under Stress in Prosperity and Recession*, Perth, University of Western Australia Press, 1974, p. 1.

17. *ibid.*, pp. 70-1.

18. *ibid.*, pp. 71-2.

19. *ibid.*, p. 221.

20. Geoffrey Lawrence, *Capitalism and the Countryside: The rural crisis in Australia*, Sydney, Pluto Press, 1987, p. 6.

21. *ibid.*, p. 45.

farm profoundly affected their sons' futures. Sons had expected to work on family farms with their parents and then, in time, to take over the farms.<sup>22</sup>

The two or three decades following World War II, was the last moment when the old pattern remained viable for most. In their study of rural Victoria in the late 1940s and early 1950s, O. A. Oeser and F. E. Emery pointed to the strength of the orientation of boys to rural occupations: "Most of the farm boys select occupations identical with those of their parents."<sup>23</sup> They pointed to the complexity of the transitions from childhood through adolescence to adulthood for farm boys. Because they often worked their first harvest at about twelve, they entered some aspects of adulthood very early; but waiting to assume full responsibility for the farm could take many years. This could cause considerable conflict, often having to remain internalized if inheritance was not to be put at risk.<sup>24</sup> In this transition, secondary schooling was of relatively little importance although it could assume the role of social "finishing", religious training, or other purposes. The credentials of the school were not necessary for survival, at least not before the rural crisis.

In David Adler's story one can see the possible beginnings of the concern with the future. Mrs Adler in particular tried to anticipate problems by attempting, though unsuccessfully in David's case, to ensure that all her sons successfully completed four years of secondary education. However, this concern intersected with a much older problem for farm families with more than one or two male children. The probability that not all could be provided for on the land was not only an issue for the rare prosperous times. Looking to higher education and the professions, especially teaching and the ministry, was an old strategy.<sup>25</sup> Birth order within farming families could be an important determinant of life courses.

For girls from farm families, secondary schooling expectations were usually narrow in range. Barbara Zammel's father wrote that he and his wife

had intended to send her this year, but we had an addition to the family and kept her home, as she is a great help to her mother. ... She doesn't seem anxious to go to High School so would like to send her to Concordia for 12

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22. L. Bryant, "The Resettlement process of Displaced Farm Families: A study of 12 families from Eyre Peninsula, South Australia", *Technical Paper*, no. 27, Department of Agriculture, Adelaide, 1989, p. 65.
23. O. A. Oeser & F. E. Emery, *Social structure and personality in a rural community*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954, p. 213.
24. *ibid.*, pp. 95-7.
25. The role of such strategies for younger sons of farmers in the ante-bellum U.S. is documented, for example, in David F. Allmendinger, Jr., *Paupers and Scholars: The transformation of student life in nineteenth-century New England*, New York, St Martin's Press, 1975, pp. 12-22.

months. Another reason she is the only one of her age here and would be taking confirmation lessons on her own.<sup>26</sup>

Barbara's record card showed she stayed the one year (1955). Neither Barbara nor her father expressed a post-school occupation choice, but mother did: "Help at home."<sup>27</sup> In this brief correspondence themes which recur are introduced: the expectation of one year only at college, usually for confirmation in the Lutheran church, and the return to the farm to help with the work and no doubt to await marriage.<sup>28</sup> A related variation on this theme was the idea of holding one year places at the school for succeeding girls from the same family. The headmaster did not respond generously to such educationally benighted ideas. In reply to the information that Margaret Mannheim would "attend Concordia next year in Jean's place..."<sup>29</sup>, he wrote that "we can hardly accept the principle that a younger sister can simply take an elder sister's place ...".<sup>30</sup> Family strategies where academic success was irrelevant to the envisaged life courses could conceive of an equality of treatment. Each child would have one year, in turn, at college. The cost could be budgeted well in advance. That the influence of meritocratic ideologies within the school led to such strategies being judged as primitive is understandable: they failed to allow for merit either through academic ability or examination success. Margaret's occupational intention was the same as that desired for her by her mother, to "Stay at home"; while father thought she could do what she liked. In 1953 the elder sister, having left school, was recorded as "Helping mum". The two eldest boys also had their one year at college, each in the late 1940s. At 17 and 18 years respectively, they were recorded as being farmers, no doubt on a family farm.<sup>31</sup>

Many parents and in this case the local pastor wrote that the religious training associated with confirmation was the main reason for the girls' college attendances. Shirley was "anxious to enter Concordia with a view of becoming more firmly established in the christian religion (she is not confirmed) and gaining a general knowledge."<sup>32</sup> For girls from farm families the desired curriculum apart from religious training was usually practical in orientation. A little typing and bookkeeping for example was occasionally thought to be of use for a girl in contributing to the running of the farm. There was also, and more

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26. Mr B. Zammel to Headmaster, 5 April, 1954, SR 54-80, CCA.

27. Barbara Zammel, Record Card, SR 54-80.

28. Oeser and Emery, pp. 219-21, discuss some of these issues, suggesting the effects of the marriage expectation as responsible for the different orientation of girls from boys to the future.

29. Mrs. C. Mannheim to Headmaster, 3 February, [1953], SR 54-9, CCA. The same idea is expressed by Mrs F. Goers to Headmaster, 2 October, 1952, SR 53-46, CCA. Her daughter's expected occupation was also "Back on the farm".

30. Headmaster to Mrs C. Mannheim, 21 March, 1953, SR 54-9.

31. Margaret Mannheim, Record Card, SR 54-9.

32. Rev. J. F. Hamann to Headmaster, 14 July, 1952, SR 53-19, CCA. (Many of the families engaged the local Pastor to negotiate with the school on their behalf.)

commonly, music and dressmaking. Music often meant learning the piano, and the organ for the benefit of local church congregations:

We would like to have Elizabeth continue her Confirmation lessons ... Besides Elizabeth would like to take her commercial course or some subjects in same besides music and dressmaking if possible.<sup>33</sup>

I wish to send my daughter Joy, to College next year. She would like to have confirmation lessons, also learn dressmaking & sewing and learn music.<sup>34</sup>

Her foremost sight is to give her Confirmation Lessons ... Then on second sight is Playing a Piano she is having her first two Quarters this year ... Then either a course in cooking or Dressmaking.<sup>35</sup>

For another family, Pastor Kempe asked that Alma

be given the opportunity to learn elementary book-keeping during the remaining portion of the year. The girl, I believe, will be attending the hostel [i.e. the school from the girls' boarding house] only for this year, and the elementary book-keeping, or rather, knowledge of same is required to enable her to keep farm records.<sup>36</sup>

Mrs G. Adrian outlined expectations not only for her daughter, Jane, but the largest group of girls from farm families. The gendered expectations of girls within families and of secondary education were bound by a patriarchally organized rural culture. The request to the headmaster for advice appears to be an opening gambit before the outlining of the required curriculum:

We would like to send our "baby" next year. Jane. ... Could you also advise me which subjects would be best for her to take. I suggest she take piano & of course being only 14 yrs is not confirmed & would have conf. lessons. I daresay she will not go into any business later but will remain at home so on that account would like to consider giving such subjects to study as would be most useful for her in later life. If Dressmaking could be fitted in & not upset other lessons necessary for the intermediate I would also like that.<sup>37</sup>

For these girls, their secondary education was closely tied to their envisaged futures back on the farms. The experience of boarding school was probably the closest they came to a modern adolescence temporarily marked by reduced family supervision, though the demands of the hostel (the girls' boarding house) and school were very close, and even oppressive to

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33. Mr D. Krohn to Headmaster, 6 September, 1953, SR 53-38, CCA.

34. Mrs. E. Blake to Headmaster, 5 June, 1952, SR 53-40, CCA.

35. Mrs. F. Van to Matron, 12 September, 1952, SR 53-49, CCA.

36. Rev. E. V. Kempe to Headmaster, 12 May, 1948, SR 48-03, CCA.

37. Mrs G. Adrian to Headmaster, 16 November, 1946, SR 46-14, CCA.

some of the girls, so that the "freedom" beginning to be experienced by others of their age group in the 1940s and 1950s was somewhat restricted.<sup>38</sup>

Another group of girls from farm families did have other ambitions. These were almost invariably associated either with teaching or nursing. The relationship of such ambitions to family economies was less direct. Often the parents wrote that a girl had proven herself a good student, and should have a chance for a longer secondary education. Often the ideal of dedication to church service through deaconess or missionary work via teaching and nursing was expressed. Perhaps the expression of such altruistic ambitions was an acceptable instrument through which girls could at least temporarily escape more confined domestic futures. Some academic success was needed in the carrying through of these ambitions, especially for teaching. Families did not always have the commitment or means to support the ambitions. Glenys Streich was enrolled by her mother with the aim of becoming a Lutheran Day School teacher, but it did not work out. At the end of the year her father requested that she leave school early "to help her mother with the cows, as I am busy with the harvest."<sup>39</sup> Glenys did not return to college after the one year. Her older sister was recorded as having no occupation; the brother was a "farm labourer."<sup>40</sup>

Kay Roche intended being a nurse. When tested by a vocational guidance psychologist the family was told she was capable of doing an honours or medical degree at the university. She did go nursing in the end.<sup>41</sup> Scholarships made a real difference to some of the girls; their parents considered it a duty to fulfil the promise. For Mary Kohl it was decisive in allowing her to return to school for the Leaving (fourth) year.<sup>42</sup> Teaching and nursing were established pathways for many farm girls. Though these were less intimidating than other possibilities, problems were often experienced. Alice Reinhart pursued her ambitions, but self-doubt and anxiety were very much part of the experience:

I would very much like to be a deaconess and then go on and do my full training as a nurse, then do missionary work. ... I have no self confidence but I do feel if I fail my exams I shall fail the Lord Jesus.<sup>43</sup>

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38. Oeser and Emery's discussion (p. 98) of the status of daughters in farm families from the 1940s and 1950s retains its utility. The present study confirms many of their findings.
39. Mr H. Streich to Headmaster, 30 November, 1964, & 18 August, 1963, SR 62-34, CCA.
40. Glenys Streich, Record Card, SR 62-34.
41. Mrs J. Roche to Headmaster, 5 April 1961; Vocational Guidance assessment, October, 1964; Headmaster's reference for Kay Roche, 23 September, 1965, SR 62-49, CCA.
42. Mrs B. Kohl to Headmaster, 15 February, 1948, SR 46-26, CCA.
43. Alice Reinhart to Headmaster, 21 May, 1962, SR 60-54, CCA.

Two years later Alice entered a bond to serve the church after the completion of her nursing course.<sup>44</sup> Some girls' ambitions were cut short by other factors. Gwenda Baker, despite her parents' desire that she become a primary teacher (she had wanted to work in a bank), did not measure up to required standards according to the school. She was "Constantly boy conscious". Her parents were told that she was "more concerned with the business of growing up and thinking about those of the other sex...". The headmaster continued:

you may consider that you have already spent sufficient on Gwenda's education, and, in view of the fact that there is no guarantee that she will be successful this year, decide to let her seek a position where she can usefully earn her living.<sup>45</sup>

The parents did not accept the advice. Their children had been sent to Concordia "for a religious and more helpfull training, as we realize that the teen age years are the foundation of their lives."<sup>46</sup> This is one of a minority of letters which directly addressed that other side of adolescence, where G. Stanley Hall's "storm and stress" feature in the plans for adolescence conceived by school and family. On this and other occasions the school preferred to see troubled adolescences lived out elsewhere. The work-place was usually suggested. Presumably a subjection to the discipline exercised there was seen as the most promising alternative for "unsuccessful", difficult or delinquent youth.

The overwhelming impression from the correspondence associated with the farm families is the very limited range of career options which could be conceived for girls if going home after college was not envisaged. May Wahl's parents were willing to support her in her ambition to be a teacher, despite having to repeat the Leaving "as she does not seem to be very interested in the farm life."<sup>47</sup> For a girl this did not cause too much trouble; for an only son the issue assumed different proportions. Andrew Weiss' parents appear to have prevailed in the following case, despite the support of his local Pastor and the school for his vocation to enter the seminary:

The father, naturally, wants the boy to become interested in farming. He has a fine property and a first-class house. So far, however, Andrew has shown no inclination for farm work. He is a student and musically inclined as well.<sup>48</sup>

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44. Agreement dated 10 December, 1964, SR 60-54.

45. Headmaster to Mrs L. Baker, 17 May, 1963, SR 60-42, CCA.

46. Mrs L. Baker to Headmaster, 22 May, 1963, SR 60-42.

47. Mr J. Wahl to Headmaster, 23 January, 1959, SR 55-73, CCA.

48. Rev. Dr. Darsow to Headmaster, 29 November, 1947, SR 47-40, CCA.

Andrew ended his college education after only two years. Without support from home, exceptional dedication was required to maintain the regimen required for entry into the seminary. That he was a first and only son must have constituted overwhelming pressure to return to the farm.

In all the correspondence for the farm families, gendered occupational expectations, and for the boys their status in the family deriving from their birth order, are highly visible as powerful factors in determining the different kinds of adolescent experience. In turning our attention to the longitudinal strategies of families, those expectations remain visible. One of the larger rural families (12 children) sent the majority to College. Clearly the nine boys of the family could not all be settled on the home farm or be bought their own farms. The following grid for the Zellig family shows the occupations of the off-spring in three slices, 1953, 1954 and 1955. (These grids need to be read from left to right for each child. The figure in the column "Yrs" is the number of years spent in the secondary school. The age progressions are not always accurate since students often filled them in.)

#### Family Grid 6.1

Occupation of Household Head: **Farmer**

Sex of Household Head: **Male**

<i>PROFILE YEARS</i>							
		<i>1953</i>		<i>1954</i>		<i>1955</i>	
<i>Child</i>	<i>Yrs</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
1st Boy	?	30	Farmer	31	Share farmer	34	Farmer
2nd Boy	?	28	Orchardist	29	Orchardist	33	Orchardist
3rd Boy	?	26	Labourer	27	Contractor	38	Farmer
4th Boy	4	25	Orchardist	25	Orchardist	29	Orchardist
5th Boy	4	23	Clergyman	23	Minister	24	Minister
6th Boy	4	?	Student	21	Seminary	21	Minister
7th Boy	?	21	Labourer	20	Farmer/Contractor	22	Farmer
8th Boy	4	19	Student	18	Seminary	19	Seminary
9th Boy	4	17	Student	17	Student teacher	18	Teacher
1st Girl	1	15	Domestic	15	Housemaid	?	?
2nd Girl	?	14	Student	14	Student	15	Student
3rd Girl	3	12	Student	12	Student	12	Student

Sources: School Register & Student Records, Zellig Family, 12, Concordia College Archive

For the sons of the Zellig family, birth order appears to have been decisive in the determination of access to varying lengths and types of secondary education. All but one of the younger sons in this family sought professional careers, three as clergymen and at least



one as a teacher. The eldest girl was engaged in domestic work after college, probably at home though the site is not clear. The three oldest boys had no college careers, finding work on the land. The fourth boy marked a transition in family strategy. He was the first to attend the college, spending four years there and beginning teacher training. He resigned from this to go on the land. Only one more brother followed this pattern, the seventh boy, but he was the last to do this. The younger ones had up to seven years in college if their seminary and secondary training are put together. Family strategy appears obvious. If the futures of the young men could not be secured on the land for one reason or another, the family had another strategy at its disposal, through secondary schooling. A prolonged period in formal education, involving considerable investment for delayed outcomes, that is, the probability of credentials and career at the end, enabled another kind of secure future through entry into a profession. While at college the boys sought casual work to supplement their allowances. On at least one occasion one of the boys was called home during term time to assist in the family business:

His brother who helps me in my work has had to go to hospital for four weeks and as we are at the moment engaged in contract work for a firm in Echuca, I find it impossible to manage without Phillip. ... he has promised me he will catch up with the rest of the class out of school hours.<sup>49</sup>

The college had to make the concession to such demands from farming families, as schools had done for centuries.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless the determination to succeed at college despite interruptions was strong. The strategy for the girls in this family was different. It involved shorter periods in secondary education, and domestic work after that period in the one case for which the records are available.

For the Jones family (Grid 6.2), there was a long wait for boys to take on the farm, but they arrived. The first two girls had the freedom to enter the female segregated work force before marriage.

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49. Mr T. Zellig to Headmaster, 17 March, 1949, SR 47-23, CCA.

50. Allmendinger, Jr., pp. 32-38.

## Family Grid 6.2

Occupation of Household Head: **Farmer**

Sex of Household Head: **Male**

### PROFILE YEARS

Child	Yrs	1954		1962	
		Age	Occupation	Age	Occupation
1st Girl	2	21	Nurse	30	Housewife
2nd Girl	3	20	Typist	27	Housewife
1st Boy	?	17	Farmer	25	Farmer
3rd Girl	3	15	Housework	22	Housewife
2nd Boy	1	13	Student	20	Farmer
3rd Boy	3	5		?	Student

Sources: School Register & Student Records, Jones Family, 4, Concordia College Archive

For both families in Grids 6.1 and 6.2, gender and birth order are important indicators of later occupation and access to prolonged secondary schooling. Older sons had the advantage in terms of securing a life on the land. Younger sons needed to remain at school longer. In looking at the correspondence between school and farm families, the stated intentions for the older boys were rather uniform. Don Sanderson's parents wrote that "we should like Don to have the opportunity of attending our own Church College for at least one year."<sup>51</sup> Don remained one year. He and both parents recorded the same occupational choice, that is, "Farmer".<sup>52</sup>

The following extracts, as for the girls show the religious training motive to be important. High academic achievement or school credentials were a very occasional expectation:

My son wishes to attend Concordia College during the next year for a higher education ... I am pleased with his decision, as I would like to see him receive a sound religious training before becoming confirmed. If possible I would like to enroll him for the season 1954 ...<sup>53</sup>

Sometimes changing circumstances at home meant an early withdrawal of the boys from school:

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51. Mr M. Sanderson to Headmaster, 11 August, 1954, SR 55-21, CCA.  
 52. Don Sanderson, Record Card, SR 55-21.  
 53. Mr T. Hahn to Headmaster, 2 November, 1953, SR 54-30, CCA.

I wish to inform you that our son Fred, will not be returning to college, my husband is not in the best of health, so he is keeping Fred home to assist him on the farm.<sup>54</sup>

For the present, the plan appears to be that they [twins] stay one year - 1. to gain further religious instruction; 2. further education and general "polish".<sup>55</sup>

In the case of the family with twins, plans had to change. One of the boys had a physical disability. Mrs Winter explained:

After a lot of discussion, Peter has decided to return to the College this year. The weakness of his left foot, is very much pronounced, when he is working on the farm, so Peter will take the course for a christian day school teacher.<sup>56</sup>

Thereafter the correspondence showed considerable anxiety for the boy's future as a teacher. As for the farm families with too many boys, the strategy for this family, having a boy who could not work on the farm, was to have him enter a profession; one easily entered with fair academic ability, through the Lutheran church's own training college and school system.

After farming, for farm boys at this school, one of the most common occupational choices, along with teaching, was the clergy. Its training course, with a core curriculum of Latin and German initially, produced many casualties. Sometimes the choice produced very mixed feelings in families. In Robert Best's case, an elder brother had gone into a bank and four sisters were not likely to farm:

He has chosen the ministry as his career quite without any encouragement from his parents, as we have a farm, and we could really do with his help on this farm. However both my husband and I feel we cannot keep him here. Perhaps if he had not chosen the ministry we should have put our foot down, so to speak. We shall miss him dreadfully but we know that he will be under God's protection wherever he may be ...<sup>57</sup>

In contrast to the earlier case of Andrew Weiss, Robert's vocation, and his family's acceptance, sustained him through the seminary and eventually into missionary activity.<sup>58</sup>

The correspondence exposing the family strategies of the clergy compared with that of the farmers makes very different reading. In both cases there is "property" to be protected and

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54. Mrs S. Parkin to Headmaster, 21 May, 1949(?), SR 48-15, CCA.  
55. ? to Headmaster, 20 October, 1947, SR 48-11, CCA.  
56. Mrs J. Winter to Headmaster, 19 January, 1948, SR 48-11.  
57. Mrs D. Best to Headmaster, 11 January, 1953, SR 48-24, CCA.  
58. Robert Best, Record Card, SR 48-24.



## Family Grid 6.4

Occupation of Household Head: **Clergy**

Sex of Household Head: **Male**

### PROFILE YEARS

Child	Yrs	1962		1964		1967	
		Age	Occupation	Age	Occupation	Age	Occupation
1st Girl	4	17	Nursing	20	Nurse	23	Nurse
1st Boy	5	16	Student	18	Student tchr	21	Craft teacher
2nd Boy	5	14	Student	16	Student	19	Seminary
2nd Girl	5	11	Student	13	Student	16	Student [>teacher <sup>60</sup> ]

Sources: Student Records, Friedrich Family, 16, Concordia College Archive

In the early 1960s, students entering Concordia had a choice of topics on which to write, to complement the information gained from the IQ tests. Tony Rost had given a great deal of thought to his intended career at age 12:

When I grow up I intend to be a Minister. I think it is a good career, though many people may not think so.

You may wonder why I want to be a Minister. It is because I want to go and teach the word of God to [?] people, know about God and teach them to become good Christians and trust in the Lord, so that when they die they may go to their home in Heaven.

A Minister may not get paid a lot of money, but I do not want money, I just want to teach people about God.

My father is a Minister and my brother is going to be one too but I do not want to become a Minister just because they are, I want to be a Minister of my own free will.<sup>61</sup>

After two attempts at the Leaving, and one at the Matriculation, and having passed the core subjects of Latin and German, Tony entered the Seminary in 1967.<sup>62</sup> His essay reveals not only evidence about social reproduction, but the thought processes appropriate to entry to the older professions; that is, the insistence on having made an informed and free choice, and the presence of an altruistic ideology. One worked for more than money.

60. ">" denotes the "intention", in this case to become a teacher. The intention and the outcome were not necessarily the same.

61. Tony Rost, essay, SR 61-96, CCA.

62. Tony Rost, Record Card, SR 61-96.

In negotiating their children's educations and futures, the clergy had confidence, useful contacts and information, all of which they often had to enlist given their relative poverty. John Tanter's father, writing from interstate, was engaged in such negotiations for his son:

He realized that to do Matriculation over here would be a tremendous handicap as the course is somewhat different. When I made a few enquiries at the University of Adelaide early in January a certain Mr Sommerville suggested that John enrol already this year for his science course at the University even though he has not done the Leaving Honours course. He pointed out that we are eligible for the government concession of a tremendous reduction in fees for 1966 and that John could do the 4 year course instead of the usual three year course.

However I feel that another year at Concordia will be in his interest ... <sup>63</sup>

Henry Stein did not find his Latin and German easy. He passed his Leaving eventually, after two years, to enter the Seminary. The cultural resources not only of school but the family were actively available to him. Pastor Stein wrote:

During the holidays I am revising all his grammar and am also trying to improve his comprehension and 'Sprachgefuehl' and adding all possible words more often used to his vocabulary. We also purchased a booklet of records through a record club, and in these he is rather interested.<sup>64</sup>

The clergy differentiated between their sons and daughters less than farmers in terms of the length and general character of their secondary schooling though the gendered structure of employment opportunities caused some inevitable differences. In the academic curriculum, for example, there was less intense concern for the languages since girls could not enter the ministry. Nevertheless the clergy engaged in similar levels of care in the supervision of their daughters' schooling:

Needless to say, the matter of Mary's education needed much consideration on my part ...

If Mary is agreeable, I would very much like her to take an advanced course of training so that she might qualify to teach in a secondary school, preferably of our Church.

That is why I asked her to continue her studies at Concordia in Adelaide. Needless to say, it meant a great sacrifice on our part as it meant forfeiting the liberal support which the State was ready to offer Mary.<sup>65</sup>

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63. Pastor K. Tanter to Headmaster, 26 January, 1966, SR 61-23, CCA.

64. Pastor J. Stein to Headmaster, 15 January, 1965, SR 61-58, CCA.

65. Pastor T. Engels to Headmaster, 24 September, 1946, SR 46-05, CCA.

Teaching was an obvious career direction for the girls, in many ways a complementary profession to the ministry often chosen by the boys.

In this comparison of the family strategies of two occupational groups, one from the proprietary middle class, and the other from the professional middle class, the role of secondary schooling differed considerably. For both groups, strategies whose effects were to achieve a degree of social reproduction or, using Connell's approach, the continuing constitution of their class and gender, are quite visible.<sup>66</sup> For farm families, secondary school-mediated adolescences were of minor importance, especially for eldest boys. One year at college was often the only time allowed away from family and farm in the 1940s, though this increased by the 1960s. For some farm families the requirement of secondary school attendance was still seen as an intrusive act of the state. Edna Langan's and Christine Kessler's parents sent their girls under a strong sense of the demands of compulsory attendance.<sup>67</sup> For children, boys and girls, who could not be accommodated on the farm, secondary education could become important. Teaching, nursing, and the ministry were often seen as alternatives. Then, as for almost all of the youth from the families of the clergy, education became part of the family strategy, and prolonged adolescences organized by educational institutions became an outcome. There was no movement in the opposite direction, of any return to the land by youth of clerical families. Farm families constituted one of the recruiting grounds for the ministry, teaching and nursing. In this one can see an aspect of continuing middle class formation in the twentieth century.

The distinction made by Stern between old and new middle classes in his work on family strategy in Erie County (New York State) is very useful for South Australia in the middle of the twentieth century. Still on the brink of large scale industrialization in the 1940s, South Australian society retained a considerable old middle class which, according to the survey of the Concordia files, had an ambivalent attitude toward secondary schooling by comparison with the new and professional middle class. The segment of the old middle class made up of small businessmen (farmers, storekeepers, hotel keepers, builders, contractors, and the like) often appeared to value formal secondary education, yet often not quite enough to impress their children that their survival would depend on it. In contrast, that other segment of the old middle class, the professions such as the clergy, had a totally unambiguous relationship with higher education, secondary or tertiary. Its provision was an essential part of the patrimonial relations within families.

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66. R. W. Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the person and sexual politics*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1987, p. 44.

67. Mr T. Kessler to Headmaster, 15 December, 1947 SR 48-27 & L. Langan to Headmaster, 12 August, 1947, SR 48-30, CCA.

A survey of the occupational intentions of parents for their children confirms these observations. The following table (Table 6.1) shows the highest levels of secondary education attained by all the children of farmers and clergy who entered Concordia in the years from 1953 to 1957.

Table 6.1  
**Highest level of secondary education attained**  
 Concordia student cohorts: 1953 - 1957

<i>Year Level</i>	<i>N</i>						<i>%</i>					
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>Tot</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>Tot</i>
Farmers' sons	29	24	14	10	7	<b>84</b>	34.5	28.6	16.7	11.9	8.3	<b>100</b>
Farmers' daughters	19	27	33	14	8	<b>101</b>	18.8	26.7	32.7	13.9	7.9	<b>100</b>
Pastors' sons	0	0	0	5	10	<b>15</b>	0	0	0	33.3	66.7	<b>100</b>
Pastors' daughters	0	0	3	6	2	<b>11</b>	0	0	27.3	54.5	18.2	<b>100</b>

Sources: Student Records & School Register, Concordia College Archive. (See Appendix E)

Though the numbers of children from the clergy are much smaller (26) than those from farming families (185), the different schooling intentions are very clear. The means for each group quantify the differences. Farm boys reached as their highest level of secondary attainment, on average, just over the second year level (2.3 years), in comparison with the sons of the clergy, most of whom completed a fifth, Leaving Honours year (4.7 year mean). The gap is less pronounced for the girls, but is still in favour of the daughters of the clergy (3.9 year mean as opposed to 2.7).<sup>68</sup> The responsibility of gender for other differences in family strategies is revealed in Table 6.1 when the expected bias in favour of boys is not realised for the youth of farmers as opposed to the clergy. Farmers' daughters were likely to reach a secondary level nearly half a year higher than their brothers did.

The reasons for differences in secondary school use become more apparent by examining the role of birth order and occupational choice within families. In Tables 6.2 and 6.3, there are two categories of birth order reported, the first child of the sex, and all succeeding children of the sex. The first born sons of farming families did tend to leave a little earlier than later

68. The mean for the highest level attained by all students who enrolled in this school from 1953 - 1957, regardless of sex or parent occupation was 2.9. Secondary schools in South Australia for this period could offer up to a five year course (years 8 to 12), university matriculation could be achieved in the Leaving, eleventh year.



born sons, while birth order appears to be of little significance for the sons of the clergy.<sup>69</sup> The important point is the dedication of clerical families to the object that all sons should complete four years of secondary education.

Table 6 2  
**Highest level attained by birth order**  
 Boys: 1953 - 1957

<i>Level Attained</i>	<b>Farmers</b>		<b>2nd &amp;</b>		<b>Clergy</b>		<b>2nd &amp;</b>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i>
<i>1</i>	14	(33.3)	15	(35.7)	0	(0)	0	(0)
<i>2</i>	13	(31.0)	11	(26.2)	0	(0)	0	(0)
<i>3</i>	10	(23.8)	4	(9.5)	0	(0)	0	(0)
<i>4</i>	3	(7.1)	7	(16.7)	2	(25.0)	3	(42.9)
<i>5</i>	2	(4.8)	5	(11.9)	6	(75.0)	4	(57.1)
<b>Totals</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>(100)</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>(100)</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>(100)</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>(100)</b>

Sources: Student Records & School Register, Concordia College Archive. (See Appendix E)

Table 6.3  
**Highest level attained by birth order**  
 Girls: 1953 - 1957

<i>Level Attained</i>	<b>Farmers</b>		<b>Others</b>		<b>Clergy</b>		<b>Others</b>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>(%)</i>
<i>1</i>	14	(25.9)	5	(10.6)	0	(0)	0	(0)
<i>2</i>	12	(22.2)	15	(31.9)	0	(0)	0	(0)
<i>3</i>	16	(29.7)	17	(36.2)	0	(0)	3	(50.0)
<i>4</i>	8	(14.8)	6	(12.8)	5	(100)	1	(16.7)
<i>5</i>	4	(7.4)	4	(8.5)	0	(0)	2	(33.3)
<b>Totals</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>(100)</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>(100)</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>(100)</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>(100)</b>

Sources: Student Records & School Register, Concordia College Archive. (See Appendix E.)

For girls from farming families, despite the fluctuations of percentage at particular year levels, birth order was of less significance than for the boys. While there was a twenty

69. The respective means for highest levels attained by first and later born sons of farmers were 2.2 and 2.4.

percent gap between the percentages of first and later born boys staying on to the two senior secondary levels, there was virtually no gap for the girls.<sup>70</sup> As for their boys, and unlike the girls from farming families, clerical families supported higher levels of education for their daughters. Birth order is not a particularly useful means of distinguishing them on the small numbers of this survey.

In turning to the occupational preferences of families, birth order becomes a more important consideration. Tables 6.4 and 6.5 show the patterns of occupational preference within farm families. These preferences were usually recorded early in the first year of a student's attendance at the college. Occupations are grouped into three general categories: professions, government and business employment, trades, and the most common specific occupations; that of farmer, teacher, clergy, nurse and "home".<sup>71</sup>

Table 6.4  
Occupational preferences by birth order within farm families  
Boys: 1953-1957

Birth Order Occupation Pref	Father		Mother		Child	
	1st	2nd&	1st	2nd&	1st	2nd&
Farmer	22 (51.1)	6 (14.6)	15 (34.9)	7 (16.6)	24 (54.5)	16 (37.2)
Teacher	0 (0)	5 (12.2)	1 (2.3)	6 (14.3)	0 (0)	7 (16.3)
Clergy	0 (0)	4 (9.8)	0 (0)	5 (11.9)	0 (0)	4 (9.3)
Other Profession	2 (4.7)	0 (0)	3 (7.0)	0 (0)	2 (4.5)	0 (0)
Other Bus/Govt employee	5 (11.6)	2 (4.9)	5 (11.6)	2 (4.8)	5 (11.4)	5 (11.6)
Trade	0 (0)	1 (2.4)	0 (0)	1 (2.4)	5 (11.4)	3 (7.0)
Child choice <sup>72</sup>	0 (0)	2 (4.9)	0 (0)	2 (4.8)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Uncertain	2 (4.7)	0 (0)	2 (4.7)	0 (0)	1 (2.3)	1 (2.3)
Not recorded	12 (27.9)	21 (51.2)	17 (39.5)	19 (45.2)	7 (15.9)	7 (16.3)
Total N (%)	43 (100)	41 (100)	43 (100)	42 (100)	44 (100)	43 (100)

Sources: Student Records & School Register, Concordia College Archive. (See Appendix E.)

70. The respective means for the first and later born daughters of farmers were 2.6 and 2.8.
71. In Tables 6.4 and 6.5, the "Not recorded" category is unacceptably high (>10%) by statistical convention. Nevertheless the results of the survey have been reported on three grounds. First, because it was usually the students who filled these forms in, blank spaces for the parents' intentions often meant that they had no sense of the intentions, which may be interpreted as weak or non-existent pressures. Some would certainly belong to the categories of "Uncertain" or "Child's Choice". Second, historians are rarely in a position whereby they can do anything about missing data. To report data with problems can still be useful provided circumspection is part of any conclusions drawn. Third, some of the trends are sufficiently strong to allow interpretation despite a greater than 10% missing figure.
72. "Child Choice" indicates that the parents explicitly indicated that choice of a future occupation was the child's own business.

Table 6.5  
**Occupational Preferences by Birth Order within Farm Families (%)**  
 Girls: 1953-57

Birth Order <i>Occupation Pref</i>	Father		Mother		Child	
	1st	2nd&	1st	2nd&	1st	2nd&
"Home"	12 (21.0)	9 (19.2)	12 (21.0)	9 (19.6)	12 (21.0)	9 (19.2)
Teacher	2 (3.5)	4 (8.5)	3 (5.3)	4 (8.7)	8 (14.0)	8 (17.0)
Nurse	3 (5.3)	0 (0)	5 (8.8)	2 (4.3)	7 (12.3)	7 (14.9)
Deaconess	4 (7.0)	1 (2.1)	4 (7.0)	1 (2.2)	3 (5.3)	1 (2.1)
Other Profession	2 (3.5)	0 (0)	2 (3.5)	0 (0)	1 (1.8)	1 (2.1)
Other Bus/Govt employee	1 (1.8)	4 (8.5)	1 (1.8)	3 (6.5)	6 (10.5)	4 (8.5)
Trade <sup>73</sup>	2 (3.5)	0 (0)	4 (7.0)	0 (0)	4 (7.0)	3 (6.4)
Child choice	6 (10.5)	5 (10.7)	4 (7.0)	5 (10.9)	1 (1.8)	2 (4.3)
Uncertain	1 (1.8)	1 (2.1)	0 (0)	1 (2.2)	7 (12.3)	5 (10.6)
Not recorded	24 (42.1)	23 (48.9)	22 (38.6)	21 (45.6)	8 (14.0)	7 (14.9)
Total N (%)	57 (100)	47 (100)	57 (100)	46 (100)	57 (100)	47 (100)

Sources: Student Records & School Register, Concordia College Archive. (See Appendix E.)

The strength of birth order as a factor in occupational choice is given dramatic statement in Table 6.4 where the intention that the first boy should take up farming is so much stronger than such an intention for succeeding children. That the percentages are not higher may reflect the coming uncertainties of the rural crisis. The table corroborates much of the meaning extracted from the correspondence between farm families and the school, particularly the strength of fathers' and sons' intentions, and the readiness (and necessity) of the women to think a little more of other possibilities.

The most common intention for girls from farm families, that of going home, usually to "help mother", is not differentiated by birth order to any significant effect. Where the transfer of the farm property, and the ability of most properties to support only one or two families at the most, exerted an inescapable series of pressures on the boys in accordance with their birth order, families could sustain girls in their mid to late adolescence at home. The expectation was that such periods of being at home would last relatively few years, before marriage and the setting up of independent households. Many girls could anticipate a common experience of adolescence within their life courses regardless of birth order, while the boys could not. This post school period at home for girls was not a period of idleness. From the correspondence it has been seen that girls would help with house-keeping, child

73. All dressmaking with one hairdressing intention.

rearing, tending animals, dressmaking and in some cases, book keeping. Such adolescences were not particularly "modern", if it is accepted that modern adolescents made increasingly rare direct contributions to their families' household economies.

For the clergy, the survey of occupational intentions produced a high degree of unity between parents and children over intended occupations.<sup>74</sup> This was no doubt assisted by the fact that the church gave substantial fee concessions to families who enrolled students in courses directed towards the seminary or Lutheran day school teaching. In this survey of pastors' children, of 15 boys none intended to work in a non-professional occupation. One recorded himself as "uncertain". Uncertainty was uncommon for the parents as well as the children. Of the 11 girls, nursing and teaching were the only occupational choices explicitly stated, by either parents or daughters. Uncertainty was a prerogative of youth, not of the parents. The numbers are too small to conclude very much about the influence of birth order. Though there are fluctuations between percentages of first and later born children looking to certain occupations, the fact that all the occupations sought were in the same semi-professional and professional range, all requiring a degree of secondary school persistence and success, meant that the role which birth order may have played for clerical families was less important than for farm families. The earlier discussion of the family grids for clerical families sustains this conclusion.

In this survey of families from two occupational groups in the old middle class, differences in the expectations and experience of secondary schooling have become apparent. As parents sought to re-use and adapt older strategies to secure their children's futures, social and economic circumstances did not remain static. These changing conditions may have been one of the causes for disagreements within families over future courses. With the impending rural crisis, the 21% of farmers who were either uncertain about their first born sons' future occupations, or recorded choices other than farming, may well have been responding to changing historical circumstances along with family idiosyncrasies.

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74. Unity of occupational intention between father, mother and child was measured as a percentage within farm and clerical families. For boys and girls from clerical families, unity was 60% and 55% respectively; for farming families, 41% and 29%. [Source: Concordia College, Student Records, 1953-1957.]

The immediate post war period saw formal secondary education and its credentials sustain their value in the open labour market. Family strategies responded to the new circumstances, but at different rates. These rates differed not only as a result of parents' occupational backgrounds and class circumstances, but also as a result of the power relations of gender within families and society as a whole. The popularity of teaching and nursing for girls who did not go home after a minimal secondary schooling pointed to the realities of the post-war labour market. Only the girls from the farms had a common alternative to employment in the labour force; but there the alternative was a supervised adolescence at home, in preparation for marriage.

### **Class patterns and family strategies**

Secondary schools were used by all social classes to some degree. In this section, the discussion is expanded beyond the two groups of old middle class families, clerical and farmer. The vocational guidance records of the main state high school, Unley, are brought into the analysis, supplementing those of Concordia.

The story of Terry Fass illustrates the issue of ambiguity towards secondary education in the small business sector of the old middle class. Terry's parents owned a bakery in a country town. They had every intention that the boy commit himself to his schooling, but homesickness became the prompt which led to the opposite of the intended outcome. Mr Fass wrote:

When Terry left here to return to college we felt really pleased to see that he was going to try and see if he could not make a go of it and really try and still sit for his exams, but evidently it has proved too much for him and he is very despondent and upset, which I might add has a two-fold effect in the family circle, so in best interests of all concerned I feel that he had better return home and complete his studies over here if he so desires ...<sup>75</sup>

Terry appeared not to have so desired. A month later the parents wrote again of their intention that the boy should remain at school, but as for many of the farm boys in the previous section, the alternative to persevering with the academic curriculum was too near and too attractive:

Coming over here and building up a nice little business has changed our minds, but we did not like to encourage him too much ... He has settled down remarkably well ... .

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75. Mr W. Fass to Headmaster, 5 June, 1962, SR 60-57, CCA.

Terry enjoyed baking, and it gave the family considerable pleasure that he had taken so well to the family business.<sup>76</sup> Other examples of this kind of pattern exist in the Concordia files. Sometimes rebellious behaviour provided the immediate impetus for leaving school.<sup>77</sup>

By contrast, many of the new middle class families had very different concerns and strategies. Sometimes there was an obsession with the rituals and rewards of the competitive academic curriculum, an understandable family strategic concern if educational credentials were the basis of family ambition or economic security. Jenny Heine's father, a chemist expressed sufficient surprise "at seeing a scholarship shared by Jenny and another girl who finished several places behind her" to write to the school in protest.<sup>78</sup> In their study of elements of the new middle class in England dating from the mid 1960s, J. M. and R. E. Pahl wrote that "managers" saw the role of the educational system as inculcating a view of life as a series of stages; each form or examination was partly concerned with preparing each age cohort for the next stage.<sup>79</sup> School work itself was experienced as the preparation for and getting over hurdles of increasing difficulty and complexity. Each success "serves as a passport to permit entry to the next stage."<sup>80</sup> The anxieties of Jenny's father may be interpreted in this context.

The managers surveyed by the Pahl's invariably sought professional careers for their (male) children, the professional perhaps being seen as having greater autonomy by comparison with other non-manual workers. "His skill would be his capital and this could not be devalued."<sup>81</sup> For employed middle class families in the present study, extraordinary commitments were often made to the schooling of their children. Some family grids from Unley High, a school favoured by this class, demonstrated such behaviour.

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76. Mr & Mrs W. Fass to Headmaster, 17 July, 1962(?), SR 60-57.

77. For example, Tom Marr, Record Card, SR 60-14; Headmaster to Mrs E. Tomms, 2 March, 1965, SR 62-32; Headmaster to Mr F. Dahl, 4 December, 1949, SR 48-4, CCA.

78. Mr T. Heine to Headmaster, 11 December, 1954, SR 54-74, CCA.

79. J. M. Pahl & R. E. Pahl, *Managers and their wives: A study of career and family relationships in the middle class*, Allen Lane, London, 1971, p. 19.

80. *ibid.*, p. 20

81. *ibid.*, p. 262.

### Family Grid 6.5

Occupation of Household Head: **Superintendent**

Sex of Household Head: **Male**

*PROFILE YEARS*

Child	Yrs	1950		1954		1957	
		Age	Occupation	Age	Occupation	Age	Occupation
1st Girl	4	14	Student	17	Bank employee	21	Clerk
1st Boy	5	12	Student	15	Student	19	Engineering student
2nd Boy	5	10	Student	14	Student	17	Medical student
3rd Boy	5	8	Student	12	Student	15	Student
4th Boy	5	6	Student	10	Student	13	Student

Sources: Vocational Guidance Records, Cameron Family, 5, Unley High School.

In this, the Cameron family, only the first girl had less than a full five years, through to Leaving Honours at the secondary school. At least the first two of the boys went to the University of Adelaide, one to enrol in medicine. The larger McDonald family, its household head a salesman, then a few years later, a manager, showed similar determination (see Family Grid 6.6).

### Family Grid 6.6

Occupation of Household Head: (1) **Salesman** (2) **Manager**

Sex of Household Head: **Male**

*PROFILE YEARS*

Child	Yrs	1957		1969	
		Age	Occupation	Age	Occupation
1st Boy	4	12	Student	24	Architecture
2nd Boy	6	10	Student	22	State Government clerk
1st Girl	?	9	Student	21	Teacher
2nd Girl	?	8	Student	20	Secretary
3rd Girl	5			12	Student
4th Girl	5			12	Student>Teacher

Sources: Vocational Guidance Records, McDonald Family, 11, Unley High School.

In both the Cameron and McDonald families there was an obvious commitment to the secondary education of girls, though in neither case do the girls depart from the common female dominated clerical work or teaching. In both these families the strategy was either towards the professions or the government sector.

It was not only managerial families which sustained school attendance patterns such as these. John Drew, a clerk for most of his career, used the high school for his children in a similarly determined way.

### Family Grid 6.7

Occupation of Household Head: (1) **Securities clerk (1953)** (2) **Clerk (1961)**

Sex of Household Head: **Male**

<i>PROFILE YEARS</i>							
		<i>1953</i>		<i>1958</i>		<i>1961</i>	
<i>Child</i>	<i>Yrs</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
1st Girl	5	12	Student	17	Student	20	Weapons Research
1st Boy	5	10	Student	16	Student	18	Medical student
2nd Boy	5	7	Student	13	Student	15	Student >doctor intended
3rd Boy	5	4	Student	9	Student	12	Student >architect intended

Sources: Vocational Guidance Records, Drew Family, 30, Unley High School.

On the guidance card for the third boy, the family strategy was well summarized. The Drew parents wanted "Some profession" for the boy.<sup>82</sup> Two of the boys in this family were supported to the extent necessary for the successful completion of M.B. B.S. degrees required for entry into the medical profession.<sup>83</sup>

Other employed middle class families retained their orientation toward business. Lindsay Fairfax was a business manager. Both his boys, one with five and the other two years secondary schooling were salesmen at ages 22 and 21. The daughter had three years, wanting either to be a chemist's assistant or hairdresser.<sup>84</sup> Unlike the families discussed earlier in this chapter, most of these new middle class families were suburban rather than rural. The range of possible educational strategies and occupational aims was wider. Occasionally there was articulated concern over the market. Julie Brandt's father, a public servant looked forward to a teaching career for his daughter:

... we are rather concerned at what appears to us, to be a distinct possibility of an oversupply of teachers in the very near future ... We consider it undesirable for Julie to train for this career if there is little likelihood of her being able to obtain a position later.<sup>85</sup>

82. Malcolm Drew, Vocational Guidance Card, Unley High School.

83. Graduate List, University of Adelaide, *Calendar*, Adelaide, 1975.

84. Vocational Guidance Records, Fairfax family, 18, Unley High School

85. Mr W. Brandt to Headmaster, n.d.(1963), SR 61-51, CCA.



He was reassured that there were plenty of new schools opening, and female teachers resigning to marry.<sup>86</sup>

Though relatively rare in the records surveyed, there are examples of boys from the new middle class taking up manual trades. Sometimes the child's lack of academic success, as well as a desire to see him or her "happy" was the pre-condition to acceptance of the blue collar job. Brian Schmidt's father was a police officer. He wrote to the school:

He was going to do wool classing, but having secured a temporary job for the holidays in the garage - he quickly likened [sic] mechanics and has decided to abandon the wool classing.

He is very happy at his work and we hope that it will continue. Naturally he and we were disappointed at not securing his intermediate certificate, but we feel that another year may bring about the same results and seeing that he has had 3 years of secondary education, it is reasonable to think that he will do well at his job.<sup>87</sup>

The Supple family grid (6.8) shows a similar situation. Both father and mother were employed as clerks.

#### Family Grid 6.8

Occupation of Household Head: **Clerk**  
Sex of Household Head: **Male**

##### PROFILE YEARS

Child	1958			1965		1967	
	Yrs	Age	Occupation	Age	Occupation	Age	Occupation
1st Boy	5	15	Student	21	University	24	Teacher
2nd Boy	5	10	Student	17	Student	20	Fitter & Turner
3rd Boy	5	8	Student	15	Student	17	Student (Teacher intended)

Sources: Vocational Guidance Records, Supple Family, 2, Unley High School.

Each of the boys in this family were supported for five years at the school, despite marginal academic success in two cases. For the new middle class, and the professions, the provision of secondary schooling was the foundation of planning the best possible future. If a child, as

86. Headmaster to Mr W. Brandt, 15 August, 1963, SR 61-51.

87. Mr F. Schmidt to Headmaster, 21 September, 1954, SR 54-65, CCA.

in this family did not make the transition into white collar employment, it could not be said that the opportunity had not been provided.

In turning now to the working class, family strategies and their outcomes seem much less predictable. For this class there were real possibilities of social mobility in post-war South Australia, analogous to the situation Stern described for turn of the century Erie County.<sup>88</sup> The children of skilled workers ended up in a range of clerical, manual or professional occupations. Comparing the families of two motor mechanics whose children went to Unley High School shows a few of the possibilities. In the Groom family (Grid 6.9), the influence of the father's occupation on his boys' occupations was considerable, even to the point of the first boy eventually leaving his white collar job.

### Family Grid 6.9

Occupation of Household Head: **Motor Mechanic**  
Sex of Household Head: **Male**

<i>PROFILE YEARS</i>									
		1959		1966		1970		1974	
<i>Child</i>	<i>Yrs</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
1st Boy	3	12	Student	19	Accountant	23	Insurance Clerk	28	Mechanic
2nd Boy	3	10	Student	16	Panel beater	21	Panel beater	24	Panel beater
3rd Boy	4	5		12	Student	16	Apprentice	19	Fitter & turner
1st Girl	?	3		10	Student	14	Student	18	Secretary
4th Boy	5	1		8	Student	12	Student	16	Student
5th Boy	?			4		8	Student	13	Student

Sources: Vocational Guidance Records, Groom Family, 32, Unley High School.

For the Bird family (Grid 6.10 below), teaching, at a time when the state was frantically recruiting students while still in secondary schools, represented professional career opportunities within reach. Whether or not the family strategy was articulated in terms of upward social mobility, the effect of the strategy was in that direction.

88. Stern, *Society and family strategy*, p. 75.

## Family Grid 6.10

Occupation of Household Head: **Motor Mechanic**  
 Sex of Household Head: **Male**

<i>PROFILE YEARS</i>							
		<i>1959</i>		<i>1964</i>		<i>1970</i>	
<i>Child</i>	<i>Yrs</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
1st Girl	4	13	Student	18	Trainee	23	Teacher
2nd Girl	4	12	Student	17	[?]	22	CSIRO
1st Boy	5	10	Student	15	Student	21	Tool designer
3rd Girl	5	4		12	Student	18	Student teacher
4th Girl	5	1		6	Student	12	Student>Teacher intended

Sources: Vocational Guidance Records, Bird Family, 32, Unley High School.

A number of girls from skilled working class families came from the country districts to Concordia. The wrench from home and the academic demands appear to have made school success more problematic than for many of the students at the local high school. Rita Faust did not last two years; the final comment by the school was:

Apparently reached her limit, lost interest in studies, so her mother put her to work.<sup>89</sup>

What happened to another student, Raelene Loh, is not clear, but negotiating a workable path through the demands of school and occupational preparation was difficult. Her parents originally, and conventionally thought that nursing or secretarial work should be the eventual aim. But Raelene did "not know for sure what she wants to do ...."<sup>90</sup> Her mother wrote that:

she isn't a good scholar she scraps [sic] through loves history her father wants her to take commercial but she should get her intermediate first or could we see you in Sept. holidays.<sup>91</sup>

Raelene spent four years at secondary school, repeating her third, intermediate year, gaining the certificate in neither. A. E. Whitford, used by the school to test and give vocational guidance to students, argued that her verbal and number intelligence tests were barely average. Her "interest inventory" showed a leaning to artistic or clerical activity. Whitford thought that Raelene:

89. Rita Faust, Record Card, SR 54-28, CCA.

90. Mrs S. Loh to Headmaster, 17 August, 1960, SR 61-63, CCA.

91. Mrs S. Loh to Headmaster, 1 September, 1960, SR 61-63.

would find selling work of some kind congenial. She likes the idea of working in the city, and it should be possible on completion of her secondary education for her to find a position in one of the larger stores where working conditions are good and adequate staff training is provided.<sup>92</sup>

Unlike girls and boys from proprietary middle class backgrounds, not finding paid work, was rarely an option. If school did not open opportunities, it merely delayed the inevitable. Joan Smith's mother, wife of an electrician, wrote that she had

not planned a future for Joan, since I realized she would never get any qualifications, and as we do not wish for her to be away from home permanently, while still young, I will endeavour to find a suitable occupation for her in Gladstone.<sup>93</sup>

For the skilled working class, the survey of the correspondence and family grids confirms the idea that this class had historically unique opportunities in terms of social mobility. Family strategies often included the willingness to support children at secondary school beyond the legal leaving age, though the fact that many came to grief in examinations suggests the support was sometimes problematic. Where academic ability and interest were in evidence, great encouragement was often given. Such behaviour may be read from the Concordia files where comments were occasionally made about families who transferred their students to the state high school which was often perceived as being more academically oriented. Brian Francis:

Left at the end of Leaving to try Unley High School "to see if he had necessary ability for University work"<sup>94</sup>

Prolonged adolescences, organized through dedicated secondary school attendance were a strategy the skilled working class could contemplate in the post war period. Differences of treatment on the basis of gender continued to exist, but the entry of girls into clerical, teaching and nursing work, beside the lesser paid and unskilled occupations, was more than possible. Though writing of an earlier period in another country, Stern's argument that education "was the switching station for the change in family strategy" and that prolonged education "served as a means of realizing the new opportunities of the economic order" is relevant for changes in working class strategies in post-war South Australia.<sup>95</sup>

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92. Report on Raelene Loh, October, 1964 by A. E. Whitford, SR 61-63.

93. Mrs J. Smith to Headmaster, 26 April, 1961, SR 60-59, CCA.

94. Brian Francis, Record Card, SR 60-39, CCA.

95. Stern, p. 3.

For the unskilled working class, the evidence is harder to find. Patterns similar to the skilled working class exist, but the over-representation of youth from this class in the technical schools, which had shorter courses, and taught the Public Examination Board syllabuses to a tiny minority, suggests that break-through, into the professions for example, was unlikely. Bill Pfeiffer, a rubber worker, sent two of his three children to Unley High. The two stayed only two years each. In 1954, at age 19, the eldest girl had become a hairdresser, but the boy at 16 had become a bank clerk. The youngest girl did not stay for a third year.<sup>96</sup> Robert O'Brien's eldest boy at 14 in 1954 became a factory hand like his father.<sup>97</sup> For the children of Dimitri Pappas, a labourer and probably a Greek migrant, outcomes were a little different. By age 16, his eldest son was working in a milk bar, but by 1969 was a "Deli owner". His second son remained five years at the High School to enter a clerical occupation. The third son also had five years. The single daughter had less time at secondary school, being the only one in the family to be sent to a technical school.<sup>98</sup>

Fred Evans was a railway porter. His family demonstrated the possibilities of school teaching as a family strategy involving dedication to the goal of upward social mobility. Each of his children were given a full five years at the high school, each gained their Leaving Honours.

#### Family Grid 6.11

Occupation of Household Head: **Railway Porter**  
Sex of Household Head: **Male**

##### PROFILE YEARS

Child	Yrs	1945		1953		1956		1960	
		Age	Occupation	Age	Occupation	Age	Occupation	Age	Occupation
1st Girl	5	12	Student	20	Sec Teacher	23	Teacher	26	Housewife
1st Boy	5	4		12	Student	15	Student	19	Teacher
2nd Boy	5	1		9	Student	12	Student	16	Student>Engineer

Sources: Vocational Guidance Records, Evans Family, 16, Unley High School.

Where the strategy differed in this case from the "exemplary" employed and professional middle class families discussed earlier, who also supported their children for five years at secondary school, was the attachment to teaching as the occupational end point. This was a pattern first given scholarly analysis by J. A. La Nauze in his 1940 study of South Australian university entrance. While numbers of state high school children, presumably including

96. Vocational Guidance Records, Pfeiffer family, 14, Unley High School  
97. Vocational Guidance Records, O'Brien family, 15, Unley High School  
98. Vocational Guidance Records, Pappas family, 17, Unley High School

working class youth, were beginning to enter the University of Adelaide in the mid to late 1930s, most were in the Arts faculty, and attached to the state Education Department's Adelaide Teachers College. Negligible numbers were to be found in the Faculties of Medicine or Law.<sup>99</sup> La Nauze considered the main problem was the inability of parents to support their children through the university, making them over susceptible to Education Department bonding in return for financial support.<sup>100</sup> Other explanations should now include the visibility of teachers to such youth who would otherwise rarely encounter professionals, let alone develop the cultural knowledge, confidence or imagination to develop ambitions in those directions. By the 1960s this was beginning to change, but teaching remained the obvious and most accessible of the professions.

At Concordia College the youth from the unskilled working class tended not to shine in the school's terms. Jim Trainer's father was a barman in a solidly working class district of Adelaide. Jim had no interest in school according to the student records. His mother eventually withdrew him:

We have advised him as much as possible and feel now is the time for him to start work. His ambition is to be a butcher so he is on a three month trial in a shop very close to home so we are hoping for better results.<sup>101</sup>

Parents from this class who sent their children to college often had hopes beyond working class occupations for their children, but the strategies for achieving them appeared to be flawed. Lack of academic "ability" was the usual rock upon which hopes floundered, but the evidence appears to point to insufficient regard for the youths' own ambitions, culturally conditioned in very different ways from those who often did make a success of their academic schooling. Jim Trainer's ambition to be a butcher was a case in point. Too much academic success could well have gotten in the way. Mrs Jena, her husband a labourer, had hopes for her children despite an obvious awareness of the difficulties as well. The placing of all the hopes on the boys contrasts dramatically with the limited concession to the daughter:

I have only enough money to give the three boys 2 years at Concordia and the girl one year there ... Neither of the elder boys has any idea for the future. I guess if one decides to be a Pastor (which I doubt as they are not very smart) we would have to apply for assistance. I am praying that the youngest will be a Pastor -I feel this even though he is only 4 as yet.<sup>102</sup>

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99. J. A. La Nauze, "Some aspects of educational opportunity in South Australia" in *Australian Educational Studies (Second Series)*, J. D. G. Medley and others ed., no. 59, Melbourne, 1940.

100. *ibid.*, p. 49.

101. Mrs T. Trainer to Headmaster, 22 January, 1963, SR 60-8, CCA.

102. Mrs C. Jena to Headmaster, 20 January, 1961, SR 61-39, CCA.

On the school record card, the family occupational preferences for the eldest boy reveal the disunited aims, and therefore strategy to achieve them. Mother wanted the eldest boy to be a Minister, the father "Doesn't worry" while the boy firmly stated he wished to be a carpenter. He remained at school for one year, failing to return when not promoted to the next year level. None of the other children from the family came to the college despite the mother's initial intentions.<sup>103</sup> Keith and Dianne Jones' mother had also planned. She wrote openly about the sacrifices needed to finance her children's college educations. (Her husband was a S.A. Railways time keeper.) She asked for the school's help in carrying the plans through:

When it comes to the uniform would you see, that he doesn't indulge in unwanted extravagances as we are only working people.<sup>104</sup>

Being on wages there is always long range planning involved [for extra expenses], so not hearing anything to the contrary I went ahead had Tricia's [confirmation] frock made ...<sup>105</sup>

Keith was supported for two years at College, both spent in the first year where he ended up with a final average of 38.6%. He left, "... to be apprenticed at Islington."<sup>106</sup> But perhaps this was not a totally undesired outcome since Mrs Jones' intentions in sending her children to the College were similar to those of many of the farm families:

We would so like both son and daughter to have the privilege of attending the College. So that they will have the benefit of the Christian atmosphere, which is so essential to all teenage children.<sup>107</sup>

In this case, adolescence appears to have been conceived not so much in terms of vocational preparation but as a means of turning the difficult years to best advantage, a means of moral preparation for adulthood. The apparent class dimensions of such an approach and its potential for conflict is seen in another school record. John Bruce, a shearer's son, left after two terms in 1955, finding it "very difficult to fit himself into a christian school." The final school comment was:

Good natured lad, but crude in speech and manners, rough, bad language - self-willed.<sup>108</sup>

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103. Roland Jena, Record Card, SR 61-39.

104. Mrs R. Jones to Headmaster, 15 March, 1954, SR 54-01, CCA.

105. Mrs R. Jones to Headmaster, 22 October, 1954, SR 54-01.

106. Keith Jones, Record Card, SR 54-01. Islington, a suburb of Adelaide was the location of the main state railways' workshops and maintenance depot.

107. Mrs R. Jones to Headmaster, 17 June, 1953, SR 54-01.

108. John Bruce, Record Card, SR 55-05, CCA.

In other words he had precisely those qualities needed not only to survive, given a rural working class origin, but to construct an appropriate masculinity, despite the school's obvious disapproval.<sup>109</sup>

Where vocational preparation was conceived within more commonly expected working class frameworks, the choice of the college was soon seen as a misplaced family strategy. Dorothy Howard's mother intended sending her daughter to Concordia in 1955 (Dorothy's father was a railway ganger):

... I would be interested to know, if you teach Dressmaking, Dress Designing, and Millinery, as they are the subjects chosen by her, and what other subjects would you suggest to fill a course in Arts and Crafts. She would also take Music.<sup>110</sup>

The school enrolled Dorothy in the following subjects, a mainly standard first year course for girls: Religion, English, Latin, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Maths 1, Maths 2, Music, Music Appreciation and Mothercraft. It is not surprising to read the last letter in the correspondence:<sup>111</sup>

Dorothy will not be attending Concordia College next year, as I intend to send her to a Technical School, it is her wish to become a dress maker.<sup>112</sup>

The school organized adolescences for the youth of the unskilled working class revealed a range of family strategies, some of which were eventually recognised as inappropriate by the families themselves. The greatest conflicts between the culture of the school and the expectations and strategies of families appear to belong to this class. Meritocratic and "christian" schooling values were two of the major problems for families and youth. Adolescence for many in this class was easily conceived without those imperatives.

The final group discussed in this section is not a social class. A significant proportion of children attended secondary schools from families which for one reason or another did not have male household heads. Many of the female heads described their occupation as "home duties"; many were widows. In general, households headed by women were poorer than those headed by males. One of the most commonly perceived strategies involving youth,

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109. The classic ethnographic study on social reproduction in the unskilled working class is Paul Willis, *Learning to Labour: How working class kids get working class jobs*, Saxon House, Farnborough, 1977.

110. Mrs F. Howard to Headmaster, 5 September, 1954, SR 55-17, CCA.

111. Dorothy Howard, Record Card, SR 55-17.

112. Mrs F. Howard to Headmaster, 5 September, [1955], SR 55-17.



especially the boys, for such families was to minimise school attendance, boys going to work as soon as possible to contribute to the family economy. Such patterns were still perceptible in the post war period. One family which sent some of its children to Unley High provides an obvious example.

### Family Grid 6.12

Occupation of Household Head: **Housewife**

Sex of Household Head: **Female**

<i>PROFILE YEARS</i>						
<i>1950</i>				<i>1953</i>		
<i>Child</i>	<i>Yrs</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	
1st Boy	?	19	Factory hand	21	Grape picker	
2nd Boy	?	17	Butcher	?	Serviceman	
1st Girl	?	15	Working home	16	Grape picker	
3rd Boy	2	14	Student	17	Storeman	
4th Boy	1	10	Student	13	Student	
5th Boy	?	7	Student	10	Student	
6th Boy	?	5	Student	8	Student	

Sources: Vocational Guidance Records, Stanley Family, 13, Unley High School

The importance of unskilled labouring work for this family, available at soon after the age of compulsory attendance is clear. Though the records only show two of the periods of attendance at secondary school, in both cases they are minimal. The third boy for example had less than two years at Unley High, spent in the first year. The boy's initial ambition, to be a policeman, was not fulfilled.<sup>113</sup> In another family, the children of Teresa Fuller were also dependent to some degree on unskilled work, though not seasonal work, such as grape picking. (Family Grid 6.13 below.) There, unskilled factory work was taken up by at least two of the daughters. The only boy had three years to complete second year high school. His younger sister spent two years at the school. For both the Fuller and Stanley families, paid work soon after compulsory school attendance allowed a much shorter, and qualitatively different adolescence to that which was becoming standard in the middle class. Female headed households resist too much generalization however, since their economic circumstances varied considerably. Mrs Vanstone, a widow still had the farm, and two sons farming it. Her daughter's career at Concordia was not very different from those of other farm families.<sup>114</sup> The widows often had financial difficulties in keeping their children at

113. Reginald Stanley, (attended 1950-1), Vocational Guidance Card, Unley High School.

114. Mr B. Matuschka to Headmaster, 12 September, 1960; Jane Vanstone, Record Card, SR 61-42, CCA.

college<sup>115</sup>, but other problems also interposed. Susan Kett had a troubled schooling, her mother writing:

I know Susan is not easy to control. I put this down to the loss of her father and at my not able [sic] to be with her at all times when she needs me most.<sup>116</sup>

The school explained its version of the problem to Mrs Kett:

The girl is a little precocious and, if you will pardon me, forward where the boys are concerned ...<sup>117</sup>

In this case, the school was seen as part of a strategy to compensate for the loss of the father. In other cases, the education of children went smoothly, and ambitions, such as the desire to train for teaching were fulfilled.<sup>118</sup>

### Family Grid 6.13

Occupation of Household Head: **Home Duties**

Sex of Household Head: **Female**

<i>PROFILE YEARS</i>							
			<i>1949</i>		<i>1952</i>		
<i>Child</i>	<i>Yrs</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>		<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	
1st Girl	?	18	Machinist		21	Office work	
2nd Girl	?	16	Tailoress		20	Tailoress	
3rd Girl	?	14	Machinist		17	Married	
1st Boy	3	12	Student		14	Electrician	
4th Girl	2	9	Student		12	Student	

Sources: Vocational Guidance Records, Fuller Family, 12, Unley High School.

In this survey of families grouped by social class, differences in expectations and experience of secondary schooling have become apparent. While the common strategies of particular social classes were not exclusive to those classes, there were considerable differences between them. For example, early school leaving and early entry into unskilled paid work played a very minor role in the strategies of the professional and employed middle classes in

115. Ray Heron, Record Card, SR 61-81; Mrs E. Hedwig to Headmaster, 20 August, 1961, SR 53-11, CCA.

116. Mrs F. Kett to Headmaster, 17 January, 1949, SR 48-36, CCA.

117. Headmaster to Mrs F. Kett, 19 January, 1949, SR 48-36.

118. Mrs T. Weir to Headmaster, 29 December, 1947; Marlene Weir, Record Card, SR 48-38, CCA.

sharp contrast with the unskilled working class. Both strategies made sense for an historical period in South Australia when opportunities for unskilled and skilled manual employment, and professional and clerical employment were dramatically increasing. Gender discrimination occurred as part of family strategy for the different groups. The popularity of clerical, teaching and nursing work for girls, along with unskilled machinist work for the working class, reflected the realities of the post-war labour market. Only the girls from the farms had a common alternative to this reality, but there the alternative was a closely supervised adolescence at home, in preparation for marriage.

## **Conclusion**

In post-war South Australia, families and individuals within them used secondary schools differently. The option of prolonged secondary schooling and its consequence, an adolescence marked by the extended financial dependence of youth on their families (and increasingly, the state), was used by some social classes, and groups within them, more than others. Three social groups appear to have resisted such a prolongation of adolescence more than the others. That farmers could send their boys and girls to Concordia for less than three years, and often for one year, was not a function of poverty but of prosperity, or at the least of economic viability. The two or three decades following the war were the last great historical moment for the small family farm and its tradition of putting its boys to work on the farm. Girls could also find their own place at home, helping their mothers and preparing for courtship and marriage. The short period away at college must have been a significant period in the lives of these youth, representing perhaps the only brief period of separation from direct family surveillance and organization before the return home, and the wait for marriage and the setting up of separate households. The period at college may have been the closest that many farm youth came to experiencing the same kind of adolescence that youth from other parts of society experienced, where the peer group rather than the family became the focus of social activity.

Adolescences structured by prolonged secondary school attendance were also less common for youth from the unskilled working class, and from families headed by women not in the paid work-force. In their cases there was no family business to organize the lives of youth. The rapid introduction of youth from these families to the world of paid work, often unskilled, was not only necessary in terms of supporting a family economy. It may well have had a cultural history, in the resistance of working class families to the school, and at the same time the role of that resistance in the construction of class and gendered identities.

Employed middle class and professional families showed some of the most determined examples of planning for dependent and prolonged adolescences in their family strategies. The difference between the farmers as small independent capitalists, and the clergy, representing the old professions, with no productive property apart from their culture, is readily discerned. Some of the most determined plans for dependent adolescences are provided by the clergy. Relative poverty was not necessarily a barrier to the expensive business of supporting children who made no contribution to the family economy for years, if ever, after the minimum school leaving age. The Lutheran pastors paid for the books, the uniforms, the boarding, and to achieve their strategies relentlessly pursued concessions and bursaries provided by state and church. Their activity, as much as any in the middle class, supports the view that the formation and consolidation of the class can be dependent on the transfer and acquisition of cultural property as much as other forms of property. Secondary schooling of a certain kind was crucial to this process. Gender considerations little affected the clergy in terms of their support for their children through extended, academically based, secondary schooling. Gender was a more important consideration for the employed middle class however, where it occasionally formed the basis of discrimination in favour of boys. The schooling experience provided by Concordia, in common with most state and private secondary schools of the time, that is, hierarchical, age-graded, competitive and academically oriented schooling, as well as its other religious and communitarian features, well suited the clergy and their family strategies.

For the skilled working class there is plenty of evidence to suggest that their family strategies were in the process of contest and change. Some of the families in this survey demonstrated tight patterns of social reproduction, clearly a rational economic strategy regardless of the class consciousness or cultural factors involved given the rapid industrialization of South Australia, when employment for skilled workers was in high demand. Other families were reconstituting their class character through the dedicated use of secondary schools and the opportunities also available in white collar employment and the lesser professions, especially teaching. In this latter process, the nature of adolescence for the youth of the skilled working class began to change. Four or five years at secondary school, added to the two, three or four years of teachers college or university meant some six to nine years of unproductive dependence on the family, though the role of the state in sharing the burden of dependence is important to recognize given the rapidly increasing number of Commonwealth, and State scholarships and traineeships available in the period.

In writing about class and reform in Chicago in the fifty years around the turn of the century, Hogan developed an argument which recognized schools as sites for class formation and struggle. The most common kind of schooling provided by the state and available to working class youth was hierarchical, age-graded, competitive and increasingly vocationally oriented, yet the response of the class was far more complex than direct resistance. Some family strategies recognised the possibilities, even within the seemingly hostile institutions. Youth were sent to school to enhance their value in the labour market through the competition for credentials.<sup>119</sup> Hogan's discussion is therefore of great value though he had less to say on the intersection of the gender order across this process.

The curriculum chosen by and offered to girls from farm families for example, by schools was a key issue. There was a mismatch between farm family strategies and Concordia's curriculum. The demand for practical knowledge, such as dressmaking for example often meant that the school had to make arrangements with the nearby state girls' technical school to fulfil them. Curriculum differences combined with family strategies led to very different schooling experiences, both in terms of time spent in school as well as what was learnt. Such processes made for qualitatively different adolescences.

The experience of youth changed in the twentieth century. The retreating ages of puberty for boys and girls in Australia for example is one very basic reason. In some families, especially for boys in farming families, birth order was a cause of difference. Among the more important reasons was the rapidly changing relationship between secondary schooling and the family strategies necessary to secure economically viable futures for youth. The qualitative evidence discussed in this chapter has given a further dimension to the understanding of that process. Through the words of the parents of youth enrolling at Concordia College, and through the tracing of family patterns of secondary schooling use and occupational outcome at Unley High School and Concordia, the detection of differences in strategy has been made possible. In the first few decades after World War II in South Australia, the historical development of different kinds of adolescences was intimately related not only to changing employment markets given a rapidly industrializing economy, but to the processes of class formation and the changing gender order.

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119. David Hogan, "Education and class formation: The peculiarities of the Americans" in *Cultural and economic reproduction in Education: Essays on class, ideology and the state*, Michael W. Apple ed., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1982, pp. 48-63.

Modern adolescence has been conceived in many different ways. The argument in this chapter has made the experience of secondary schooling and the idea of social class, birth order and gender differentiation central. In this, the importance of modern adolescent culture, intimately linked to the identification of youth as a special market for cultural and material consumer goods (films, cosmetics, music, clothing etc.) has received little attention. This and other aspects of adolescence often appear to stand in opposition to family strategies, or to complicate them. Planned adolescences are not always the same as lived adolescences. Prolonged secondary schooling, often a key strategy in such planning, could be frustrated by the desires and actions of youth themselves, as indeed lack of unity between parents had its own disruptive effect. Class relations affected this process, as did the power relations based on gender within families. The effects and workings of gendered expectations and relations have been clearly discernible in the case of Unley and Concordia's students. While gender appears to have been an absent or receding issue in official and bureaucratic discourses about education and youth in the 1950s, it was very present in the day to day communications between schools and families.<sup>120</sup> Indeed, it remains crucial to the exploration of the internal historical sociology of the family. This chapter has pointed to examples of conflict within a narrow range of families over educational and long term occupational strategies, where age relations, including birth order, as well as gender help explain varying behaviours and strategies.

In the next chapter, the familiar questions of who attended the secondary schools, who remained the longest, and secured the credentials, are asked for the post-World War II period. These questions retain their relevance for the discussion of the relationship between the spread of mass secondary schooling and the creation of modern adolescents.

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120. Lesley Johnson, "The schooling of girls in the 1950s: problems with writing a history of 'women's education'", *History of Education Review*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1990.

## Chapter 7

### The universalizing of modern adolescence (1941-1965)

The long term effect of World War II on Australian education and society was considerable. Part of this effect was demographic. The entrance of the post-war baby boom into the secondary schools from the late 1950s was a major event in the history of Australian youth. The significance of this was compounded by allied social and economic changes which ranged from post-war immigration policies and large-scale industrialization to the impact of mass youth cultures. World War II also saw significant extensions to the power of the state to initiate and manage social change. They included new initiatives in the socializing, training and education of youth. As World War I and its period of gestation had helped lead to the establishment of a system of public high schools in South Australia, and youth conscription in the nation as a whole, so World War II gave force to arguments which demanded that all youth experience secondary education, and that the schools be reconstructed using more progressive curriculum and managerial practices.<sup>1</sup>

The Education Inquiry Committee chaired by E. L. Bean in South Australia, which produced its reports in the period from 1945 to 1949, gave expression to the reform impulse in education.<sup>2</sup> It had been only five years before, in 1940 that J. A. La Nauze had published his study of the failures of educational opportunity in South Australia. In that work, La Nauze had shown how entrance to the professional faculties of the University of Adelaide was monopolised by students from the corporate schools. He had argued that only extraordinary individuals from the state education system were able to break the monopoly. Publicity for such individuals diverted attention from "the perpetuation of the inequality of groups."<sup>3</sup> The time was ripe for the Bean Committee's new emphasis on "child-centred" pedagogy, a common curriculum, the rejection of vocationally centred curricula, and a clear demand for secondary education for all, excepting only the "sub-normal". Such recommendations marked its progressive intent. Its critique of the rigid differentiations within schools and

1. See Andrew Spaul, *Australian education in the Second World War*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1982. Spaul argues that the "totality" of the war led to a major impact on Australian social life. (p. 4.) See also, Miller, *Long Division*, pp. 208-234. Miller argues that the 1940s were a period of reform, though much of the promise was unfulfilled. The reformers were less interested in questions of "access" than in "modernised content and organisation of schooling." (p. 234)
2. Education Inquiry Committee (E. L. Bean), First Report, 16 May, 1945, *SAPP 1945*, no. 15; Final Report ... 1949, *SAPP 1949*, no. 15.
3. J. A. La Nauze, "Some aspects of educational opportunity in South Australia" in J. D. E. Medley ed., *Australian educational studies (second series)*, Melbourne, 1940, p. 61.

between youth on the basis of intelligence testing gave it a radical cast.<sup>4</sup> Yet this report had only a marginal effect on actual government policy and many school practices. Most significantly for the history of youth, its major recommendation, that the school leaving age be raised from 14 to 15 was not implemented until 1963. Nor was its suspicion of IQ testing much heeded by state school practices. At the same time, the use of secondary schools by social classes, families and youth continued to be organized and motivated by more than state policy.

This chapter continues the exploration of the questions of chapters two and three. The means of discussing "Who went to secondary school?" and "Who succeeded in them?" remain substantially the same. The data-base is much more comprehensive for the post-war years however. The near disappearance of the private secondary schools and their idiosyncratic approaches to student record keeping, and the methodical approaches of corporate and state schools have allowed more certain analyses.<sup>5</sup> The historic compromise of allowing religious instruction (denominationally based) into state schools from 1947 was responsible for a further "variable" being made available for the analysis of attendance and success. Religious affiliation was consistently recorded in both corporate and state secondary schools in the post-World War II period. More problematic is the existence of I.Q. records on a vast scale. They have also been used, but as a means of exploring the workings of differentiations within and between schools, rather than the means of discovering the comparative "intelligence" of youth in history!

A further change from the pre-war period was the replacement of the co-educational state central schools with single sex technical highs. They were more openly vocational in character, but with streaming they also developed public examination classes, going through to a fourth year. Some of their students went on to Leaving Honours in other state high schools.

Despite the changes, the continuities from the pre-war period were great, and the substantial theme, the use made of secondary schools by the new and aspiring middle class in the making of that class, and in the process, the making of modern adolescences, remains in the foreground. The emphasis is on the exploration of new factors and relations in the process, rather than the repetition of familiar themes.

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4. [Bean], *Final Report ... 1949*, p. 25.

5. In the Unley and Mitcham area, the last of the private secondary schools, Walford House, was taken over by the Church of England in 1955. Systematic record keeping in that school began prior to the take-over. See Appendix A for a full discussion of the data-base.



## Who went to which secondary school?

George Poulos and Stella Ferrari were not typical youth of the Unley and Mitcham area, and even less typical students of Unley High School. Starting high school in 1961, they may be perceived as representing the beginnings of the dramatic rise in the proportion of students from southern European origins who lived mainly in the old Unley and Parkside areas of the district, and entered the secondary schools over the succeeding two decades. In 1961 they were part of a very small minority. They were atypical for a number of reasons. George was Greek Orthodox and Stella Roman Catholic in a sea of Protestants. While George was born in Australia of Greek immigrant parents, Stella had been born in Egypt of Italian parents, attending primary schools in both Egypt and Italy. Both were good students. In first year high school, Stella was considered "resourceful well-mannered pleasant. Often quite capable" while George was "keen" and "cooperative".<sup>6</sup> From this point their stories diverged, and their, and their families' interactions with the curriculum and organizational practices of the secondary school helped explain the differences.

On their first day at the high school, along with all the other first year students, George and Stella completed a bank of attainment and intelligence tests. George's IQ was calculated to be 128, Stella's 101. George's was well above average for the school, while Stella's was below. In both cases however they were put into low stream classes. Stella began in ID. That she had spoken "only" French and Italian on her arrival in Australia must surely have affected her response to the tests which thereafter determined her school curriculum and career. Beginning school with enthusiasm, and coming seventh in her class in the first year, she lost interest, coming 26th and 22nd (in classes of 39 and 35) in her second and third years. In 1963 she was absent from school for 41 days, an increasing number from the 1, and then 17 in her first two years. By third year Stella's class teacher wrote that she was "Not always 'with us' - artistic type needs to be more down to earth". She did not do well in her Intermediate examination. Stella's original ambition had been employment as an office worker, and as a singer. The D, and F stream curriculum, based around Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Typing and Shorthand was appropriate for the "down to earth" part of her ambitions. She came back to school at the beginning of 1964, no doubt to repeat her Intermediate, but left very soon into the new year. She did not have a job to go to. Stella's father was employed as a press compositor, and her older brother worked in a motor car plant. Her mother was a "housewife".

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6. The details of the lives of George Poulos and Stella Ferrari (names changed to protect privacy) are taken from Unley High School, Attendance Register, for the 1961 enrolment and the students' vocational guidance cards. Additional information on Poulos comes from the graduate list in the University of Adelaide, *Calendar*, Adelaide, 1975.

It is not possible to determine exactly why Stella's school-mediated adolescence was cut short in early 1964, but it is likely that a combination of class, gender and ethnic contexts and relations reacted with the school's streaming procedures. Few from the D and F girls' classes remained at secondary school beyond three years.<sup>7</sup> Stella was atypical in her social origin to other students at Unley High School, but her academic stream tended to give her a fate common to those placed in that stream for whatever the reason.

Unlike Stella's father who was a manual worker, George's father owned his own expanding business, a meat wholesaling firm. The needs of that business and the need for his sons to participate in it led to a competition between family and school for George. Despite his high IQ, George went into the F stream. From there he could expect to do some business oriented subjects, and leave school early. In the first year there was Book-keeping to do. Low status subjects such as Drawing and Woodwork were also studied. George did no language, and certainly not the high status Latin. On entry to the school, father, mother and George had all thought he should aim to be a "businessman", as his elder brother had become by working with his father in the family business. Yet even in the first year, George had also thought that he might become a clerk, as his older sister had done. The conflict within and around George may be read in each year's choices of occupation:

1961	Clerk/businessman
1962	Law
1963	Family business
1964	Theology
1965	Science/meat wholesaler <sup>8</sup>

Thinking about Law, Theology and Science was impossible from the F stream. After coming top of IF and IIF, a streaming leap to IIIA was taken for 1963. Not unexpectedly, his third year teacher wrote that George had found the "new standards a shock." George coped by working hard, remaining keen, but also "fussing". His curriculum was transformed into the top stream core of Latin, Mathematics I and II, Physics and Chemistry. George did well in the new environment, gaining numerous credits in his public examinations through to the Leaving Honours year, and occupying a position of prestige in his final year as President of the Literary and Debating Society. Even in his final year, the old conflict between entry into the family business or white collar employment or profession remained, as his 1965 occupation choice above has shown. In that final year his attendance was irregular, his

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7. Of the girl's class ID in 1961, 6 left at the end of their first year, 3 the second, 10 the third and 1 the fourth year with 4 unknown. (Unley High School, Attendance Register, [1961].)

8. From vocational guidance cards for George Poulos, Unley High School.

record card stated that his help had often been needed in the family business. George, like most of his school's A stream went on to the University of Adelaide. Even there one could argue the old conflict pulled. He took degrees in law and economics; with the law eventually triumphing in his adult career.

George Poulos' career was, like Stella Ferrari's, atypical, but for a different as well as the familiar reasons. Changing streams within the high school was very unusual. Yet, with the aid of the IQ score from 1961, the high school had helped perform one of its historical functions. Through its curriculum and public examination preparation expertise, George made the shift from the proprietary to professional middle class. Where merit before the war was the main means of progress through the school, "intelligence", or at least George's responses to the first year preliminary tests, added to his ability to join the academic, A stream.

George and Stella both had adolescences mediated by secondary schools, but in George's case, the experience was prolonged well beyond that of Stella, into the University years. Class, ethnicity and gender each had a role to play in their individual histories. But both students fulfilled the promise of their initial IQ scores, not necessarily because either youth was any more or less capable of school work than the other, but because that initial score opened and closed important opportunities. In George's case, the opportunity to enter the academic stream came despite an original decision which had been based on his family's ambition for him. In many cases that second chance would not have been possible. By the third year of secondary school the will to uproot would have been lost. If he had been enrolled in a technical high school, structural factors as well as cultural would have made such a shift almost impossible.

In this post World War II period then, the mere fact of enrolment in a secondary school was of much less historical and social significance than earlier in the century. The reorganization of the central schools into fully fledged secondary technical high schools, and the effort made to give all students some time in a secondary school more or less regardless of performance in the end of elementary school examinations meant that the secondary enrolment began to reflect substantially the characteristics of the whole youth population. This is not to suggest that all youth in fact went to a secondary school. The age-grade censuses taken by the South Australian Education Department give some indication of the numbers who still failed to spend time in a state secondary school. In Table 7.1, the placement of students by school type and age is compared for 1947 and 1961, the last cohort examined in this study.

Table 7.1

**Youth in schools by system and age (N)  
South Australia: 1947 & 1961**

Age	1947				1961			
	Primary	Secondary	Corp/Priv	Total	Primary	Secondary	Corp/Priv	Total
10	7431	1	1388	8820	17091	0	3193	20284
11	6920	19	1376	8315	16947	19	3243	20209
12	5348	1026	1259	7633	12719	3356	3369	19444
13*	2432	3774	1331	7537	4748	10960	3472	19180
14	465	3304	1464	5233	1325	13437	3385	18147
15	54	1902	1024	2980	184	8213	2349	10746
16	16	779	831	1626	27	4006	1538	5571
17	4	236	411	651	11	1044	699	1754
18 plus	17	111	235	51	246	193	490	

\* Last year of compulsory attendance.

Sources: Statistical Register 1948, I, p. 15, *SAPP 1947-8*., Statistical Register 1961-2, I, p. 12, *SAPP 1964*.

This table indicates that in 1947 there were still many students in primary schools in their teenage and post-compulsory years. However the proportion is very small for the students 14 years and older. At the same time, youth over the age of 14 did not necessarily remain for long in a secondary school. A comparison of the totals in school between the younger and older age groups shows the rough rate of enrolment attrition.

For the 1947, 1954 and 1961 cohorts, the school leaving age of students is an important variable which indicates some of the dimensions of the differences between youth experience in the post-World War II period. Table 7.2 records the mean leaving ages of youth enrolled in secondary schools for each cohort, and then, according to school system.<sup>9</sup>

For the whole cohort, the mean leaving age for girls and boys in secondary schools rose by about a year, with girls narrowing the gap in favour of the boys. The corporate Protestant boys schools maintained the greatest mean leaving age, though by 1961 the gap between them and boys in the state high schools had narrowed to within a month or two. The state technical schools lagged well behind the other schools, for both girls and boys. There is little to distinguish the mean leaving ages of girls in Protestant, Catholic or state high schools

9. In the calculation of mean leaving ages in the succeeding tables, the following sub-groups of youth have been removed in the interests of accurate calculations: (a) students recorded as leaving school before the age of compulsion (i.e. less than 14 years). While some of these no doubt had exemptions, most would have been unrecorded transfers to other schools, (b) students recorded as transferring to other schools for which their eventual school leaving age was unavailable.

over the period. For girls, the crucial divide was between technical and non-technical secondary schooling.

Table 7.2

**Mean leaving age of secondary school students by cohort, school system and sex (years): 1947, 1954, 1961**

	1947		1954		1961	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Whole cohort	15.8	15.3	16.0	15.9	16.7	16.4
Corporate Protestant	16.5	15.6	16.6	16.2	17.0	16.6
State High	16.0	15.7	16.2	16.0	16.9	16.5
Corporate Catholic	-	15.9	-	16.3	-	16.4
State Technical	15.1	15.0	15.4	15.1	16.0	15.9
N (Whole cohort)	500	354	695	567	821	840

Sources: Data-base, see Appendix A.

Mean leaving ages alone tell us little about the range of deviations, nor about the differing behaviours of groups within the schools. If we take each cohort and make social class and sex of student, rather than school system, the focus of analysis, the social anatomy of leaving age becomes more apparent.

Table 7.3

**Mean leaving age of secondary school students by cohort, social class and sex (years): 1947, 1954, 1961**

	1947		1954		1961	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Whole cohort	15.8	15.3	16.0	15.9	16.7	16.4
Proprietary MC (rural)	15.9	15.6	15.9	15.9	16.7	16.4
Proprietary MC (urban)	16.3	15.6	16.2	16.0	16.9	16.5
Employed MC	16.3	15.7	16.3	16.0	17.0	16.5
Skilled WC	15.6	15.3	16.2	15.6	16.6	16.2
Unskilled WC	15.2	14.9	15.5	15.4	16.5	16.0
Not employed	15.7	15.0	15.5	15.5	16.3	16.4
Unknown <sup>10</sup>	15.7	15.3	16.3	15.4	16.1	16.3
N (Whole cohort)	500	354	695	567	821	840

Sources: Data-base, see Appendix A.

10. Number (& percentage) missing/unknown for each cohort: 1947, boys 9 (1.8%), girls 12, (3.4%); 1954, boys 8 (1.2%), girls 14 (2.5%); 1961, boys 1 (0.1%), girls 10 (1.2%).

The obvious feature of Table 7.3 is the continuing rise in the mean leaving ages of all classes, the largest extension occurring for the cohorts between 1954 and 1961. The extremes of leaving age also diminished over the period. Where the gap between employed middle class boys and unskilled working class girls was one and a half years in 1947, it was just one year in 1961. The universalization of adolescences spent in secondary schools was rapidly being achieved. In each cohort, boys and girls from the employed middle class maintained the longest, or equal longest mean leaving ages. At the same time, the gap between boys and girls in this group remained at about six months, as wide a gap as any in the class groups. Starting from relatively high post-war mean leaving ages, employed middle class youth did not increase their means at as fast a rate as those beginning from behind. Working class youth achieved the greatest growth, increasing their mean leaving ages from 1947 to 1961, for boys and girls, by up to a year or more.

In terms of leaving age, Table 7.3 shows class was a major but declining factor for the issue of the prolongation of school attendance. Gender remained a significant factor. At only one point in the three cohorts did girls achieve a higher mean leaving age than boys within the same social class group, and that was for rural proprietary middle class girls in the 1954 cohort.

The growth of mean leaving ages, and the reduction of substantial differences across the classes did not mean that the experience of schooling was the same for all youth. Apart from differences in curriculum and relationship to public examinations, schools took students from different areas of society. The bases for difference could include religion and ethnicity as well as class and gender. The next series of tables demonstrate some of these differences.

Table 7.4 shows the distinctive class characteristics of each school system. For girls and boys, some 60% of the Corporate Protestant schools' enrolments came from the proprietary and professional middle class groups, with a range of from 15 - 30% coming from the employed middle class. The dominant group in the state high schools were youth from the employed middle class. The post World War II period thus saw a continuation of the state high school's importance in fulfilling the ambitions of that class. While these schools attracted substantial numbers of skilled working class children (between 12 and 20%) for the three cohorts, the state technical high schools were clearly the most working class in character, though not quite to the same extent that the corporate Protestant schools were middle class. Of the four systems, it was the Catholic girls' schools which most approached the state high schools in their tendency to include reasonable numbers from all classes.

Table 7.4

**School system and social class composition: (%)**  
**1947, 1954 1961**

## (a) Boys

	Corp Protestant			State High			State Tech		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
Prop MC (rural)	28.4	36.2	30.9	12.3	16.1	10.7	5.1	2.5	0.0
Prop MC (urban)	27.0	24.6	31.5	12.3	18.1	21.2	6.2	11.3	16.6
Employed MC	26.2	30.8	24.3	30.5	30.7	32.0	9.7	18.1	24.1
Skilled WC	9.2	3.1	3.0	20.0	17.3	17.6	26.2	22.3	24.8
Unskilled WC	4.3	2.3	6.1	18.6	11.3	11.1	34.8	25.2	19.3
Not employed	3.5	1.5	3.6	4.5	5.1	6.9	15.4	19.3	15.2
Unknown	1.4	1.5	0.6	1.8	1.4	0.5	2.6	1.3	0.0
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (N)	141	130	165	220	415	619	195	238	145

## (b) Girls

	Corp Protestant			State High			Corp Catholic			State Tech		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
Prop MC (rural)	31.1	32.2	27.5	3.7	3.6	3.1	25.0	24.1	22.2	8.5	4.5	1.1
Prop MC (urban)	33.3	29.2	32.3	18.5	21.6	20.2	8.3	19.9	23.4	4.0	13.5	17.3
Employed MC	15.6	22.2	28.3	36.1	34.5	38.2	25.0	28.3	22.2	11.2	18.0	26.8
Skilled WC	6.7	8.2	4.8	12.1	20.6	19.6	14.6	12.7	14.0	20.5	26.6	19.0
Unskilled WC	4.4	3.5	4.4	18.5	11.9	10.6	14.6	8.4	14.0	29.0	25.7	29.6
Not employed	3.3	3.5	1.6	11.1	5.2	7.4	4.2	1.8	1.8	22.3	9.4	5.6
Unknown	5.6	1.2	1.1	0.0	2.6	0.9	8.3	4.8	2.4	4.5	2.3	0.6
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (N)	90	171	251	108	194	322	48	166	171	224	222	179

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

In comparing the distributions of girls and boys between systems, one must be cautious given the absence of major Anglican and Roman Catholic boys' schools from the Unley and Mitcham district. Nevertheless, by using the state high school system as the basis of the discussion since it was mostly a neighbourhood system with substantial numbers from all classes within it, it appears that the rural proprietary middle class was the most likely to choose or reject the state high on the basis of gender. But this is easily explained by the distinctive enrolment of Urrbrae Agricultural High which was a single sex boys' school and

its attraction for many farmers' sons. Other seemingly large differences in one cohort are not maintained across the three. Occasionally the fluctuations are more apparent than real. The inflation of one group must depreciate the percentage of others, so the size of the rural group for the boys has the effect of depressing the other boys' percentages, and makes them difficult to compare with the girls except broadly. Without further analysis, there are as yet no strong grounds to suggest that gender was a reason for discrimination between school systems for boys and girls, though such a conclusion ignores the structural differences, especially in relation to curriculum, within the systems. What girls and boys did in their respective technical schools for example, was very different.

Table 7.5 shows the broad residential patterns of the students in the school systems. There are relationships with class origin given the division between urban and rural for the proprietary middle class, and the more middle class character of the Mitcham suburbs in comparison with Unley.

Table 7.5

**School system and residence of students (%):  
1947, 1954 1961**

	<i>Corp Protestant</i>			<i>State High</i>			<i>Corp Catholic</i>			<i>State Tech</i>		
	<i>1947</i>	<i>1954</i>	<i>1961</i>	<i>1947</i>	<i>1954</i>	<i>1961</i>	<i>1947</i>	<i>1954</i>	<i>1961</i>	<i>1947</i>	<i>1954</i>	<i>1961</i>
Unley	10.0	6.7	10.3	30.4	26.7	22.6	10.4	8.4	8.2	33.0	29.2	28.4
Mitcham	20.8	13.0	17.5	30.4	34.7	46.3	14.6	12.7	18.8	25.4	26.8	44.8
Other Adelaide	16.9	30.0	29.3	27.6	25.1	16.2	31.3	34.9	38.8	28.8	33.2	19.1
Rural S.A.	45.0	42.0	35.4	11.6	13.3	13.9	39.5	39.2	30.1	12.3	10.4	7.4
Other states	6.9	7.7	7.0	0.0	0.2	0.5	2.1	4.2	4.1	0.0	0.2	0.3
Overseas & Unkn	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	2.1	0.6	0.0	0.5	0.2	0.0
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (N)	231	300	416	326	606	941	48	166	170	406	455	324

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

Of each of the systems, the state technical and high schools were the most likely to take their enrolments from the local area (Mitcham and Unley), at between 58-70% over the three cohorts. The corporate schools, Protestant and Catholic took between 20-31%, and 21-27% respectively, from the local area. The proportions of their enrolments from rural South Australia were correspondingly higher. Where one lived was an issue in choosing schools for youth, yet it was not an isolated factor. The presence of boarding facilities in corporate



schools and not state, the presence of agricultural and vocational courses in some schools and not others meant that a complex of issues were involved in school choice. Nevertheless the correlation of the class character of some suburbs in comparison with others was more important than geographical location alone in explaining many school enrolments. This may be seen in the different mixes of Unley and Mitcham enrolments within the systems. Transport systems were adequate enough to allow considerable freedom of movement from any district to any of the schools. Like the no. 69 tram in Melbourne, the train from the hills, collecting students from as far away as Bridgewater, Stirling, Belair and Blackwood, and then the plains, distributed students to the schools in the study.<sup>11</sup> There were also trains, trams and buses from the city which distributed from the opposite direction. Table 7.6 shows the distribution of students from the different districts to the schools. They are given for the first and last cohorts.

Table 7.6

**Residence of students and school system(%):  
1947 & 1961**

	<i>Unley</i>		<i>Mitcham</i>		<i>Other Adelaide</i>		<i>Rural SA</i>		<i>Interstate</i>		<i>Overseas/Unk</i>	
	1947	1961	1947	1961	1947	1961	1947	1961	1947	1961	1947	1961
Corp Prot	8.8	11.9	18.7	10.6	14.9	30.3	49.3	41.6	94.1	70.7	25.0	28.6
State High	37.9	58.8	38.5	63.6	34.5	37.9	18.0	37.2	0.0	9.8	0.0	71.4
Corp Cath	1.9	3.9	2.7	4.7	5.7	16.4	9.0	14.4	5.9	17.1	25.0	0.0
State Tech	51.4	25.4	40.1	21.1	44.9	15.4	23.7	6.8	0.0	2.4	50.0	0.0
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (N)	261	362	257	686	261	402	211	19.1	17	41	4	7

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

These figures show the strength of the state high schools by 1961, as the dominant provider within Unley and Mitcham, and for those who came from other Adelaide suburbs. A majority of rural students went to the corporate schools in 1947 and 1961. Also of interest is the decline in support for the technical high schools by 1961. The transformation of the technical schools into comprehensive highs was still over a decade away in 1961, but the state high schools had begun to assume their role as the universal state provided institution for youth. The importance of the state's provision of neighbourhood secondary schools is

11. The Melbourne reference is to Janet McCalman, *Journeyings: The biography of a middle-class generation*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1993, p. 3.

readily seen in Unley and Mitcham where by 1961 nearly 85% of the students from those council districts who attended schools in the district, attended the state system's schools.<sup>12</sup>

The religious affiliations of students, like residence, need to be read carefully. Affiliation did not necessarily mean the same as church membership, nor even the most perfunctory church attendance. In some respects, religious affiliation is a more reliable indicator of aspects of national or ethnic origin than actual religious belief or behaviour. Given these considerations, there were differing mixes in each of the school systems.

Of the corporate schools either run by or associated with religious denominations, the Roman Catholic and Lutheran schools were by far the most efficient in establishing enrolment exclusivity. For students attending Cabra, Concordia and Mercedes colleges, religion was a primary factor in shaping adolescences. Highly unrepresentative adolescent peer groups were formed on the basis of religion. Consequently the capacity existed to shape quite distinctive school cultures. In the Lutheran and Catholic schools, ordained pastors in the one, and religious (Dominican and Mercy nuns) in the other ran the schools. The least exclusive of the denominational schools was Scotch College. In none of the three cohorts did the Presbyterians even form a majority of the students. On the other hand, for each of the cohorts in the corporate secondary schools for Unley and Mitcham, the Protestant/Catholic divide was almost absolute. But for one cohort in one of the six schools for the three years examined (Mercedes in 1961), over 90% of enrolments were either Protestant or Catholic. This was almost as true for the state schools, which on the surface at least, were Protestant schools. Most cohorts in the schools registered as over 90% Protestant. The state schools were much more diverse in respect to the range of denominations within the Protestant group than the corporate schools however.

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12. The neighbourhood character of the state secondary schools was reinforced by the introduction of zoning (1955) as a means of distributing rapidly expanding enrolments evenly.

Table 7.7

**Religious affiliation and school enrolment (%)**  
**1947, 1954, 1961**

## (a) Corporate Protestant

	<i>Concordia (M &amp; F)</i>			<i>Methodist Ladies (F)</i>			<i>Scotch (M)</i>			<i>Walford (F)</i>		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
<i>Protestant</i>												
Anglican	0	1.3	3.8	14.7	4.5	5.5	44.4	46.7	44.2	na*	77.8	77.9
Presbyterian	0	0	0	0	0	0	18.8	26.1	30.0	-	2.2	4.6
Methodist	4.5	1.3	4.8	72.1	85.5	86.4	23.9	17.4	15.9	-	6.7	8.1
Baptist	0	0	0	4.4	4.5	4.5	4.3	0	0.9	-	4.4	1.2
Congregational	0	0	0	4.4	2.2	0.9	3.4	1.1	1.8	-	6.7	0
Lutheran	95.5	96.0	89.4	0	0	0	0.9	0	0.9	-	0	0
Church of Christ	0	0	0	4.4	0	1.8	0.0	1.1	0.9	-	0	1.2
Other Protestant	0	0	1.0	0	1.1	0	3.4	5.4	1.8	-	0	1.2
<b><i>Sub-total</i></b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>98.6</b>	<b>99.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>97.8</b>	<b>99.1</b>	<b>99.1</b>	<b>97.8</b>	<b>96.4</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>97.8</b>	<b>94.2</b>
<i>Catholic &amp; Orthodox</i>												
Roman Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.8	-	0	2.3
Other Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.9	0	0	-	0	0
Greek Orthodox	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	0
Other Orthodox	0	0	1.0	0	0	0.9	0	0	0	-	0	0
<b><i>Sub-total</i></b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2.3</b>
<i>Other/Indefinite</i>												
Jewish	0	0	0		1.1	0	0	0	0	-	0	1.2
Other/Indefinite	0	1.4	0		1.1	0	0	2.2	1.8	-	2.2	2.3
<b><i>Subtotal</i></b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>3.5</b>
<i>Total (%)</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	100	100
<i>Total (N)</i>	44	75	104	68	89		117	92	113	-	45	86

\* Not available

(b) State High

	<i>Blackwood (M &amp; F)</i>			<i>Unley(M &amp; F)</i>			<i>Urrbrae (M)</i>		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
<i>Protestant</i>									
Anglican	-	-	32.8	41.7	32.2	31.3	22.4	40.3	34.3
Presbyterian	-	-	3.6	0	4.1	4.3	0	3.4	5.1
Methodist	-	-	42.3	25.5	31.7	33.3	46.9	37.5	33.7
Baptist	-	-	5.2	0	6.7	5.7	14.3	4.7	5.7
Congregational	-	-	0.7	0.4	3.7	3.3	6.2	2.0	2.3
Lutheran	-	-	2.2	1.1	3.5	5.6	4.1	2.0	1.1
Church of Christ	-	-	8.1	0	8.7	4.3	4.1	4.0	5.7
Other Protestant	-	-	1.5	25.5	4.2	2.3	2.0	1.4	1.8
<b>Sub-total</b>	-	-	<b>96.4</b>	<b>94.2</b>	<b>94.8</b>	<b>90.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>95.3</b>	<b>89.7</b>
<i>Catholic &amp; Orthodox</i>									
Roman Catholic	-	-	2.9	2.9	3.7	6.9	0	4.7	9.7
Other Catholic	-	-	0	0	0	0.2	0	0	0
Greek Orthodox	-	-	0	0	0.4	1.4	0	0	0
Other Orthodox	-	-	0	0	0	0.2	0	0	0
<b>Sub-total</b>	-	-	<b>2.9</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>4.1</b>	<b>8.7</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>9.7</b>
<i>Other/Indefinite</i>									
Jewish	-	-	0	0	0.4	0.2	0	0	0
Other/Indefinite	-	-	0.7	2.9	0.7	1.0	0	0	0.6
<b>Sub-total</b>	-	-	<b>0.7</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.6</b>
Total (%)	-	-	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total (N)	-	-	137	278	460	627	49	149	175

(c) Corporate Catholic

	<i>Cabra (F)</i>			<i>Mercedes (F)</i>		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
<i>Protestant</i>						
Anglican	0	2.6	0	-	0	0
Presbyterian	0	0	0	-	0	0
Methodist	0	0	0	-	0	0
Baptist	0	0	0	-	0	0
Congregational	0	0	0	-	0	0
Lutheran	0	0	0	-	0	0
Church of Christ	0	0	0	-	0	0
Other Protestant	8.3	1.2	0	-	0	0
<b><i>Sub-total</i></b>	<b>8.3</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<i>Catholic &amp; Orthodox</i>						
Roman Catholic	91.7	96.2	100	-	92.0	85.7
Other Catholic	0	0	0	-	0	0
Greek Orthodox	0	0	0	-	0	0
Other Orthodox	0	0	0	-	0	0
<b><i>Subtotal</i></b>	<b>91.7</b>	<b>96.2</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>92.0</b>	<b>85.7</b>
<i>Other/Indefinite</i>						
Jewish	0	0	0	-	0	0
Other/Indefinite	0	0	0	-	8.0	14.3
<b><i>Sub-total</i></b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>8.0</b>	<b>14.3</b>
<i>Total (%)</i>	100	100	100	-	100	100
<i>Total (N)</i>	48	78	129	-	88	42

## (d) State Technical

	<i>Goodwood BTHS (M)</i>			<i>Unley GTHS (F)</i>			<i>Mitcham GTHS (F)</i>		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
<i>Protestant</i>									
Anglican	41.3	32.8	30.3	32.2	29.4	24.1	-	-	25.5
Presbyterian	1.5	2.1	2.8	4.0	3.2	4.6	-	-	7.0
Methodist	38.2	32.8	34.4	40.6	40.7	35.2	-	-	45.1
Baptist	4.6	6.3	6.9	5.8	9.5	1.9	-	-	5.6
Congregational	0	2.9	1.4	4.0	2.3	2.8	-	-	0
Lutheran	0.5	2.9	2.8	1.3	0.9	1.9	-	-	4.2
Church of Christ	3.6	5.5	1.4	5.8	5.8	8.2	-	-	5.6
Other Protestant	3.6	4.2	4.2	3.6	5.0	4.7	-	-	1.4
<b><i>Sub-total</i></b>	<b>93.3</b>	<b>89.5</b>	<b>84.2</b>	<b>97.3</b>	<b>96.8</b>	<b>83.4</b>	-	-	<b>94.4</b>
<i>Catholic &amp; Orthodox</i>									
Roman Catholic	4.1	8.0	12.3	2.7	1.8	11.1	-	-	4.2
Other Catholic		0	0	0	0	0	-	-	0
Greek Orthodox	2.1	0	1.4	0	0.9	4.6	-	-	0
Other Orthodox		0	0	0	0	0	-	-	0
<b><i>Sub-total</i></b>	<b>6.2</b>	<b>8.0</b>	<b>13.7</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>2.7</b>	<b>15.7</b>	-	-	<b>4.2</b>
<i>Other/Indefinite</i>									
Jewish	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	0
Other/Indefinite	0.5	2.5	2.1	0	0.5	0.9	-	-	1.4
<b><i>Sub-total</i></b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.5</b>	<b>0.9</b>	-	-	<b>1.4</b>
<i>Total (%)</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	-	100
<i>Total (N)</i>	194	238	145	224	221	108	-	-	71

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

Table 1.6 in Chapter 1 displayed census data for religious affiliation in the districts of Unley and Mitcham. None of the schools discussed here mirrored the distribution for 1961, though the Protestant ascendancy was a feature of those statistics as well as those for total secondary enrolments.<sup>13</sup> The conclusion must be drawn that religion represented one organizing structure for the placing of youth into different secondary schools. Families with Catholic and Lutheran affiliations chose from a very narrow range of schools. Non-Lutheran Protestants had a broad range of state and corporate schools to choose from. Such was the range, that religion may barely have been perceived as an important consideration in the choice of school. One must distinguish here between religion as a loose "organizing framework", and religion as a central cultural force in schooling. By law, it could not take

13. See p. 58.

the latter role in state schools. In one of the corporate Protestant schools, Scotch, religion was not sufficient a force to provide even for the building of a chapel for many years of its history. Nor did a full-time chaplain come until 1962.<sup>14</sup> In some of the corporate schools, the role of Protestant exclusivity must be viewed in the more general complex of factors producing a middle class, where "Protestant" belonged to the more general WASP ("White Anglo-Saxon Protestant") syndrome of interacting racial, ethnic and religious elements.

Ethnicity was a factor in the making of adolescents in Mitcham and Unley though its effect was masked by the high degree of homogeneity in the population of the district, and the population of its schools. As Table 7.7 reveals, and despite the presence of post-war European migrants living in the district in 1961, few had children old enough to enter the secondary schools.<sup>15</sup> Where Italian-origin students are disguised by the much larger Irish-originated Roman Catholic population, the numbers of Greeks, highly identifiable from their Orthodox religious affiliation, was very small. In 1961 youth from Greek Orthodox families attended the following school systems. (Table 7.8)

Table 7.8

**Greek Orthodox enrolments according to school system (N):  
1961**

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Corporate Protestant	0	0
State High	7	2
Corporate Catholic	0	0
State Technical	2	5
Total	9	7

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

While there are patterns here<sup>16</sup>, the small number of students (16 from a cohort of 1,848) means that they were a tiny minority from which to attempt the process of hypothesis and generalization. At the same time ethnicity was an important issue because of the dominance of a British and northern European originated, mainly Protestant population. Such

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14. Robert J. Gilchrist, Scotch College, Torrens Park, South Australia: A record of the first sixty years 1919-1978, typescript, 3 vols., Scotch College, p. 38.
  15. See Table 1.5, ch. 1, p. 57 and the following text for a general discussion of ethnicity and the population of Unley and Mitcham.
  16. For example, the concentration of girls in the technical schools, and boys in the high schools suggests there is interesting work to be done on ethnicity, gender, adolescence and schooling in a later period for the Mitcham and Unley area.

dominance, as earlier in the century, allowed for a continuing cultural hegemony, and a minimalization of the cultural range of different youth histories organized by ethnicity. The White, Black, Jewish, Irish and Italian-origin youth of Perlmann's study of Provincetown, Rhode Island presented contrasts only seen fragmentarily in Mitcham and Unley.<sup>17</sup>

Another source of difference in the lives of youth and their relationship with secondary schooling is gender based. Before World War II, by far the greater number of women who enrolled youth in secondary schools were not employed in the paid work force, describing their occupations as home or domestic duties. Many would have been widows, others deserted wives, and a very few, divorced. Unlike the situation in World War I, World War II led to a much more consistent engagement of greater numbers of women in the paid work force. Yet as Table 7.9 shows, the greater number of female household heads with adolescent children in this later period remained very much separated from the paid work-force.

Table 7.9

**Occupational status of household heads who enrolled youth in the schools of Unley and Mitcham according to sex: 1947, 1954, 1961**

	1947				1954				1961			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
With occupation	485	97.4	15	26.8	683	97.6	20	24.4	831	98.7	23	27.1
Not employed	6	1.2	39	69.6	8	1.1	61	74.4	9	1.1	62	72.9
Unknown	7	1.4	2	3.6	9	1.3	1	1.2	2	0.2	0	0
Total	498	100	56	100	700	100	82	100	842	100	85	100

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

Did the sex of the enrolling parent, or household head make a difference to the mean leaving age of youth at secondary schools? One might surmise that it would have, on economic grounds alone since female headed households were likely to be poorer, and imperatives requiring the contribution of teenage children to household economies stronger. Table 7.10 presents the evidence from the three post-war cohorts.

17. Joel Perlmann, *Ethnic differences: Schooling and social structure among the Irish, Italians, Jews and Blacks in an American city, 1880-1935*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 1-12. By the late 1960s and early 1970s the presence of Greek and Italian students in the state secondary schools grew significantly.



Table 7.10

**Mean leaving age according to occupational status and sex of household heads (years): 1947 1954 1961<sup>18</sup>**

## (a) Boys

<i>Sex of H/hold Head</i>	<i>1947</i>		<i>1954</i>		<i>1961</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
With occupation	15.7	15.9	15.9	15.7	16.6	16.5
Without paid occ	14.3	15.7	16.0	15.2	16.5	16.1
Total (N)	498	56	700	82	842	85
Unknown (%)	1.4	3.6	1.3	1.2	0.2	0.0

## (b) Girls

<i>Sex of H/hold Head</i>	<i>1947</i>		<i>1954</i>		<i>1961</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
With occupation	15.3	15.4	15.7	16.2	16.2	16.2
Without paid occ	15.4	15.0	15.1	15.3	-	16.3
Total (N)	395	65	701	46	862	60
Unknown (%)	2.0	1.5	1.4	8.7	0.9	3.3

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

The 1961 cohort had the narrowest range of mean leaving ages on the basis of the sex of the enrolling parent, with or without paid occupation. For the 1947 and 1954 cohorts, the mean leaving age gaps were greater. While male and female household heads employed in the paid work-force were likely to support their youth for much the same period of time at secondary school, there were more significant gaps between the time women in and out of the paid work-force were able to do so. Though gaps were less than a year, such a period was time enough to make the difference between getting, or not getting important secondary credentials such as the Intermediate or Leaving. Women in the paid work-force tended to keep girls on slightly longer at school than employed men, perhaps a result of their experience in the labour market. Over all, the occupational status rather than the sex of the household head appeared to produce the more significant differences in mean leaving age. As a factor influencing school leaving age, the influence of gender was more significant in relation to the sex of the child, rather than the sex of the household head. With a couple of notable exceptions, male and female household heads, and regardless of employment status, discriminated in favour of boys. In terms of the long term trends, these figures point to a

18. Mean leaving ages recorded only if based on  $n \geq 5$ .

continuing universalization of adolescent experience in Unley and Mitcham over the twentieth century, where variables such as sex of household head, or employment status continued to lose their discriminatory power towards the 1960s.

### **Who succeeded in the public examinations?**

In the post-war period, the importance of school credentials was hardly disputed. Where the central schools had remained uninvolved with the University public examinations before the war, the technical high schools prepared select classes for them. The basis of the selection was to a large part determined by the intelligence tests carried out very early in their first year. The majority of students worked towards Education Department Technical Intermediate and a few, Leaving certificates.<sup>19</sup> The following analyses are based on the University Public Examinations Board examination results only. In this period, public examination results provided the pre-eminent qualifications for a broad range of employment, as well as providing the matriculation requirements for university entrance. The era of separate competitive examinations for the railways, post office and similar had long passed; and increasing numbers of jobs, in many cases, regardless of the match between the examination syllabuses and desired work skills, insisted on Intermediate or Leaving certificates. In a period when secondary schooling immediately preceded paid employment for most youth, the status and worth of the public examination provided credential was never higher. And increasing numbers of youth sought them. At Unley High alone, admittedly with a reputation for being an exam factory, of 536 students admitted in 1961 in either first or second year, 156 eventually gained at least one subject pass at Leaving Honours level, 283 gained their Leaving certificates and 411, their Intermediates.<sup>20</sup> Such volume, and such persistence were barely imaginable before the war.

Tables 7.11 to 7.12 show the examination success and persistence of boys and girls in each social class for each cohort.

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19. See Goodwood Technical High School, School Journal 26/5/1947-11/6/1958, for an example of the typical yearly entries in early February on the testing of boys.

20. These numbers are not directly comparable with those collected directly from the P.E.B. manuals of earlier decades. The volume of results was such that the schools of students were no longer identified by 1961.

Table 7.11

**Class persistence in gaining public examination credentials (%):  
Whole cohort: 1947**

## (a) Males

	<i>P MC urban</i>	<i>P MC rural</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>
No certificate	57.5	74.3	60.5	75.2	87.0
Intermediate	42.5	25.7	39.5	24.8	13.0
Leaving	21.9	13.5	26.1	10.5	7.0
Leaving Honours	8.2	2.7	10.1	3.8	0.0
Total (N)	73	74	119	105	115

## (b) Females

No certificate	66.7	65.5	65.9	80.6	88.5
Intermediate	33.3	34.4	34.1	19.3	11.5
Leaving	14.1	5.2	20.7	4.2	1.0
Leaving Honours	1.8	1.7	6.1	0.0	0.0
Total (N)	57	58	82	72	96

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

In 1947, youth from the unskilled working class, male and female were least likely to gain any public examination credentials, and none were successful at the Leaving Honours level. By contrast, the youth from the employed middle class, boys and girls were the most successful, and persistent with public examinations. The differences between the class groups were often substantial, and again point to the significance of the pursuit of academic merit in the lives of urban middle class youth. Within all but one class group, girls were less likely to win credentials than boys, but a 65% "No certificate" rate for middle class girls, proprietary or employed, urban or rural, was significantly superior to the 75 and 87% "No certificate" statistics for working class boys (and even higher rates for girls). Gender was less important than class as a factor in the explanation of academic success. The social classes were using secondary schools in very different ways in 1947, and it still did not appear to matter quite as much if girls did less well than boys. The one exception was the greater success of girls from farming families at the Intermediate level. Why this might have been so was explored in the previous chapter in some detail. (The conclusion there was that farmers' sons were likely to assume there would be places for them on family farms, and that school credentials were not essential for their futures. Even if marriage was an eventual aim

for rural girls, teaching or nursing in particular were seen as attractive careers. They required some degree of secondary school success. At the same time it must be recalled that these students were likely to be the boarders and were very probably unrepresentative of their social group as a whole.)

In 1954 (see Table 7.12) the general pattern is similar to that of 1947, with the major exception that girls were more likely to gain some credential than boys, in every social group. The differences are marginal for the employed middle and skilled working classes. They were less so for the proprietary middle and unskilled working class.

Table 7.12

**Class persistence in gaining public examination credentials (%):  
Whole cohort: 1954**

(a) Males

	<i>PMC urban</i>	<i>PMC rural</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>
No certificate	61.1	73.4	52.0	68.5	85.2
Intermediate	38.9	26.6	48.0	31.5	14.8
Leaving	26.2	7.1	30.8	19.4	11.1
Leaving Honours	9.3	0.0	14.1	10.5	2.8
Total (N)	118	113	198	124	108

(b) Females

	<i>PMC urban</i>	<i>PMC rural</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>
No certificate	51.4	56.6	50.3	68.5	72.6
Intermediate	48.6	43.4	49.7	31.5	27.4
Leaving	23.6	15.1	23.1	11.5	5.3
Leaving Honours	8.3	3.0	8.1	3.8	0.0
Total (N)	144	99	173	130	95

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

At senior public examination levels, for boys, the employed middle class remained the most successful and persistent. The urban proprietary middle class (including professionals such as medical practitioners and lawyers) matched their success rates for girls. As the expectation that all girls would enter the work-force for some period before marriage grew, also taking into account the unacceptability of manual and factory work for most middle class girls, and

with the growing need for some secondary school credential to gain access to acceptable kinds of gendered white collar or professional work, longer periods of schooling were understandable strategies. In the proprietary middle class, secondary schooling for boys in the 1950s could remain of marginal importance if working for and inheritance of small family businesses remained the aim. The 1954 statistics show a broadening gap in favour of unskilled working class girls as opposed to boys in the gaining of some public examination credential, with a slip back in favour of boys again in 1961. The statistics for working class youth are very much more subject to the changing conditions of the labour market. It may be that the recession of 1961 was in part responsible for holding more unskilled working class boys at school than in the previous years. At the same time, over-all numbers of unskilled working class youth gaining public examination certificates in each of the cohorts were small. Under such circumstances apparently minimal changes in raw numbers of such youth gaining credentials produce considerable and perhaps misleading percentage changes.

Table 7.13

**Class persistence in gaining public examination credentials (%):  
Whole cohort: 1961**

(a) Males

	<i>PMC urban</i>	<i>PMC rural</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>
No certificate	44.4	56.4	44.6	59.5	64.7
Intermediate	55.6	43.6	55.4	40.5	35.3
Leaving	41.7	28.7	39.6	28.2	20.6
Leaving Honours	21.9	11.9	22.1	10.1	8.8
Total (N)	187	101	240	138	102

(b) Females

	<i>PMC urban</i>	<i>PMC rural</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>
No certificate	49.5	47.5	44.0	62.1	77.6
Intermediate	50.5	52.5	56.0	37.9	22.4
Leaving	34.9	28.2	37.8	16.6	12.9
Leaving Honours	12.6	7.8	19.5	7.9	6.0
Total (N)					

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

By 1961 (see Table 7.13 above) there is evidence that the disparities based on class and gender were less great, though still quite visible.<sup>21</sup>

Youth from the unskilled working class were still the least likely to gain any public examination credential, and those from the employed middle class the most likely. Boys had again become more or equally likely to gain a credential within each class group except for the children of farmers. Youth from urban proprietary and employed middle classes were the most likely to succeed at senior high school level. For the first time over 50% of some class groups could expect to gain a P.E.B. certificate. The market value of secondary school credentials was about to go into decline.

In looking at the rates by which youth from the different classes improved their public examination success, it is possible to note the same process seen in relation to leaving age: that is the process of the universalising of adolescent experience. Table 7.14 shows the percentage success rates for the winning of Intermediate and Leaving certificates in 1947, and then shows the percentage improvement for that group through to the 1961 statistics.

In 1947 the lowest percentage increase for Intermediates won by boys (13.1%) is recorded for the urban proprietary middle class. This group started from the highest base (42.4%). All other groups of boys recorded some catch up. The same process is seen for the Leaving, where all others had begun to gain on employed middle class boys, the group with the highest base in 1947 (26.1%). At the same time, the rates of catch up are disparate, and the growth over 14 years continued to leave boys from the employed middle class leaders in the race for credentials.

The pattern is different for girls. At both Intermediate and Leaving, the least successful class group in 1947, the unskilled working class, recorded slower growth in the 1947-61 period than each of the three middle class groups. Even in 1961, unskilled working class girls continued to fall further behind their middle class sisters in accumulating public examination credentials. At the Leaving, the slower rate of growth was shared with girls of the skilled working class. Gender was a source of considerable inequality within the unskilled working class. At the Intermediate, unskilled working class boys were passing at a growth rate double that of the girls, from a higher base. At the Leaving level, the growth rates were more even, but the base for each was significantly unequal.

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21. Chi-square statistics are available for the 1961 cohort. For the first time sufficient students from each class gained some success at all levels to ensure reliable chi-square calculations. The significance level for boys was  $P < 0.005$ , and for girls,  $P < 0.001$ .

Table 7.14

**Improvement in public examination success from 1947 to 1961 according to class and sex (%)**

(a) Intermediate				
	<i>Boys</i>		<i>Girls</i>	
	<i>1947 success</i>	<i>1947-61 change</i>	<i>1947 success</i>	<i>1947-61 change</i>
Prop MC urban	42.5	+ 13.1	33.3	+ 17.2
Prop MC rural	25.7	+ 17.9	34.4	+ 18.1
Employed MC	39.5	+ 15.9	34.1	+ 21.9
Skilled WC	24.8	+ 15.7	19.3	+ 18.6
Unskilled WC	13.0	+ 22.3	11.5	+ 10.9
(b) Leaving				
	<i>Boys</i>		<i>Girls</i>	
	<i>1947 success</i>	<i>1947-61 change</i>	<i>1947 success</i>	<i>1947-61 change</i>
Prop MC urban	21.9	+ 19.8	14.1	+ 20.8
Prop MC rural	13.5	+ 15.2	5.2	+ 23.0
Employed MC	26.1	+ 13.5	20.7	+ 17.1
Skilled WC	10.5	+ 17.7	4.2	+ 12.4
Unskilled WC	7.0	+ 13.6	1.0	+ 11.9

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

After World War II, the number of students taking a first degree at the University of Adelaide steadily increased. By the time the most persistent of the 1961 cohort matriculated, there was a second state University which could also be entered. Table 7.15 shows the numbers of graduates from each of the cohorts according to social class and sex.

Both gender and class for each of the cohorts provide strong reasons for unequal graduation rates. While youth from employed middle class backgrounds sustained the highest graduation rates over all, the gaps between boys and girls were usually considerable. No girls from the 1947 cohort graduated from any class other than the employed middle class. Combining each of the three cohorts, female graduates from farming (rural proprietary middle class) and working class (skilled and unskilled) families were very few in number. As has been noted for the high schools, the urban proprietary and employed middle classes were the great users of the universities. While the numbers of graduates are not great, even for the 1961 cohort, the growing access to tertiary education meant ever longer adolescences, especially for urban middle class boys, and to a lesser extent, girls.

Table 7.15

**Graduates of the University of Adelaide and Flinders University by academic degree and social class  
(N)**

(a) 1947

	<i>PMC urban</i>		<i>PMC rural</i>		<i>EmplMC</i>		<i>Skilled WC</i>		<i>Unsk WC</i>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
Arts	1	0	0	0	4	2	2	0	0	0
Science	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0
Medicine	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Law	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dentistry	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0
Architecture	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Engineering	5	0	0	0	5	0	1	0	0	0
Music	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Applied Science	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0
Agric Science	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
<b>Total Graduates</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<i>% of Class</i> <sup>22</sup>	16.4	0	1.4	0	16.0	6.1	6.7	0	0	0
<i>% of Cohort</i>	2.5	0	0.2	0	3.9	1.4	1.4	0	0	0
<b>N (Class Group)</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>96</b>

(b) 1954

	<i>PMC urban</i>		<i>PMC rural</i>		<i>EmplMC</i>		<i>Skilled WC</i>		<i>Unsk WC</i>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
Arts	3	4	0	2	4	5	1	1	1	0
Science	4	0	0	0	5	3	4	0	1	0
Medicine	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0
Law	1	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Dentistry	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
Architecture	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Engineering	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Music	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Applied Science	3	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
Agric Science	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Economics	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
<b>Total Graduates</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>
<i>% of Class</i>	12.7	4.9	0.9	2.0	12.1	5.2	8.1	0.8	2.8	0
<i>% of Cohort</i>	2.3	1.1	0.2	0.3	3.6	1.4	1.5	0.2	0.5	0
<b>N (Class Group)</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>95</b>

22. This and the "% of Cohort" statistics are calculated on the totals of boys and girls respectively, not the combined cohorts.



## (c) 1961

	<i>PMC urban</i>		<i>PMC rural</i>		<i>Empl MC</i>		<i>Skilled WC</i>		<i>Unsk WC</i>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>
Arts	4	6	1	0	5	14	2	1	2	1
Science	7	2	3	0	16	3	3	2	3	0
Medicine	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	0
Law	3	2	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0
Dentistry	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Architecture	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Engineering	3	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0
Music	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Applied Science	3	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	0
Agric Science	3	0	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Economics	2	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0
Pharmacy	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Education	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total Graduates</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>% of Class</i>	<i>6.6</i>	<i>5.3</i>	<i>11.9</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>19.2</i>	<i>7.8</i>	<i>5.1</i>	<i>3.1</i>	<i>7.8</i>	<i>0.9</i>
<i>% of Cohort</i>	<i>4.0</i>	<i>1.4</i>	<i>1.6</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>6.0</i>	<i>2.5</i>	<i>0.9</i>	<i>0.5</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>0.1</i>
<b>N (Class Group)</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>257</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>116</b>

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

The continuing importance of the different school types in providing university students in courses leading to the different professions may be seen in Table 7.16.

None of the three post-war cohorts from the girls state technical schools provided any university graduates, while the parallel boys' schools did a little better, primarily, and predictably, in the applied science and engineering areas. For boys, the state high schools provided the greater numbers of graduates, in sheer numbers, and except for 1961, proportionately in relation to the numbers enrolled in the school system. Where the balance of the state high graduates went to science, arts, engineering and applied science areas, boys from the Protestant corporate schools primarily went to arts, law, medicine and dentistry. The pre-war distinction between male youth from corporate schools being educated towards the older professions, and state boys towards the newer professions including teaching and the state public service was thus sustained, though there were numbers of students from each school system who undertook the same university degree courses.

Table 7.16

**Graduates of Adelaide and Flinders universities according to academic degree & school origin (N):  
1947 1954 1961**

## (a) Boys

	<i>Corporate Protestant</i>			<i>State High</i>			<i>State Technical</i>		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
Arts	3	2	5	4	6	9	0	1	0
Science	0	0	7	2	12	25	0	2	0
Medicine	3	2	3	1	6	3	0	0	0
Law	0	3	5	1	1	3	0	0	0
Dentistry	1	1	1	4	2	2	0	0	0
Architecture	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
Engineering	2	0	1	9	0	7	0	0	2
Music	0	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	0
Applied Science	0	1	2	3	5	6	1	1	0
Agric Science	1	0	4	1	3	7	0	0	0
Economics	0	2	2	0	2	5	0	0	0
Pharmacy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total Graduates</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
<i>% of school type</i>	<i>7.8</i>	<i>10.3</i>	<i>20.8</i>	<i>14.1</i>	<i>10.4</i>	<i>14.1</i>	<i>0.6</i>	<i>2.1</i>	<i>1.7</i>
<i>% of total cohort</i>	<i>2.1</i>	<i>1.8</i>	<i>4.0</i>	<i>5.8</i>	<i>5.6</i>	<i>9.2</i>	<i>0.2</i>	<i>0.6</i>	<i>0.3</i>
<b>N (Cohort: Boys)</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>356</b>	<b>502</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>117</b>

## (b) Girls

	<i>Corporate Protestant</i>			<i>State High</i>			<i>Corporate Catholic</i>			<i>State Tech</i>		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
Arts	0	7	10	2	4	10	0	1	2	0	0	0
Science	1	1	3	2	1	2	0	1	2	0	0	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Law	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dentistry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Architecture	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Engineering	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Music	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Applied Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Agric Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Economics	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Pharmacy	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total Graduates</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<i>% of school type</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>5.8</i>	<i>8.2</i>	<i>4.5</i>	<i>4.1</i>	<i>4.8</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2.5</i>	<i>2.8</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>% of cohort (girls)</i>	<i>0.3</i>	<i>1.4</i>	<i>2.3</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>1.1</i>	<i>1.6</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0.5</i>	<i>0.5</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>
<b>N (Girls)</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>231</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>269</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>165</b>

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

For girls, the analysis is rather different. Of first importance are the very much lower rates of university graduation which were noted above. Second is the greater importance, numerically and proportionately of the girls' corporate schools over the state highs. Schools such as M.L.C. and Walford sustained their special role in sending young women to the university. Given that, however, the effects of the sexual division of labour in the professional and white collar work force were such as to make the corporate and state high schools virtually indistinguishable in the degree courses from which girls graduated. In both systems, arts degrees were taken by the majority with science second. In both cases the degrees were highly marketable for secondary school teaching. Girls from the Catholic schools, Cabra and Mercedes, were no different in these patterns, except that fewer graduated.

In putting together the effects of school system and class behaviour, the links are reasonably clear. Certain schools and courses were used by some classes or class groups in order to gain important credentials, not only at the school, but university level, for entry into new and old professions. In this post-war period, and not forgetting the rapidly expanding role of the state (and corporate business) in providing scholarships and traineeships, increasingly prolonged schooling remained a key to upward social mobility, and the maintenance of social position. Adolescence, as an historically constructed experience of youth and recognisable for reasonable numbers since the late nineteenth century, consequently expanded in this post World War II period. More youth experienced longer modern adolescences, and the urban middle class, employed and proprietary, continued to pioneer the way.

There is at least one other set of data, routinely generated in this period, which may throw some light on the making of post-war youth. There is little point here in reviewing the extraordinary volume of literature, including the polemical, on intelligence testing. The definitions of "intelligence" and the relationships between its measurement to social class and ethnicity rightly remain highly contested areas within educational and social politics generally.<sup>23</sup> Of interest to my argument about adolescence and secondary schooling, was the use made of intelligence testing in differentiating between youth; of being the reason given for reserving one curriculum track, or one school system for certain youth, and other tracks

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23. Some old and new key critical texts on applied psychology, including intelligence and testing, and their use in the structuring of individuals and society are Brian Simon, *Intelligence, psychology and education: A Marxist critique*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1971 and Nikolas Rose, *The psychological complex: Psychology, politics and society in England, 1869-1939*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1985; and for Australia, David McCallum, *The social production of merit: Education, psychology and politics in Australia 1900-1950*, Falmer Press, London, 1990.

and schools for other youth. There was an acceptance by many in the thirty years after World War II that intelligence tests provided reliable indicators of academic success. They were supposed to allow for "efficiency", and a reduction of "wastage" by ensuring appropriate teaching and courses for youth with different abilities and "capacities". The use of gradated intelligence scores was seen as a great advance on earlier "unscientific" educational methods of management and differentiation.<sup>24</sup> The state secondary schools of Unley and Mitcham were the most consistent testers and users of intelligence scores, though they were also used in schools such as Concordia and Walford. At Unley High School, students were tested in the first day or so of their entry into the school, and on the basis of the intelligence quotient calculated, were allocated their classes (A to G, and sometimes beyond), their curriculum (two languages, including Latin and double Mathematics for the A classes), and their teachers (the "elite" or the rest). Only the different basis of entrance into the commercial classes substantially disrupted the pattern.<sup>25</sup>

The historian, John Hirst has spoken of the pervasiveness of streaming on the basis of intelligence testing at the school in the late 1950s. The school's music teacher composed class ditties for each first year classes. In IA, Hirst's class had to sing:

We're the boys of class IA  
Best of Unley High they say,  
All our work we love to do,  
Lessons and our homework too.

Hirst's brother was in IF, a long way down the hierarchy. Their song, beginning their music lesson started with the words:

We're the boys of class IF  
We are dumb and blind and deaf.<sup>26</sup>

The cultural significance of streaming for youth in the post-war period will be discussed further in Chapter 7. Nevertheless, that streaming was more than a technology of differentiation needs to be remembered as the present discussion proceeds.<sup>27</sup>

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24. See Miller, *Long Division*, pp. 162-180, 253-59.

25. This was the explanation for the case of George Poulos discussed earlier, whose IQ entitled him to the A stream.

26. Interview with Dr John Hirst, 1989. (In the possession of the author.) Part of this interview was published in the Unley High School, *Magazine*, 1989, pp. 13-14.

27. On peculiar interpretations of the meaning of the IQ statistics within Unley High, see Campbell, *State High School*, p. 151.

An example of the use of intelligence (and associated) tests is seen in Table 7.17 for the 1954 cohort entering Unley High School. There, the scores were a dominating influence over who went into each class and stream, though the lack of hard boundaries between them suggests that other factors were also taken into account. They may have included parental pressure, or strong demand for certain subjects, as well as a technical decision to overlap the range of students represented according to intelligence in each class.

Table 7.17

**First year class (and stream) according to IQ score:  
Unley High School, 1954 cohort<sup>28</sup>**

(a) Males

<i>Stream/class</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>
IQ					
0 - 85				2	
86 - 90			1	1	
91 - 95			1	3	1
96 -100			8	9	5
101-105		2	9	8	2
106-110	3	11	11	3	19
111-115	3	11	10	1	8
116-120	6	14	1	1	4
121-125	10	8			
126-130	15	3			
131-135	4	2			
136-	10			1	

(a) Females

<i>Stream/class</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>
IQ				
0 - 85				
86 - 90		1		1
91 - 95	1	2		5
96 -100				9
101-105	1	5	7	13
106-110		14	12	6
111-115	5	10	7	1
116-120	8	6	5	
121-125	8	2	6	1
126-130	2			
131-135	5			
136-	5			1

Source: Unley High School student records (VG Cards). See Appendix A on data-base.

28. N = 427, missing = 67 (15.7%)

In this 1954 break-down of streaming and IQ one can detect a more instrumental approach for the boys. For the girls, once the A stream was selected, the remainder of the classes were less differentiated by IQ score. This was not only a function of direct gender policy, where issues other than hard psychometric evidence were allowed to affect class placement for girls, but also the division of the curriculum into "general" and "commercial" courses. Girls with high IQ scores would not have been placed in the A stream had they insisted on commercial subjects. For both girls and boys, the last class had the widest range of IQ scores. This class would have been made up very often of students repeating a year, or with special curriculum requirements.<sup>29</sup> At the same time the importance of IQ as a factor in streaming and class placement is very direct for the great majority of boys. These patterns were similar for the 1961 cohort of Unley High students, though because of the larger numbers involved, the effect of IQ on class placement was more finely gradated. (See Table 7.18) The effect of the intention to take the commercial course is seen in the different pattern of IQ distribution for the girls' classes, IE and IF.

Intelligence testing was also carried out in the state technical high schools. There the special function was to separate a class or two of students who would be directed towards public examinations, rather than the state technical credentials. This can be seen from the combined streaming outcomes for 1961 cohorts for the Unley Girls and Mitcham Girls Technical High Schools (Table 7.19).<sup>30</sup>

Table 7.19 serves not only to show the use made of intelligence testing in the technical schools, but also to show the differences between the systems. Though students were not tested to determine entry to either of the state systems, primary schools, and parents themselves, through means of one kind or another decided one of the systems was more suitable for one child as opposed to another. As has already been seen, social class was one of the important factors.

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29. On courses and curriculum in the 1950s and 1960s see Campbell, *State High School*, pp. 147-150, 195-199 (based on the manuscript School Journal: Principal, 1931-1973, held at Unley High School, Netherby, South Australia.)

30. Combining these schools is possible since the Unley Girls' Tech was in the process of closing, to be replaced by the new Mitcham Girls' Tech. Most of the Unley students transferred to Mitcham. Their curricula and organizational practices were similar.

Table 7.18

**First year class (and stream) according to IQ score:  
Unley High School, 1961 cohort<sup>31</sup>**

*(a) Males*

<i>Stream/class</i> IQ	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>
0 - 85						2
86 - 90						5
91 - 95				7	1	10
96 -100			4	6	12	3
101-105	2	5	11	9	6	9
106-110	4	6	9	9	15	2
111-115	7	13	9	4	7	1
116-120	11	10	4	1	2	4
121-125	7	7	1	1	2	1
126-130	10	2	1			1
131-135	4					
136-	11					

*(b) Females*

<i>Stream/class</i> IQ	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>
0 - 85				2		
86 - 90				3		
91 - 95			3	9		4
96 -100		1	4	5		11
101-105		1	11	1	7	11
106-110		13	8		8	7
111-115	6	15	8		9	2
116-120	8	7			4	1
121-125	8	1			6	
126-130	5				1	1
131-135	7					
136-	12					

Source: Unley High School student records (VG Cards); see Appendix A on data-base.

31. N = 536 (Missing = 69, i.e. 12.9%)

Table 7.19

**First year class (and stream) according to IQ score:  
Unley Girls' and Mitcham Girls' Technical High Schools, 1961 cohort<sup>32</sup>**

<i>Stream/class</i> IQ	<i>Females</i>		
	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>
0 - 85			
86 - 90		2	6
91 - 95		6	7
96 -100	3	7	11
101-105	8	21	9
106-110	14	6	1
111-115	12	4	1
116-120	14		
121-125	5		
126-130	1		
131-135	1		
136-			

Source: Unley Girls' & Mitcham Girls' Technical High School student records (VG Cards). See Appendix A on data-base.

Though the evidence is strong that IQ scores were significant in placing students in a hierarchy of classes within state schools, there is also evidence that they were used in the private and corporate schools for similar purposes. Walford School in 1961 streamed as Table 7.20 shows:

Table 7.20

**First year class (and stream) according to IQ score:  
Walford School, 1961 cohort<sup>33</sup>**

<i>Stream/class</i> IQ	<i>Females</i>		
	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>
0 - 85			3
86 - 90		1	4
91 - 95		1	3
96 -100		2	4
101-105		5	4
106-110	1	8	1
111-115	7	5	
116-120	5	5	
121-125	8	1	
126-130	7		
131-135			
136-			

Source: Walford School student records and School Register. See Appendix A on data-base.

32. N = 176, missing = 37 (21.0%)

33. N = 83, missing = 8 (9.6%)



Streaming based on psychometric testing was a prevalent practice, and in one sense varied the selecting and promoting practices based solely on "performance" in favour of supposedly scientific measures of "potential". Decisions about curriculum and class were theoretically being taken on grounds other than proven academic merit alone, yet the social process resulting in the placement of youth in the different schools and different classes within schools remained complex, and subject to more influences than the supposedly neutral instruments of IQ score and attainment test results. The workings of the IQ were not independent of the cultures, class origins, and gender relations of the families of youth.

In turning to an examination of the correlations between social class origin and IQ, I need to state clearly my frame-work for the reading of such information. Intelligence tests demand considerable verbal skills in their interpretation. The kinds of knowledge and verbal skills valued by such tests remain culturally determined rather than representative of biologically determined structures of mind. Given this frame-work, my expectation was that middle class, and especially youth from the employed middle class would have higher IQ scores than youth from other social classes. This expectation was not completely vindicated, yet the tendencies toward social class bias were evident enough as the following tables show. Intelligence testing was easily integrated into the pedagogic styles and culture which had enabled youth from professional and employed middle class backgrounds to do well in secondary schools from early in the century.

In the following tables (Tables 7.21 and 7.22), the scores are presented for youth at state schools since those schools retained the most comprehensive records. (Even so the percentages missing range between 12.7 and 17.1%.) The significant absence is the boys' technical high school which destroyed its records during the course of this study. The two sets of data recorded are for Unley High School in 1954 and 1961, and then the combined data for Unley High, Blackwood High, Mitcham Girls' Technical High and Unley Girls' Technical High in 1961 only.

Table 7.21

**IQ scores of beginning Unley High School students according to social class (%):  
1954 & 1961 cohorts**

## (a) Boys

	1954				1961			
	<i>Prop MC</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>	<i>Prop MC</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>
131 +	2.3	10.8	11.1	3.3	9.2	6.2	4.2	2.8
121-130	9.1	25.3	17.8	6.7	12.3	11.2	18.7	13.9
111-120	36.4	24.2	22.3	40.0	29.2	30.7	25.0	27.8
101-110	34.1	28.9	33.3	33.3	30.8	37.7	29.2	30.5
91-100	13.6	10.8	11.1	16.7	18.5	12.2	18.7	22.2
- 90	4.5	0.0	4.4	0.0	0.0	2.0	4.2	2.8
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
N =	44	83	45	30	65	98	48	36

## (b) Girls

<i>IQ score</i>	1954				1961			
	<i>Prop MC</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>	<i>Prop MC</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>
131 +	5.1	9.8	6.9	5.6	11.4	8.3	12.8	4.8
121-130	12.8	17.6	6.9	11.1	0.0	16.7	7.7	14.3
111-120	28.2	31.4	34.5	22.1	28.3	30.9	18.0	23.8
101-110	46.2	29.4	41.3	38.9	37.7	29.8	23.1	47.6
91-100	7.7	11.8	10.4	22.3	22.6	13.1	28.2	9.5
- 90	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	10.2	0.0
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
N =	39	51	29	18	53	84	39	21
	Total 1954 (boys & girls) <sup>34</sup>			427	Total 1961 (boys & girls)			536
	Missing			73	Missing			68
	% missing			17.1	% missing			12.7

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

At Unley High in 1954 over a quarter of the students (36.1% boys and 27.4% girls) from the employed middle class were in the top two IQ categories. Skilled working class boys had 7% less representation, with girls from that class considerably lower. Over both years, unskilled working class boys were the least well represented in the top two categories. In 1961, shares of IQ scores for boys were more even than in 1954, with boys from the skilled working class doing the best in the "IQs over 120" group. For girls in 1954 and 1961, the employed middle class sustained its lead, with proprietary middle class and unskilled working class girls doing least well.

34. The numbers of boys, girls and missing cases do not add to these grand totals. In addition, and not reported are the IQs of students whose parents did not fit into the four class categories (15 in 1954, and 24 in 1961).

Table 7.22

**IQ scores of beginning Unley High, Blackwood High, Mitcham & Unley Girls' Technical High students according to social class (%): 1961 cohort**

<i>IQ score</i>	Boys				Girls			
	<i>Prop MC</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>	<i>Prop MC</i>	<i>Empl MC</i>	<i>Skilled WC</i>	<i>Unsk WC</i>
131 +	7.1	5.0	3.1	2.4	7.9	7.1	6.3	1.6
121-130	12.9	9.3	15.4	12.3	3.4	11.3	5.0	6.3
111-120	25.9	31.9	26.2	26.8	23.5	24.8	17.5	15.6
101-110	32.9	38.7	35.4	31.7	32.6	29.1	31.2	32.7
91-100	21.2	13.4	15.4	24.4	28.1	21.3	30.0	37.5
- 90	0.0	1.7	4.5	2.4	4.5	6.4	10.0	6.3
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
<i>N =</i>	85	119	65	41	89	141	80	64
Total (boys and girls) <sup>35</sup>		849						
Missing		120						
% missing		14.1						

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

In Table 7.22, the absence of a technical high school population for the boys has the effect of homogenising the IQ patterns. This is less the case for the girls, where unskilled working class girls, most commonly enrolled in a technical high school, are clearly behind the others in terms of IQ scores, and where girls from the employed middle class were the highest scorers. These tables show the potential of streaming, which was primarily based on IQ testing to continue disparate and unequal patterns of social class participation and success in the secondary schools. An educational technology which prided itself on a rational or scientific approach to sorting students into courses appropriate to their supposed innate ability did no such thing.

As one would expect, there was a strong correlation between streaming and academic success. Table 7.23 shows the percentages gaining Intermediate and Leaving/Honours certificates, and graduating from University for the A, B, and combined lower streams in each cohort.

35. See footnote 34 above. Non-reported cases for this cohort were 45.

Table 7.23

**Credentials gained according to secondary school stream:  
Unley High School, 1947, 1954, 1961**

(a) 1947<sup>36</sup>

	<i>A stream</i>		<i>B stream</i>		<i>C stream &amp; lower</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
No certificate	27.5	42.3	57.9	63.2	66.2	69.6
Inter only	15.7	15.4	26.3	21.1	22.1	23.9
Leaving or Hons	56.9	42.3	15.8	15.8	11.8	6.5
Univ graduate	39.2	15.4	7.9	0.0	2.9	0.0
Total (N = )	51	26	38	19	68	46

(b) 1954<sup>37</sup>

	<i>A stream</i>		<i>B stream</i>		<i>C stream &amp; lower</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
No certificate	10.5	30.0	39.7	42.6	59.0	62.2
Inter only	17.5	18.0	15.5	36.2	22.1	29.3
Leaving or Hons	71.9	52.0	44.8	21.3	18.9	8.5
Univ graduate	38.6	14.0	12.1	2.1	4.9	0.0
Total (N = )	57	50	58	47	122	82

(c) 1961<sup>38</sup>

	<i>A stream</i>		<i>B stream</i>		<i>C stream &amp; lower</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
No certificate	3.4	13.0	6.3	12.8	42.5	47.1
Inter only	5.1	6.5	16.7	30.8	25.7	35.5
Leaving or Hons	91.5	80.4	77.1	56.4	31.8	17.4
Univ graduate	57.6	15.2	20.8	2.6	7.8	0.7
Total (N = )	59	46	48	39	179	138

Source: Data-base, see Appendix A.

36. N = 263, missing = 15 (5.7%)

37. N = 427, missing = 11 (2.6%)

38. N = 536, missing = 27 (5.0%)

At Unley High, the largest of the state high schools, placement in one stream or another affected one's likelihood of academic success to a profound degree. The differences between the streams in terms of each level of academic performance, in each of the cohort groups, varied markedly. Examine, for example one group of boys in the 1961 cohort. Of the boys who were placed in the A class at age 12 or 13, nearly 60% eventually graduated from one of the state universities. While the graduation rate for girls was much lower, it was much higher than the rate for girls in the B stream and below. Streaming, as a technology of educational management, was not neutral in the process of making different adolescences, nor was it meant to be. It did not simply reproduce outcomes which could have been expected in non-streaming circumstances. Streaming, apart from being an organizational technology, also supported different cultural formations among youth. Hirst referred to this when talking about the late 1950s at the school:

The school in my day was streamed very rigorously. I was always in the A class. You were put in there as a result of a test you did on the first day at school. And the A classes of all years, 1A, IIA, IIIA, were grouped together in the quadrangle of the first building of the school. So for our whole five years we moved within that very narrow compass.

So all the boys (of course the girls were somewhere else altogether) in the top stream were rubbing shoulders with one another, seeing each other, living a half separate life in their own quadrangle for all their time at school.

Top boys on the whole were not caned ... We were of course the top boys. We were very industrious, very willing to work. On the whole we had excellent teachers who had no trouble controlling us. The streaming system we accepted.<sup>39</sup>

The other side of streaming was to undermine the confidence of youth in the lower classes, in many cases producing hostility and envy towards the upper.<sup>40</sup> If entry into the secondary schools, private, corporate or state, had been universalized in the post-war period, differentiations within and between schools meant that the experience was neither universal nor democratic. While universal secondary schooling had contributed enormously to the prolongation of childhood, and dependence, other influences meant that the kind of adolescences experienced remained qualitatively different. The new means of producing a meritocracy through secondary schooling favoured male youth and families from the urban middle class.

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39. Interview with Dr John Hirst, 1989. (In the possession of the author.)

40. Interview with Madelena Bendo, 1984. (In the possession of the author.) See also Campbell, *State High School*, p. 219.

## Multi-variate analysis

In the course of this chapter I have argued for the relevance of a range of factors on the continued making of secondary school-mediated modern adolescences in the post World War II period. The quantitative nature of the sources allow, as in chapters 3, for further statistical analysis of the evidence. One major problem for a confident interpretation of the results of the multiple classification analysis of student leaving ages and academic success for the earlier period is substantially reduced. The post-World War II data is much closer to being representative of the whole youth population in the district since secondary school attendance itself came close to universality in the period. Consequently the youth examined are much less an unrepresentative sample of youth in the district as a whole. (At the same time one notes that the aggregated populations of the schools in the district are not the same as the youth population of the district, though there is substantial overlap.)

Other problems remain constant however. Most social experience resists quantification, and constructs such as social class and gender exist primarily to express and explain the exercise of power between social groups. The categories "class" and "sex" in the following tables only hint at their consequences in the lives of youth. They are not the same kind of categories as "age", "public examinations passed" or "school type" at all. These multivariate analyses provide material for argument, not self-evident conclusion.

Table 7.24 presents the results from three MCA analyses, one for each cohort, of factors influencing the school leaving age in the post World War II period.<sup>41</sup>

The factor indicating adherence to meritocratic goals, "examination success" is the most powerful of the six factors across the three cohorts, yet it must be received with caution since there is some degree of collinearity between this factor and the independent variable, school leaving age. As a measure, "examination success" is studied further in the next MCA table. Nevertheless, in a period of near universal secondary schooling, but before the high schools in particular were expected to retain students regardless of academic performance beyond the compulsory school leaving age (14 until 1963, and then 15), there is good reason to include it in the analysis.

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41. See p. 143 ff. and Appendix F for discussions on the reading of these tables.

Table 7.24

**Multiple Classification Analyses of school leaving age:  
Cohorts 1947, 1954 & 1961**

	<i>1947</i>		<i>1954</i>		<i>1961</i>	
Leaving age (grand mean)	2.08 (15.08 yrs)		2.30 (15.30)		2.91 (15.91)	
<i>Factors</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>
Social class		.11 <sup>b</sup>		.07 <sup>a</sup>		.03
Proprietary middle	232	.01	458	-.05	593	-.01
Employed middle	193	.21	368	.03	496	.05
Skilled working	175	-.03	250	.14	264	-.04
Unskilled working	208	-.14	200	-.06	218	-.05
Other & unknown	120	-.07	120	-.11	113	.03
Sex of student		.10 <sup>c</sup>		.12 <sup>c</sup>		.14 <sup>c</sup>
Male	537	.10	735	.12	833	.17
Female	391	-.14	661	-.13	851	-.16
Sex of parent		.04		.01		.01
Male	813	-.02	1279	.00	1550	.00
Female	115	.11	117	.04	134	-.02
School system		.23 <sup>c</sup>		.16 <sup>c</sup>		.09 <sup>b</sup>
State high	310	-.11	559	-.04	834	-.04
Corporate Protestant	173	.52	282	.25	388	.16
Corporate Catholic	38	.21	104	.31	148	-.20
State technical	407	-.16	451	-.18	314	.00
Examination success		.55 <sup>c</sup>		.57 <sup>c</sup>		.57 <sup>c</sup>
No certificate	695	-.34	885	-.42	909	-.55
Gained Intermediate	119	.63	252	.30	260	.08
Gained Leaving	81	1.34	164	.89	276	.75
Leaving Hons passes	33	1.63	95	1.59	239	1.14
Religious affiliation		.04		.06		.15 <sup>c</sup>
Anglican	324	.06	414	.00	477	.03
Other Protestant	538	-.03	820	-.03	937	-.12
Catholic	57	-.05	142	.14	233	.41
Other	9	-.06	20	.28	37	-.03
N	987		1435		1692	
Missing (n)	59		39		8	
Missing (%)	6.0		2.7		0.5	
Multiple R <sup>2</sup>	.50		.42		.36	

[a = significant at .05 level, b = significant at .01 level, c = significant at .001 level]

The second most powerful factor, except for 1961, when it is still significant at the 0.01 level, is "school system". Previous analysis has shown the correlations between school system and social class, so these factors need to be examined together. The adjusted deviations from the grand mean for each cohort show the strength of the corporate Protestant sector in particular in retaining students. While social class appears to decline as a statistically significant factor in explaining late school leaving ages over the three cohorts, the adjusted deviation from the grand mean for the youth of the employed middle class remained positive for each cohort. The decline in significance is in part caused by the previously noted process by which youth from other social classes experienced faster rates of growth in their mean school leaving ages. Class, at least as defined for this statistical analysis, was becoming a less important influence on the holding power of schools. All classes were contributing to the increasing leaving age grand mean as modern adolescence was being prolonged and universalized.

The sex of the student was a significant factor in determining school leaving ages for each cohort. In every case, male youth were likely to remain at school longer. At the same time, the workings of gender provided less significant beta statistics for the sex of parents in explaining the different school leaving ages for youth. As a previous discussion has suggested, the combination of sex of parent, their employment status and the sex of the child, produced the important differences.

But for the 1961 cohort, religious affiliation provided little reason for differing school leaving ages. An examination of deviations from the grand mean in that year shows that the main responsibility rested with an improvement in school leaving ages for Catholics. Such a movement may be interpreted as part of a broader use of secondary schooling by Catholics to achieve upward social mobility, and to create a larger Catholic middle class in the post-war period.<sup>42</sup>

In the post World War II period, to the 1960s, social class and gender remained important reasons in explaining the differing lengths of time youth spent at secondary school. By 1961 however, with greater numbers remaining from all social classes, gender assumed a greater role in explaining difference. Both school system and examination success were crucial factors in predicting length of school stay. The corporate Protestant schools were significantly more successful than the state technical high schools. There remained a

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42. See Hans Mol, *Religion in Australia: A sociological investigation*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1971, chs. 12-16. Mol summarizes the historical and sociological work on class and religion through to the 1960s: The post Depression period to the 1960s saw important social mobility gains for Catholics in particular.



structural factor in this gap; the technical schools providing no fifth (Leaving Honours) year to its students.<sup>43</sup> Nor can the strength of the corporate Protestant schools be understood without reference to their crucial role in the education and formation of the different elements of the middle class.

Analysis of examination success is again restricted to those who had a third year at secondary school. This enabled the variable "High grades" to enter the analysis as a measure of the influence of academic competence on credentials gained. Unsurprisingly it provided the highest betas in Table 7.25.

Again, social class failed to gain significance at higher than the .05 level. The crucial class related mechanisms had already done their work in removing many working class youth by the third year from secondary schools (and academic state high schools in particular), especially for the 1947 and 1954 cohorts. Even so, it was the youth of the employed middle class who sustained a consistent pattern of positive deviations from the mean across the three cohorts. Nor, apparently was the sex of the student particularly significant in this analysis until the 1961 cohort.<sup>44</sup> A similar process to that associated with social class was working here. Many girls, especially from the working class had been removed from secondary schools before the third year. (A great number of state technical high girls for example.) School system in Table 7.25 was the most important factor, followed by grades in determining the number of public examination provided secondary credentials. Again, the corporate schools, followed by the state high and then far behind, the state technical highs formed the hierarchy. Having made the "right" choice of secondary school and having overcome the initial hurdles against extended secondary school stays, merit was the most important predictor of future credential accumulation.

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43. A very few technical high students went on to other, mainly state high schools, for a fifth year. They have been included in the analysis of examination success below, but not in the present analysis.

44. The jump in statistical significance is in the end not particularly significant when one realises that what is at issue is a gap of .22 of a public examination credential (adjusted deviations from the means) rather than earlier gaps of 0.1 and 0.02.

Table 7.25

**Multiple Classification Analyses of examination success:  
Students from cohorts who passed at least one subject in the Intermediate exam or reached the third  
year in the Technical High schools: 1947, 1954 & 1961**

	1947		1954		1961	
Exams passed (grand mean):	1.18		1.30		1.64	
<i>Factors</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>
Social class		.14		.06		.07
Proprietary middle	106	-.04	211	-.07	334	-.03
Employed middle	84	.16	216	.02	319	.09
Skilled working	65	-.01	122	.01	142	-.11
Unskilled working	51	.00	77	.03	99	-.06
Other & unknown	26	-.34	40	.15	41	.06
Sex of student		.05		.01		.10 <sup>c</sup>
Male	191	.04	333	.01	456	.11
Female	141	-.06	333	-.01	479	-.11
Sex of parent		.09		.01		.04
Male	307	-.02	624	.00	880	.01
Female	25	.28	42	.02	55	-.16
High grades <sup>45</sup>		.32 <sup>c</sup>		.33 <sup>c</sup>		.23 <sup>c</sup>
No high grades	233	-.18	469	-.18	300	-.20
1 high grade	49	.22	105	.19	157	-.30
2 or more high grades	50	.62	92	.72	478	.23
School system		.62 <sup>c</sup>		.67 <sup>c</sup>		.55 <sup>c</sup>
State high	124	.41	271	.37	476	.19
Corporate Protestant	89	.44	161	.47	224	.43
Corporate Catholic	10	-.07	47	.41	61	.28
State central	109	-.83	187	-1.04	174	-1.18
Religious affiliation		.07		.07		.06
Anglican	112	-.08	188	.06	248	-.08
Other Protestant	203	.04	409	.00	566	.04
Catholic	15	.09	61	-.18	102	-.07
Other	2	-.29	8	.08	19	.14
N	336		668		938	
Missing (n)	4		2		3	
Missing (%)	1.2		0.3		0.3	
Multiple R <sup>2</sup>	.62		.55		.49	

[a = significant at .05 level, b = significant at .01 level, c = significant at .001 level]

45. The basis for counting high grades was different for the 1961 cohort compared with the earlier. For the 1947 and 1954 cohorts (as for the 1911, 1921 and 1933 groups), public examination results signified two standards only, that is, credit and pass. For the Intermediate results of the 1961 cohort (i.e. the 1963 and 1964 examinations), an alphabetical scale was published. The number of "A" and "B" grades was counted for each student.

Table 7.26

**Multiple Classification Analyses of examination success:  
Students from cohorts who passed at least one subject in the Intermediate exam: Unley High School:  
1947, 1954 & 1961**

	<i>1947</i>		<i>1954</i>		<i>1961</i>	
Exams passed (grand mean):	1.74		1.83		2.00	
<i>Factors</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Dev'n beta (adj)</i>
Social class		.28 <sup>a</sup>		.06		.10
Proprietary middle	21	-.12	48	-.03	84	-.03
Employed middle	46	.25	93	.06	153	.05
Skilled working	21	-.28	54	-.05	57	-.10
Unskilled working	19	-.08	23	-.01	37	-.09
Other & unknown	7	-.26	8	-.13	18	.24
Sex of student		.23 <sup>b</sup>		.20 <sup>c</sup>		.19 <sup>c</sup>
Male	77	.12	133	.13	203	.14
Female	37	-.26	93	-.19	146	-.19
Sex of parent		.09		.02		.07
Male	106	-.02	216	.00	328	.01
Female	8	.25	10	-.08	21	-.23
High grades		.30 <sup>b</sup>		.39 <sup>c</sup>		.27 <sup>c</sup>
None	65	-.18	130	-.27	47	-.27
1 high grade	24	.10	51	.28	64	-.38
2 or more high grades	25	.39	45	.45	238	.15
Class in first year		.35 <sup>c</sup>		.23 <sup>b</sup>		.49 <sup>c</sup>
A class/stream	52	.29	84	.20	97	.53
B class/stream	23	-.13	62	.00	76	.19
C class/stream	27	-.30	51	-.19	51	-.10
D and lower classes/streams	12	-.35	29	-.27	125	-.48
Religious affiliation		.06		.02		.05
Anglican	45	-.06	65	.01	100	-.05
Other Protestant	67	.04	156	.00	232	.03
Catholic	2	-.02	5	-.11	17	-.11
N	115		229		359	
Missing (n)	1		3		10	
Missing (%)	0.9		1.3		2.8	
Multiple R <sup>2</sup>	.44		.33		.44	

a = significant at .05 level

b = significant at .01 level

c = significant at .001 level

Because Unley High School was co-educational, was broadly socially representative and was the largest of the schools in the study, it provided the best means of studying the relative importance of streaming compared with the other factors discussed above. Table 7.26 includes the factor "Class in first year" in multiple classification analyses for each cohort. As has been discussed, placement in a school class also gives evidence of the influence of IQ testing as an instrument differentiating secondary school experiences.<sup>46</sup>

Table 7.26 records the high beta statistics calculated for the influence of school class placement on the number of public examination credentials gained. Within Unley High School, and if a student sat for the Intermediate exams, the class he or she was placed in for the first year, the capacity to gain above average grades, and the sex of the student, were the best predictors of success. Religion, social class and the sex of the enrolling parent were less important at this level. In these conclusions, there is direct continuity with the pre World War II argument. The various means by which the third year group were able to remain in the high school increased the dominance of meritocratic and organizational practices in the prediction of further success over broader social factors, though gender remained significant.

## Conclusion

The multivariate analyses of factors contributing to higher leaving ages of students and public examination success have had the virtue of pointing to the importance of issues other than social relationships such as class and gender, and affiliations such as religion. Nevertheless evidence from these and the earlier bi-variate analyses suggest that with mass schooling, social class was losing its power as a pre-eminent predictor of length of school stay and success. School system and streaming, as well as individual efforts to achieve high grades and pass examinations profoundly affected the length of time youth remained in secondary schools, and their success there. The issues affecting the experiences of George Poulos and Stella Ferrari, despite their atypicality in other ways, have also been shown to influence the lives of most youth in the Unley and Mitcham schools. At the same time none of these latter factors were independent of the social contexts of youth. The statistics indicate the influential pressures of a range of organizational and social phenomena, not all of which are equally amenable to measurement.

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46. Despite its potential for confusion, I have retained the South Australian state school terminology for groupings of students for the purposes of teaching into "classes". I have often written of these classes as "school classes" to distinguish them from "social classes".

While the great majority of youth in Mitcham and Unley experienced modern adolescences mediated by secondary schooling in the post war period, the structures of secondary schooling and the organizational practices within them also changed. Youth were divided into different schools, and within schools their experiences and opportunities were often profoundly affected by the practices associated with streaming. Merit expressed through public examination performance continued to affect the lives of youth at the same time, and was the key to the year by year prolongations of adolescent dependence. In a period when opportunities to take up paid work and apprenticeships on the completion of the compulsory years of schooling were relatively easy to access, it is little wonder that the youth from the employed middle class sustained their lead in the use of secondary schools in order to achieve employment in white collar and professional areas. At the same time, the youth of the skilled working class, both boys and girls, were reducing the size of the lead.

Changing patterns of schooling and labour market participation were not the only forces affecting the history of youth in the post World War II period. In the mass media two important representations of secondary school age youth emerged in this period, one a source of benign amusement and interest, the other capable of arousing fear. The "teenager", the "juvenile delinquent", and secondary schooling became the subjects of a new series of discourses about youth, and the next chapter.

## Chapter 8

### School and the evolution of the "teenager" (1941-1965)

In 1961 at one of the schools in this study an important episode took place. The Unley High "riot" was ostensibly concerned with the issues of sex segregation and the unreasonable exercise of power over students by their teachers.<sup>1</sup> Yet the issues were much broader than these. The incident signified changes in the relationships between youth and secondary schooling, and marked a different stage in youth's own conception of its relationship with the institutions created to govern it. In the pre-World War II era, when secondary schools were most extensively used by a minority of youth, there is little evidence to suggest any major dysfunction between the ambitions and culture of that minority, and the workings of the schools. While increasing numbers of youth experienced a modern adolescence within them, the duration was usually short. Usually only two years for example, in the central schools, and not much longer for most in the other state, corporate and private schools. By 1961, secondary schooling was for the "mass". In that year, in the school of the "riot", student numbers reached over 2,000, in over-crowded and under-staffed classrooms.<sup>2</sup>

There had been over-crowding before, though never had the school been so huge. What had also changed was the distribution of students through the school. From the late 1950s, the senior classes grew to be as large as the junior. Mass schooling was experienced at all levels. The methods of influence and control over youth in such circumstances rested less on personal contact with adults, than direct and sometimes apparently unreasonable force. The continuing domination of the school curriculum by public examinations no longer catered for an ambitious minority alone, but determined the curriculum of the majority. This also contributed to the difficulties.<sup>3</sup> Such conditions were experienced to some degree in all the secondary schools in the Unley and Mitcham area. At the same time, the "riot" signified more than the changes rooted in demography and the adjustments of the youth labour market. There were also emerging youth sub-cultures.

In some respects the most notorious of emerging youth sub-cultures reproduced some features of the working class-based larrikinism so prominent in the reformist arguments of

1. For press reports of the incident, see the Adelaide newspapers, *The News*, 22 June 1961, pp. 1 & 5, *The Advertiser*, 23 June 1961; see also Campbell, *State High School*, pp. 186-8.
2. Campbell, pp. 174-177, 276.
3. See Mary Campion, An investigation into success and failure of first-year, full-time students at the University of Adelaide with special reference to the type of school they attend, M. Ed. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1966, p. 62.

the turn of the century. The "bodgies and widgies", and their gangs in mainly working class Adelaide suburbs in the 1950s also owed much of their language, music and clothing to non-Australian working class influences.<sup>4</sup> In "the book that shook the nation", a collection of articles produced in the late 1950s in South Australia to counter the new larrikin "threat", the American influence was recognised, if not blamed for the problems.<sup>5</sup> In the Unley and Mitcham area, with its declining working class character, bodgies and widgies were less prominent. Yet, as *The Gap* had argued, youth problems and larrikinism were not confined to the working class. The South Australian Police Commissioner wrote that his anti-larrikin squad had been forced to visit "all sorts of homes in all sorts of streets." He went on:

But mainly - and this is of tragic importance to us all - the home most visited by the members of the patrol is the middle-class home, the kind of home from which we have always expected to produce our civic leaders.<sup>6</sup>

This was a major departure from the turn of the century discourse. Now middle class youth were also at risk, and the middle class family was in danger of neglecting its duty to youth, as well as the working class. The author of the "Don't blame Elvis Presley" article, a former prefect of one of the corporate schools in this study, Walford House, identified the cause of the new youth problem:

Being a parent is a full-time job, it demands large slabs of overtime. Selfishness and thoughtfulness, and indifference most of all, ruin the contact. Ladling out porridge at breakfast time, tying up shoe-laces, paying school fees and handing out money for the pictures is no formula for preventing delinquency. There is a lot of talk nowadays about the freedom children have, and how wrong it all is. What is wrong is not the freedom itself but *the sickening unconcern of parents who never check up on how it is used.*<sup>7</sup>

In its concern not to blindly condemn freedom as such, the approach had something in common with the increasingly public commentary of psychologists on adolescence. When addressing a parent group at Unley High in 1951, the psychologist, Mary Smith developed one of Stanley Hall's themes. Parents were advised:

4. For a discussion of the 1950s and youth delinquency, which includes a discussion of bodgies and widgies, see Judith Bessant, "Described, measured and labelled: Eugenics, youth policy and moral panic in Victoria in the 1950s", *Journal of Australian Studies*, special issue, 1991, pp. 8-28.
5. See Gillian Cashmore, "Don't blame poor Elvis Presley" in Dick Wordley ed., *The Gap: A book to bridge the dangerous years*, no date [1958?], Adelaide, pp. 16-18. The "book that shook the nation" quotation comes from the cover of a later edition (also without identifying publication details).
6. Brig. J. G. McKinna, "Why the anti-larrikin squad was formed ... and how you can help disband it" in *The Gap*, p. 9.
7. Cashmore, *The Gap*, p. 18. (Italics in the original.)

to consider the teenage point of view; they should encourage questions and never, never quell the new startling brilliant theories which might have flashed on young Timmy in his middle teens.<sup>8</sup>

Here was another concept of youth. The teenager, capable of creativity needed to be handled carefully, and without repression. The injunction "never" to quell the teenager's creativity brought with it a hidden assumption of unforeseen consequences. Repression and delinquency were assumed to be allies, the latter a consequence of the former.

It was not only psychology which contributed to the emergence of the teenager, so potentially creative or delinquent. A popular mass culture directed towards youth, nascent from the 1920s, re-constructed images of youth in the 1950s and 1960s. Springhall argued that the teenager in Britain was a product of affluence, a harbinger of a new youth culture, presented by the media as classless, but in reality "as much the creation of market researchers and advertisers as of adolescents themselves."<sup>9</sup> In Springhall's view the "teenager" was a much more benign creature than the Teddy boy (or in Australia's case, the bodgie or widgie). He argued that in becoming a "teenager", youth reduced its "conflict with the rest of society to a minimum and also accommodated to how adults expected him or her to behave for commercial and educational reasons."<sup>10</sup>

If youth as teenager was less dangerous than youth as larrikin/delinquent/bodgie/widgie, the boundaries between the various images were fluid. The Unley High "riot" of 1961 was a rebellion of teenagers, not delinquents. A letter from 1961 in the Unley High student newspaper, *The Unley Eye*, itself a product of a revived progressive educational philosophy that argued for an outlet for the free expression of school youth, contained the messages of generational alienation and threat. One student, identifying him or herself as "Beat", and in the process illustrating another source of American cultural influence on Australian youth culture wrote:

As a member of the "beat generation", I wish to draw attention to its aim, which is to free our countries from the threat of international disturbance and atomic war. We blame adults for the mess the world is in today, and we, the younger generation have to suffer. We use the old motto "Make hay while the sun shines", and do not wish to harm anyone if left alone.<sup>11</sup>

In these expressions of youth culture and activity of the late 1950s and early 1960s, and the organized state and other social responses to them, there is evidence of some youth, in Gillis'

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8. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 32, no. 3, 1951, p. 3.

9. John Springhall, *Coming of age: Adolescence in Britain 1860-1960*, Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 1986, p. 191.

10. *ibid.*, p. 192.

11. *Unley Eye*, [July?] 1961, p. 2. (No other publication details.)



terms, actively making their own history once more. He argued that the renewal of political activism and social commitment in the 1960s "seemed to terminate abruptly the long era of adolescence." This was especially so for the youth of the middle class whose reviving of "student radicalism and bohemianism, together with an apparent increase in various kinds of sexual experimentation, seemed ... to reverse the trend of the previous 50 years and to restore something of the social and political independence of youth that had been a feature of the nineteenth century."<sup>12</sup>

This was not the perspective of the authors of *The Gap* however who saw failures of discipline and morality at all levels of society, and looked to the familiar institutions which had both governed and defined adolescence for new effort and revival. Cashmore had argued for a strengthening of family cohesion and a new effort by school as well as home. She also argued for a continuing role for those voluntary institutions, most often born at the end of the nineteenth century, the organized team sports and youth groups, which had also helped modernise adolescence, along with the secondary school:

Nervously drained after playing "Chicken", juvenile delinquents could not know the satisfying, healthy exhaustion of a Saturday afternoon's tussle of football or hockey or life-saving.

Scouts and Guides, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. gymnasiums and groups are just a few places where you can be "one of the boys" (or girls) and "one of the best" in the right sense of the word.<sup>13</sup>

The common feature of these activities was adult supervision. They took youth off the streets. The cover illustration for *The Gap* (see Plate 12) is a powerful exposition of the dangers of the street and failure of adult supervision. My reading of the illustration sees the dangers of adolescence exposed by reference to childhood at the bottom of the illustration. Childhood is innocent, smiling and trusting; it has no social or geographical location. By contrast, the setting of delinquent youth is clearly the street of the inner city, long demonized as the corruptor of children and youth. Precocious sexuality is emphasised by the girl's tight clothing and line of the boy's arms. These youth lack occupation and conventional self-discipline. While the "story" of the picture has its origins in the nineteenth century, the images of youth are those of Hollywood's James Dean and Natalie Wood in *Rebel without a cause*.<sup>14</sup> This street corner and these youths are impervious to the sustained influence and surveillance of family, school, youth club and church.

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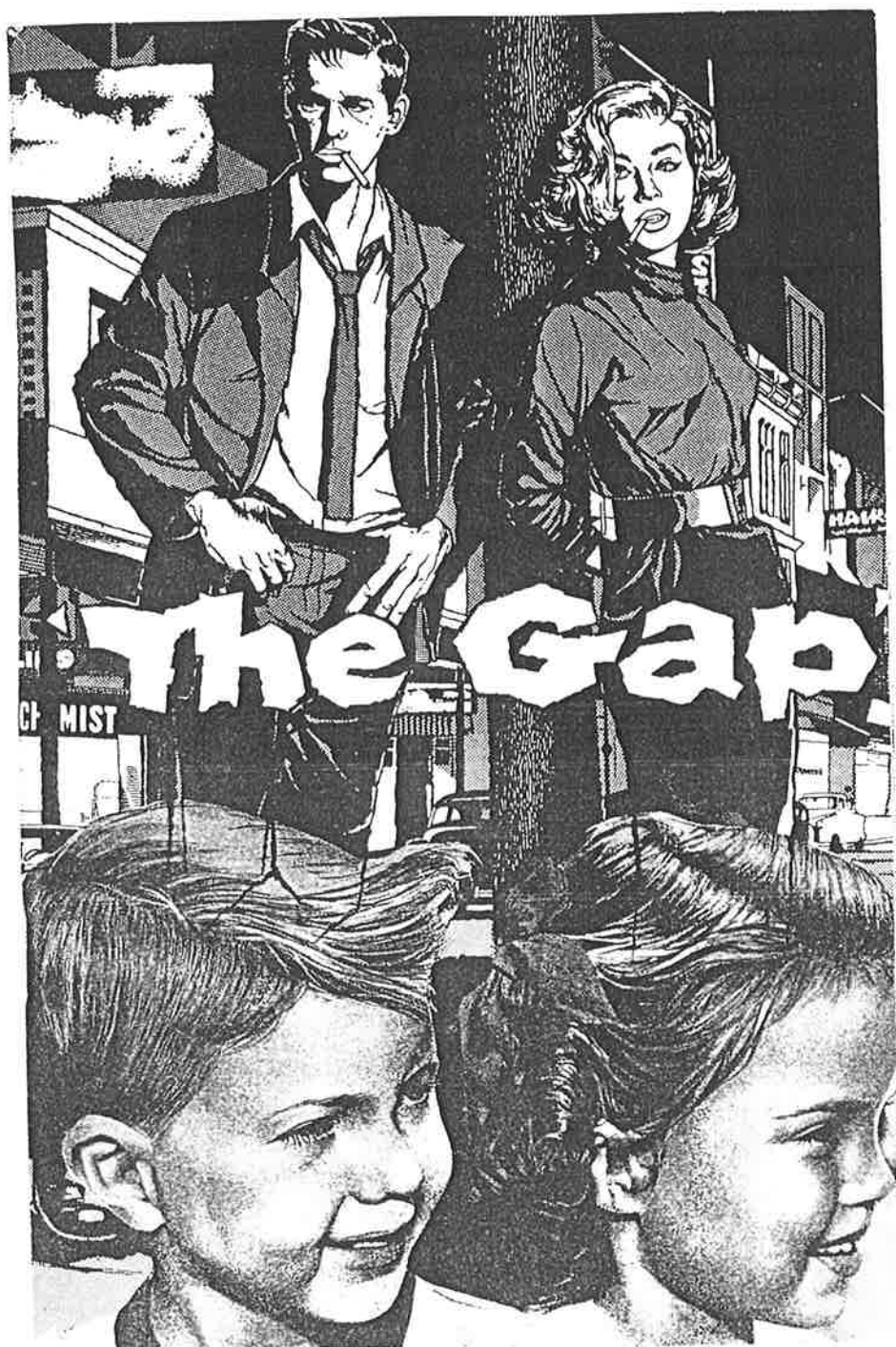
12. John R. Gillis, *Youth and history: Tradition and change in European age relations 1770- present*, Academic Press, New York, 1974, pp. 185-6.

13. Cashmore, p. 17.

14. *Rebel without a cause*, dir. Nicholas Ray, Warner Brothers, 1955.

Plate 12

**Bodgies and widgees produced in "The Gap" between childhood and adulthood**



Source: Wordley, Dick ed., *"The gap": A book to bridge the dangerous years*, Applied Journalism at the South Australian Suite, Adelaide. [1958?]. front cover illustration.

This chapter continues the discussion of the representations of youth from chapters four and five, for which the new post-World War II youth cultures and social responses so far discussed are an important part. The chapter also examines evidence from the data-base, mainly unavailable from before the war, about the membership of adult sponsored youth groups and activities. It is this issue which is taken up first.

### Participation by youth in adult sponsored organizations

The utility of the adult-sponsored youth group in making youth more amenable to an ordered society was a common idea in the 1950s and 1960s. Certainly it was one of the themes of the alarmist publication, *The Gap*, discussed above. In the same talk that the psychologist Mary Smith, gave to Unley High parents in 1951 (and ignoring the histories of the youth organizations of pre-war Germany), she argued:

In Europe young people had learned greater tolerance through the establishment of youth camps and other organizations.<sup>15</sup>

At the boys' technical high school, involvement in clubs and encouragement in the taking up of hobbies was seen as an important part of the school's work. In all the state schools there was a great increase in the number of school sponsored club activities. Before the war there had been little beyond the standards: the sports clubs, the Literary and Debating Society, Christian Union and perhaps League of Empire or Red Cross. School time was set aside to encourage the growth of the clubs. At Goodwood Boys' Technical School the list of clubs for 1943 included:

Newspaper	School magazine	Cupboard making
School orchestra	French polishing	Tree recognition
Morse code	Model aeroplanes	Art
Acrobatic	Gardening	Chess
Science	Hiking	Handicrafts
Copper kettle	History & geography	
Book binding	Physical culture apparatus	
First aid	Life saving <sup>16</sup>	

At Unley High the list of clubs also grew rapidly over the 1940-65 period.<sup>17</sup>

If schools contributed to the idea of engaging youth in constructive activity through their clubs, there was also a growth in youth organizations outside of the schools. An opportunity

15. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 32, no. 3, 1951, p. 4.

16. Goodwood Boys' Technical High School, *Magazine (Arunga)*, 1943.

17. Campbell, *State High School*, pp. 119-120, 165-7, 204-210.

to assess patterns of involvement in the post-World War II period exists through the study of the vocational guidance records of the state schools. The following analysis is confined to the Unley High records. This school, being the largest, with boys and girls, and most representative of the range of social classes in the district was the obvious one to use as a sample. There are difficulties with the data however, and conclusions must consequently be tentative. The responses to the following sections on the vocational guidance form (V.G.1) were those tabulated: "Do you belong to any organizations?", "Amusements" and "Hobbies". Different teachers supervised the filling out of the forms differently. There are occasional runs of similar responses in particular classes suggesting that examples were given to the questions, which then constituted the core of many students' answers. The word "organizations" did not necessarily trigger comprehensive responses in the youth filling out the forms. For example, there is reason to believe that Sunday School attendance is greatly under-represented by the responses, simply because the Sunday School was not immediately thought of as an organization in the same way that Scouts or Guides was thought of. And finally, these forms were completed in the first few weeks of secondary school, usually when the student was about 13 years old. Therefore they are a guide to the activities of younger high school youth.

Table 8.1

**Memberships of organizations of first year Unley High students according to sex of student (N,%):  
1947, 1954, 1961**

<i>Organizations</i>	<i>Males</i>			<i>Females</i>		
	<i>1947</i>	<i>1954</i>	<i>1961</i>	<i>1947</i>	<i>1954</i>	<i>1961</i>
<i>None</i>	61	94	134	26	59	100
<i>%</i>	43.0	41.8	48.4	32.1	36.6	44.1
<i>One</i>	57	88	113	24	61	73
<i>%</i>	40.1	39.1	40.8	29.6	37.9	32.2
<i>Two</i>	19	35	27	18	23	40
<i>%</i>	13.4	15.6	9.7	22.2	14.3	17.6
<i>Three or more</i>	5	8	3	13	18	14
<i>%</i>	3.5	3.6	1.1	16.0	11.2	6.2
<i>Total</i>	142	225	277	81	161	227
<i>%</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1947: N = 260; missing 37 (14.2%); 1954: N = 427; missing 41 (9.6%); 1961: N = 536; missing 32 (6.0%)]

Source: Data-base, see Appendix E

Table 8.1 summarizes the total number of organization memberships for the three cohorts, differentiating them by the sex of the student alone. The table shows a slightly lower participation rate for boys which is consistent across the cohorts, suggesting that a stronger effort was put into involving girls in adult-supervised activities than boys. The differences however are not very great, and boys and girls together were less involved in such organizations in 1961 than they had been in the earlier survey years. This table provides evidence that girls were at least as involved as boys in youth organizations external to family and school in the post-war years. These characteristic institutions of modern adolescence by 1961 had therefore incorporated girls to much the same extent as boys, but a possible period of decline in popularity may also have begun.

Participation rates according to class reveal more of the social anatomy of membership. (See Table 8.2 below.)

This tabulation of involvement in organizations by class indicates the pervasiveness of memberships across the classes, with not a great deal to distinguish between them. The small numbers for 1947 produce some understandably erratic patterns, but even with the larger numbers from 1954 and 1961, with only seven years separating these cohorts, the rates of participation are not particularly consistent. Of the different class groups, the youth of the employed middle class appear to sustain the most consistent participation rates across the cohorts, and were the most resistant to the general fall-off of memberships in 1961. This was true for girls as well as boys. The class group least engaged in organizations for its youth was the unskilled working class, whose boys at least in 1947 and 1961 registered a non-membership rate of well over 50%. Unskilled working class girls at the school, though there were fewer of them, were more engaged than the boys. At the other end of the table, in looking at those who belonged to three or more organizations, boys, and especially girls from the employed middle and skilled working classes were the most frequent joiners. Table 8.2 does not inspire a great deal of confidence in an argument which might make the link between youth organization membership and social class origin as central to understanding the differentiated workings of adolescence in the post-World War II period. By looking at the kind of the organizations joined, there may be a further opportunity to argue differentiation.

Of all the youth organizations listed by students (excepting sports), the most popular were the boy scouts and girl guides, and the various denominational (church) youth groups. Tables 8.3 and 8.4 below tabulate memberships of these by sex and social class.

Table 8.2

**Memberships of organizations of first year Unley High students according to social class and sex of student (N,%):  
1947, 1954, 1961**

## (a) Male

Organizations	Proprietary MC			Employed MC			Skilled WC			Unskilled WC		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
None	11	19	33	17	38	43	12	17	24	15	9	21
%	42.3	41.3	47.8	34.7	44.2	41.3	38.7	35.4	48.0	57.7	31.0	56.8
One	12	20	30	25	28	47	11	21	20	6	17	13
%	46.2	43.5	43.5	51.0	32.6	45.2	35.5	43.8	40.0	23.1	58.6	35.1
Two	3	6	5	5	17	13	7	7	5	4	3	3
%	11.5	13.0	7.2	10.2	19.8	12.5	22.6	14.6	10.0	15.4	10.3	8.1
Three & more	0	1	1	2	3	1	1	3	1	1	0	0
%	0.0	2.2	1.5	4.1	3.5	1.0	3.2	6.3	2.0	3.8	0.0	0.0
Total	26	46	69	49	86	104	31	48	50	26	29	37
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

## (b) Female

Organizations	Proprietary MC			Employed MC			Skilled WC			Unskilled WC		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
None	4	16	32	12	21	33	1	11	21	7	7	9
%	25.0	36.4	54.2	38.7	38.9	37.1	9.1	34.4	50.0	46.7	38.9	40.9
One	3	18	17	10	14	29	5	14	13	3	11	8
%	18.8	40.9	28.8	32.3	25.9	32.6	45.5	43.8	31.0	20.0	61.1	36.4
Two	6	7	8	4	10	19	3	3	6	4	0	5
%	37.4	15.9	13.6	12.9	18.5	21.3	27.3	9.4	14.3	26.7	0.0	22.7
Three & more	3	3	2	5	9	8	2	4	2	1	0	0
%	18.8	6.8	3.4	16.1	16.7	9.0	18.2	12.5	4.8	6.7	0.0	0.0
Total	16	44	59	31	54	89	11	32	42	15	18	22
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1947 N = 260; youths from "parent not employed" n = 17; missing n = 38 (14.6%)

1954 N = 427; youths from "parent not employed" n = 20; missing n = 50 (11.7%)

1961 N = 536; youths from "parent not employed" n = 29; missing n = 35 (6.5%)

Source: Data-base, see Appendix E

Table 8.3

**Scout and Guide members from first year Unley High students according to social class and sex of student (N,%):  
1947, 1954, 1961**

## (a) Male

	<i>Proprietary MC</i>			<i>Employed MC</i>			<i>Skilled WC</i>			<i>Unskilled WC</i>		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
<i>Members</i>	6	9	19	10	18	29	12	12	14	8	7	9
<i>%</i>	23.1	19.6	27.5	20.4	20.9	27.9	38.7	25.0	28.0	30.8	24.1	24.3
<i>Total</i>	26	46	69	49	86	104	31	48	50	26	29	37

## (b) Female

	<i>Proprietary MC</i>			<i>Employed MC</i>			<i>Skilled WC</i>			<i>Unskilled WC</i>		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
<i>Members</i>	4	4	3	5	10	11	4	2	5	1	2	3
<i>%</i>	25.0	9.1	5.1	16.1	18.5	12.4	36.4	6.3	11.9	6.7	11.1	13.6
<i>Total</i>	16	44	59	31	54	89	11	32	42	15	18	22

1947 N = 260; youths from "parent not employed" n = 17; missing n = 38 (14.6%)

1954 N = 427; youths from "parent not employed" n = 20; missing n = 50 (11.7%)

1961 N = 536; youths from "parent not employed" n = 29; missing n = 35 (6.5%)

Source: Data-base, see Appendix E

For each of the cohorts, boys were more likely to participate in "scouting" than girls. About a quarter of the boys were involved in contrast to a declining participation by girls to about 10 percent.<sup>18</sup> Of each of the class groups, the most likely joiners of the scouts were skilled working class boys, but none of the other groups were far behind. For girls, the numbers from each of the class groups is small, and the percentages vary considerably from cohort to cohort. What can be concluded is that no class was unrepresented, and that no class dominated in percentage terms, though in terms of sheer numbers, the employed middle class provided more boys and girls than the other groups.

18. Memberships of scouts and guides. For boys: 1947, 26%; 1954, 21%; 1961, 26%. For girls: 1947, 21%; 1954, 13%; 1961, 11%. (Source: Data-base, see Appendix E.)

Table 8.4

**Church youth group members from first year Unley High students according to social class and sex of student (N,%):  
1947, 1954, 1961**

## (a) Male

	Proprietary MC			Employed MC			Skilled WC			Unskilled WC		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
Members	3	6	12	9	19	30	7	10	12	3	8	2
%	11.5	13.0	17.4	18.4	22.1	28.9	22.6	20.8	24.0	11.5	27.6	5.4
Total	26	46	69	49	86	104	31	48	50	26	29	37

## (b) Female

	Proprietary MC			Employed MC			Skilled WC			Unskilled WC		
	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961	1947	1954	1961
Members	7	8	12	7	15	27	4	9	6	4	5	1
%	43.8	18.2	20.3	22.6	27.8	30.3	36.4	28.1	14.3	26.7	27.8	4.6
Total	16	44	59	31	54	89	11	32	42	15	18	22

1947 N = 260; youths from "parent not employed" n = 17; missing n = 38 (14.6%)

1954 N = 427; youths from "parent not employed" n = 20; missing n = 50 (11.7%)

1961 N = 536; youths from "parent not employed" n = 29; missing n = 35 (6.5%)

Source: Data-base, see Appendix E

Gender was a major factor in the likelihood of involvement in a church youth group. Unlike boys who were more likely to be involved in the scouts than a church youth group, girls were much more likely to belong to the Methodist Youth Fellowship, the Crusaders, Christian Endeavour and similar.<sup>19</sup>

Except for the 1954 percentage of unskilled working class boys, those from the employed middle and skilled working class had the highest membership rates. For the girls, there are high levels of membership recorded across the classes, with the employed middle holding out against a declining trend of membership for 1961.

19. Memberships of church youth fellowships. For boys: 1947, 16%; 1954, 20%; 1961, 21%. For girls: 1947, 28%; 1954, 24%; 1961, 22%. (Source: Data-base, see Appendix E.) On the foundations, aims and activities of some of the Unley and Mitcham church youth clubs, see Rosemary Mitchell, *Epworth Uniting Church*, [the author], Adelaide, 1984, pp. 24-25, 38-9; Colin H. Watson, *Parkside West Church: The last half century 1940-1990*, [the author], Adelaide, 1990, pp. 4-11; Carolyn Leesong & John Burfield, *The different story: Edwardstown Baptist Church 1904-1989*, Edwardstown Baptist Church, Adelaide, 1989, pp. 26-39; Donald V. Goldney, *Methodism in Unley: 1849-1977*, [the author], Adelaide, 1980, pp. 113-117.



Table 8.5 combines the organization affiliations of each of the cohorts into eleven broad categories. For the actual organizations composing each, see Appendix E.

Table 8.5

**Memberships of organization types of first year Unley High students according to social class and sex of student (%):  
1947, 1954, 1961 cohorts combined**

	<i>Proprietary MC</i>		<i>Employed MC</i>		<i>Skilled WC</i>		<i>Unskilled WC</i>	
	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
Scouts	24.1	9.2	23.8	14.9	29.5	12.9	26.1	10.9
Church youth	14.9	22.7	24.3	28.2	22.5	22.4	14.1	18.2
Mass media	3.5	9.2	4.6	9.8	3.1	5.9	7.6	1.8
Sporting	14.2	10.9	10.5	18.4	15.5	18.8	6.5	12.7
Arts	1.4	2.5	2.5	2.3	1.6	3.5	0.0	1.8
Service	4.3	13.4	2.9	13.8	0.8	10.6	1.1	18.2
Life saving	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sunday school	2.1	5.0	1.3	5.7	0.0	2.4	1.1	1.8
Political/social	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8
Other cultural	0.7	2.5	0.7	0.6	0.7	3.5	2.2	0.0
Non-youth	2.1	5.9	3.3	5.7	2.3	5.9	4.3	5.5

1947 N = 260; youths from "parent not employed" n = 17; missing n = 38 (14.6%)

1954 N = 427; youths from "parent not employed" n = 20; missing n = 50 (11.7%)

1961 N = 536; youths from "parent not employed" n = 29; missing n = 35 (6.5%)

Source: Data-base, see Appendix E

As might be expected, involvement with sports clubs engaged a large number of the first year high school students, boys and girls, and across all social classes. Significantly differentiated by gender were memberships of the "service" organizations, the main one represented here being the Junior Red Cross. Middle class girls were the most likely to write to media organizations to join various wireless, newspaper and in 1961, television clubs. In the other organization categories, the percentages are too small to allow much meaning to be given the differences.

This survey of organization memberships of first year high school youth points to the successful penetration of all social classes by voluntary youth organizations, one of the great aims of the end of the nineteenth century founders of such organizations. The beginnings of a decline in memberships is seen for the 1961 cohort however. The most obvious likely explanation for this was the introduction of television which came to South Australia in the very late 1950s, though it was probably not the only one. The class which resisted the decline more successfully than others was the employed middle class, who, according to the

historical literature were also the earliest supporters of the voluntary youth organizations. Gender provides no reason for arguing disparities in gross levels of involvement, but the organizations in which girls and boys were involved were either gender exclusive, or attracted the membership of one rather more than the other. The scouts and guides provide the clearest example of a structural separation on the grounds of gender. Even so, if scouting and guiding can be considered the one activity, boys were more interested. Girls were more likely to attend the church youth groups and the service groups such as the Red Cross. They were also more likely to list their membership of organizations that their parents were also involved in than boys. (These included the Lodges and groups such as the Caledonian Society.) The groups involving girls (other than sport) had a lesser tendency towards activity and "adventure", and a concomitant tendency towards more traditional feminine areas, in so far as the church youth group and service club represented religion and charity. Oral history would no doubt disclose a great gap between the stated aims of the Youth Fellowship and the Junior Red Cross and the reasons why girls actually went to them. Two comments on "chop picnics" in the late 1940s in school magazines, the first from Unley High, and the second from Scotch College give an indication of the possibilities. A moonlight hike in the hills with the Congregational Church Youth Club gave an opportunity for everyone to get "lost" before the chop picnic in 1949.<sup>20</sup> The description of Scotch's picnic had the food eaten quickly, and then a pairing off of girls and boys:

and, in the dusk, stroll gradually away from each other until each little couple has a little crevice to itself ...

What a mess! The boys are smeared with lipstick and grease, and the girls resemble fuzzy-wuzzy angels.<sup>21</sup>

Membership of youth organizations, that other feature of modern adolescence beside extended secondary schooling, was common in the post-World War II period, for each sex and across the classes. At the same time there was a very large minority, usually between 30 and 45 percent who stated that they belonged to no such organizations.<sup>22</sup> The secondary school was increasingly the universal institution of modern adolescence, and if it is true that television reduced participation in voluntary youth clubs for the 1961 cohort and beyond, it was set to play an even more important role for the future.

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20. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 3, 1949, p. 7.

21. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 24, no. 3, 1947, p. 15.

22. A Concordia College boy who belonged to no "organizations" (though it is obvious from other comments he was fully involved in his church), wrote that he had no amusements since his time was "fully taken up with more important things like study. Sport for the school. And devotion to the Lord." Intense application to school work, especially in the later years was likely to affect participation in outside organizations as well as the dogged fervours of some youth.

## Representations of youth

Though, and as the beginning of this chapter has suggested by discussion of *The Gap*, there were important changes in the discourses which sought to describe and manage youth in the post-war period, other elements continued from the earlier period. One such continuity was the neo-Arnoldian language of the boys' corporate schools. The Scotch magazine editorial argued that despite the mechanizing age, educated people were still needed to fill "responsible" positions, but with a democratic twist to what was required in mid-twentieth century Australia:

So it rests with us, the youth, the product of the Public Schools, who should have received an education enabling us to make use of the past as a guide to the present and future, to take our places in the community, not as autocrats, but as leaders, who will be prepared to strive towards making our present so-called democracy a true "Government of the people, by the people, for the people".<sup>23</sup>

At Concordia in 1949, college life continued to be "a great influence on the development of character, equipping and preparing young men to step out into life and take an active place in the community."<sup>24</sup>

As after World War I, sentiments which sought to give youth a special role in post-World War II reconstruction were common. A valedictory speech at M.L.C. during the war argued that the writer's contemporaries belonged "to the rising generation, and upon us will fall the task and responsibility of endeavouring to make this world what it should be."<sup>25</sup> As predictable was the attempt to make heroes of old boys who had served and died among the present students.<sup>26</sup> Anzac Days into the 1950s and 1960s continued that function as well as their broader nationalist purposes. The expression of such ideas about youth and its future merged into a broader discourse about citizenship.

The Bean report argued for a concept of democratic citizenship which went beyond the national boundary. Its argument was coincident with the establishment of the United Nations and the hopes it represented:

Whatever may be in the end its more special purposes, the common purpose of secondary education is the qualifying of boys and girls for manhood and womanhood. There is urgent need to re-interpret the well-worn phrase, a

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23. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 24, no. 2, 1947, p. 8.

24. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1949, p. 31.

25. Methodist Ladies College, *Annual*, 1943, p. 10.

26. See Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 21, nos. 1-3, 1944, for examples.

general education. Our tradition and our aspiration urge us to democracy. And the prime justification for the extension of secondary education to all is that in our complex world democracy is impossible without a high general level of education. Education may here be regarded as general in two senses: first, it raises the level of information, judgement, taste and responsibility throughout the community; second, it deals with what is common to all the members of a community and at best, indeed, with what is common to the members of the world community.<sup>27</sup>

From the pages of the Headmaster's journal for the Goodwood Boys' Technical High School, the pattern of practical citizenship training at the whole school level may be detected. The more familiar rituals engaged to secure the loyalty of youth to Empire and nation predominate over Bean's world democratic vision:

20 November, 1947. "School holiday - wedding of Princess Elizabeth."

23 April, 1948. "Brig. Gen. Sir Raymond Leane spoke to the assembled school at the Prefects Assembly in honour of Anzac Day."

27 May, 1949. "Empire Day Service - special lessons, school broadcast, assembly."

15 February, 1950. "Air Training Corps Flight ... formed at this school. There were 42 boys at the first parade."

15 February, 1952. Special assembly to mark the funeral of George VI.

23 June, 1952. "Senior boys of school conducted a Model Parliament at a meeting of Parents & Citizens ..."

14 May, 1953. Empire Day. Ceremony and half day holiday.

1 June, 1953. "School Coronation Observance at 2 pm. Brig T. C. Eastick D.S.O., E.O., C.M.G., spoke to the assembled school and with Mr A. E. Smith presented Coronation Bibles to the pupils. The A. T. C. presented a Guard of Honour to the visitors and carried out ceremonial drill."<sup>28</sup>

At the same time, the school was engaged in constructing more progressive visions of youth as citizen. There is evidence that the activities associated with the "Youth Speaks" meetings were encouraged by the school.<sup>29</sup> Considered an innovation of importance in the 1950s, especially in its relationship to citizenship training, the teaching of Social Studies attracted the attention of Freeman Butts (Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia).<sup>30</sup> The school also opened itself to the local service club Rotary, which held a film evening on the themes of business ethics and organization, and the "promotion of goodwill amongst all classes of the community."<sup>31</sup> The construction and representation of youth as citizen required the blunting of class consciousness, especially in a school like Goodwood which

27. Education Inquiry Committee [E.L. Bean], Final Report ... 1949, no. 15, *SAPP 1949*, p. 29.

28. Entries from Goodwood Boys' Technical High, School Journal, 1947-1958.

29. *ibid.*, entry, 6 August, 1951.

30. *ibid.*, entry, 30 September, 1954.

31. *ibid.*, entry, 2 July, 1956.

had a large working class population. Such projects were made more urgent by the developing Cold War.

At Concordia, a beginning student, Michael Janssen wrote the traditional essay about his ambitions for the future on entry to the school. It is interesting for the links made between anti-communism, resistance to impurity and religion.

We are very fortunate in Australia, and can thank God for our freedom. We must pity places such as: Russia where Communism has overcome the land. We should hope and pray that the boundaries do not expand any more.

As Lutherans, there should be a great difference in the way we act, speak and think. Our actions should be kind and gentle as our Lord has taught us to be. Our thoughts should be clean. We must depress all filth and other wicked thought. Our speech should consist of only soothing kind and Christian like talk. We must avoid all bad literature [sic], but keep up our daily devotions.<sup>32</sup>

The role of youth as Cold War warriors was also evident at the Catholic convent school, Cabra, where an Intermediate student in 1945 had written of the dual threats of tyranny and atheism. The Cabra magazine had reported a year earlier on a rally for Catholic youth (for ages 14 to 25 years) where a speech by Mr Santamaria had received "special attention and applause."<sup>33</sup> The 1945 article in the magazine was a faithful simplification of the views of Santamaria and the Catholic Social Studies Movement:

Here in Australia we must try to keep the Communistic party [sic] from gaining powerful and important positions in such organisms [sic] as the railways, Post-master General's staff, Parliament and the censoring of films.<sup>34</sup>

Here was a new voice for youth, and a representation of youth, as engaged in the polity, and bringing their energy to bear against a litany of insidious forces, whether it was communism or "dirty films". This element of the post-war discourse could affect other areas, including sport and sportsmanship for example. At Concordia, Australian sporting traditions were taken to exemplify "freedom", in contrast to the "regimentation" of communist Russia.<sup>35</sup>

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32. Michael Janssen, Student Record 61-49, Concordia College Archive. (Name changed.)

33. Cabra College, *Veritas*, 1944, p. 18. (Santamaria was the leading Catholic anti-communist campaigner from the 1940s in Australia, founding organizations which had considerable success in challenging the influence of the Communist Party and the left of the Labor Party in trade unions and for a time the Labor Party as a whole. See Robert Murray, *The split: Australian labor in the fifties*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1984 (1970).)

34. Cabra College, *Veritas*, 1945, p. 22.

35. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1955, p. 42.

At the high school, the Headmaster's 1951 Christmas message to departing students was framed by the Cold War:

You are going into a trouble-torn world; part of your job is to try to make your worth-while contribution to bring this world back to sanity.<sup>36</sup>

A potential problem was that the representation of youth as active agents in the defence of freedom and justice was that the left, as well as the right could provide the arguments and inspiration. Though memberships of organizations such as the scouts and guides, with their conservative, God, King and Empire ideology was far more common than the Communist Party's Eureka Youth League, it also had an effect on youth as responsible social participants and critics.<sup>37</sup>

By the early 1960s, the school magazines recorded a growing interest by youth in several of the world's injustices. Racial prejudice was a theme in Concordia's magazine.<sup>38</sup> An Unley student preached internationalism:

No patriotism means no wars. I think it is time we were educated in the international feeling, so that "I love my country" gave way to "I belong to the family of man".<sup>39</sup>

The entry of Freedom from Hunger campaigners into the schools contributed to the growth of liberal and left influences on youth. In 1962, the Unley magazine had student written articles on the plight of Aborigines in Australia, and what was wrong with the killing of kangaroos.<sup>40</sup>

If the idea that youth were to actively engage in politics, instead of simply being taught about citizenship, caused problems, other issues had the potential for worse. The conditions of the Cold War had a wonderful capacity for linking and revitalising a number of disparate fears about the nature of youth, as has been seen in the example provided by Michael Janssen's essay above, where anti-communism, impurity of thought and the need for censorship were brought together and perhaps internalized by a thirteen year-old. Stanley Hall's work on adolescence had spoken of the potential of youth for high minded purity, and the disastrous opposite. His work, and that of others engaged in late nineteenth and early

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36. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 32, no. 3, 1951, p. 1.

37. On the Eureka Youth League in Adelaide see John Sedy, *Comrades come rally! Recollections of an Australian communist*, Nelson, Melbourne, 1978, pp. 113-5. (There were several members of the League in the 1961 cohort data-base.)

38. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1963, pp. 28-9.

39. Unley High School, *Eye*, 1964.

40. Unley High School, *Magazine*, 1962, pp. 20.

twentieth century social reform, had given rise to new institutions devoted to the regulation of the morality and behaviour of youth.<sup>41</sup> The atheism of communism and the perceived degeneracy of much of modernist art and literature were thought to increase the threat.

The state technical schools, if not by illegal, then by marginally permissible means, incorporated Protestant church commencement and other services into their school calendars.<sup>42</sup> Evangelical activity in the state schools was encouraged, especially in association with the fervour surrounding the Billy Graham visit to Adelaide in the late 1950s. The Goodwood Boys Technical High Christian Discussion Group reported that at one of its meetings

the saving power of Christ was preached, and His substitutionary death on the cross for our sins. We were all moved by this meeting and one lad accepted Christ as his Lord and Saviour.<sup>43</sup>

At Unley High, when state schooling was attacked in the popular press as "Godless", and as producing youth devoted to "pagan materialism", the headmaster took great pains to argue the Christian foundation of the school and its proficiency in training Christian citizens who lacked neither "Christian grace" or "virtue".<sup>44</sup> By 1963 there were three voluntary Christian groups in the school: the Crusaders, Student Christian Movement, and as a defence against Protestant evangelism, the Young Catholic Student Movement.<sup>45</sup>

The great effort by the churches and others to Christianize youth in the 1950s was part of a commonly expressed fear (I hesitate to use the extravagant phrase "moral panic"), of a rise in immorality and delinquency, of which *The Gap* was a prominent sign. Such lowly organizations as the Skid Kids, a spills and thrills cycling club, which had considerable success attracting working class boys, conceived its mission within such a moral discourse. A student writer in the Goodwood Technical High school magazine explained that the club "aimed to keep all boys from wandering around the streets and getting into mischief."<sup>46</sup>

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41. See Steven L. Schlossman, *Love and the American delinquent: The theory and practice of "Progressive" juvenile justice, 1825-1920*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1977. The kindred laws and institutions, if not the connecting narrative for South Australia, are recorded in Constance Davey, *Children and their law-makers: A social-historical survey of the growth and development from 1836 to 1950 of South Australian laws relating to children*, [the author], Adelaide, 1956.
  42. Goodwood Boys' Technical High School, School Journal, 1947-1958, entries, 30 May, 1952 & 2 March, 1956; [Margaret Ward and others], *Mitcham Girls High School: 1959-1984*, p. 6.
  43. Goodwood Boys' Technical High School, *Magazine (Arunga)*, 1953, p. 31.
  44. Press clippings, Unley High, School Journal, 1953-4. See also Campbell, *State high school*, p. 131.
  45. Unley High School, *Magazine*, 1963, p. 55.
  46. Goodwood Boys' Technical High School, *Arunga*, 1958, p. 42.

A student article from Concordia titled "Juvenile Delinquency" haltingly reproduced popular fears and commonly argued cures:

Current newspapers and magazines are full of accounts of immoral lives of today's youth, and many organizations have been established to curb juvenile delinquency before the world's teenagers submerge into an irresponsible, lazy and worthless civilization ...

The roots of the problem are the home and the school ...

A youth with nothing creative to do is an easy victim to gangs.

... I do think that many teenagers are regarded as delinquents, because they wear bright clothes and wear their hair long, when really they are only following a teenage fashion.<sup>47</sup>

The author continued the attempt to escape the negative representations by suggesting that perhaps teenagers had not changed, but the times and parents had.<sup>48</sup> One of Walford's 1964 magazine contributors also addressed the issues, resisting the negativity of much of the adult discourse on youth. The article was titled "The Main Problems of Today's Adolescent".

The main problem of today's teenager is that he is considered to be a problem.

Its author argued that psychology had inflated the importance and difficulties of adolescents, although new freedoms and money had enabled many youth to shirk their responsibilities. Then she took up the old theme, and a demand that youth reconcile themselves to the institutions and restrictions of the institutions of adolescence:

The danger that is facing today's adolescent is the trend to want to grow up too quickly. School and all such associations of learning are "juvenile" and to be escaped as soon as possible, so that one may join the outside world.

Early employment however, led to the "bad behaviour" of many adults. Without "a higher education the only jobs available are the low class ones". Adolescents were represented as more important than they ought to have been by the mass media:

It is the desire sub-conscious or otherwise, of every human being to be important and so the adolescent gains this today, but the publicity is often of the wrong kind and many young people try to live up to the fabricated image they see of an adolescent.<sup>49</sup>

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47. Concordia College, *The Brown and Gold*, 1963, p. 28.

48. *ibid.*

49. Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 7, no. 81, 1964, p. 47.



This article is significant for this study in a number of ways. First, it represents an increasingly popular usage and self-identification by a youth, female in this case, with the term "adolescent" discovered in Mitcham and Unley magazines. It also shows the awareness of the impact of the psychological discourses on popular perceptions of adolescence. Further it recognises the role of popular culture through the mass media on the making of modern adolescence - but in the end, for all its intelligence it can only repeat the old prescriptions, so important throughout the century for the urban professional and employed middle class in particular: delay adulthood, defer gratifications and work hard at school!

Still in the 1940s but much less accepting of the restraints of modern adolescence, was the essay "This Life of Ours" in the Unley High magazine. The author allowed his "mind to wander over the life of the adolescent schoolchild - that's you and me". The complaints included early rising, the worry of homework, the difficulty of maths and the monotony of school subjects, and the school day in general. Yet hypocritical adults insisted on proclaiming that they were the best days of one's life:

Secretly, they gloat within themselves that while they disport themselves, seeking their own pleasure at dances and pictures, we must sit amongst piles of books, "having the time of our young lives" ...

This is called a democratic nation, but there are slaves in its midst. Any laws against slavery are zealously guarded by our "working" oppressors. But the spirit is rising within us, my fellow-oppressed. The day is not far distant when we shall rise and shake our bonds from ourselves and conquer our masters. Then and only then, will school servitude be a thing of the past. Rise up and follow to freedom!<sup>50</sup>

Despite the intention of this writing to entertain with its rousing hyperbole, it remains tempting to construe the sentiments not only as a precocious awareness of the power and age relations of modern adolescence and their connection to the deferment of adult pleasures, but also as a hint of the threat that a less subservient middle class, as well as working class youth culture was about to make to the apparently compliant adolescences of the pre-war period.

The perception of adolescence as a period of potential delinquency had much of its source in the growing confidence of psychology to interpret adolescence. It is interesting to review some of the cases of problem youth in schools where professional psychologists were drawn into the exploration of solutions. One boy who had been accused of petty thieving in his school was referred to the Education Department's psychologist. (The Headmaster set the

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50. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1946, p. 22.

tone for the intervention of the expert by referring to the problem as "a form of kleptomania".<sup>51)</sup>

The psychologist interviewed the boy and his parents. He considered that the problem "hinges round the question of the high standards expected from this boy by his family. Some of these standards he is not able to attain and therefore he feels very insecure." Peter's problems and his future were referred to more than one professional psychologist. Advice was sought concerning his future career. The second psychologist expressed great concern at the mis-match between the boy's "attainment" and "ability". He also suggested that the boy was feeling the lack of a "sympathetic male adult influence outside the school situation." Later when Peter sought an end to his rather unhappy school life, he needed the school to provide a detailed reference for his chosen career. The Head of the school passed on the opinion that the boy had been "slow to pass from a childhood mentality to boyhood."<sup>52</sup>

These interpretations of Peter's life, combined with a visit to another state institution devoted to youth, the Juvenile Court (in relation to his alleged thieving), may or may not have had profound effects on his present and future life. What they do reveal is a professional discourse about adolescence which gave a complex meaning to behaviour which in other times might have led to a simple expulsion from school and a rapid entry, depending on his family's access to the labour market, to some form of employment. In this case, the effect of the bringing of expert knowledge to bear on Peter's behaviour was to shift the blame, mainly back to his family, and with a Freudian twist, specifically to the father, constructed as a classic authoritarian and unsympathetic figure. Though it may have taken some of the heat off Peter, the intervention of the psychologists also represented a disempowering of the youth. With dramatically reduced responsibility for his actions, Peter had become a case of arrested adolescent maturation. Also significant was the active compliance of the secondary school in giving status to this applied psychological discourse about adolescence. In a period when more youth entered the schools, and mass popular culture was undermining a certain hegemony that family and school had over the governance of youth, the adoption of such a scientific approach constituted a protection for the school in dealing with its difficulties. The effect of the psychological discourse was to seek the cause and meaning of problems in apparent "dysfunctions" in the child and family, and less so in the structures of school curriculum and organization. An article on educating "the teen-age child" published in the local teachers' journal serves to summarise the contribution of

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51. Headmaster to Mr L. S. Piddington, 31 March, 1954, SR 53-32, CCA.

52. The details of Peter Simon's case (name changed) are reconstructed from the correspondence in his student record folder: Peter Simon, Student Record 53-32, Concordia College Archive. (The documents quoted were written in the three years 1954-6.)

psychology and its professional experts to this now more pervasive and applied, if not new, representation of youth:

It has been only recently acknowledged that the period of adolescence has its peculiar problems. The teenager is not only a child to be trained to take part as a member of society; he is fundamentally a member of it, with his own way of solving problems. Further, he is a member of a society that is itself constantly changing. When society fails, with the help of education, to satisfy his needs in a positive and constructive fashion, he expresses himself in undesirable and socially unacceptable ways. The fact that society is plagued with juvenile delinquency, vandalism, and the "bodge" and similar cults provides testimony that the school as well as the home has a challenge to meet.<sup>53</sup>

The article concluded with the familiar progressive argument for a broader range of courses and school types - greater educational differentiations to meet the range of student abilities.<sup>54</sup>

Several times in the preceding discussion, the terms "youth culture" and "mass culture" have been used. Neither exists without extensive literatures supporting contested meanings. "Mass culture" depends on the idea of a potentially decremented population, whose local, folk or popular cultures have been or are being swamped by the cultural products of capitalism through ever more effective "mass" marketing and communications. It also stands in opposition to the "high culture". As has been seen from earlier chapters, the spreading of high culture had been seen as an important function of secondary schooling. The term "mass culture" inevitably assumes a highly negative set of connotations, and is not necessarily a good description of the culture of any population, even under the conditions of the urban and suburban societies discussed here. Nevertheless it retains a utility by describing the cultural ideas, images and products which were generated externally, such as in the films about youth produced by Hollywood in the 1950s, and disseminated as cultural commodities throughout the western world. In writing that they had an effect on the "youth culture" or "youth cultures" of Unley and Mitcham in the post-World War II period, I do not argue that youth were subsumed by them, though it was commonly assumed, on the left and right in Australia, that youth were in fact mindlessly absorbing and reproducing elements of this mass culture.<sup>55</sup> For such a process to occur would assume a complete alienation from local social structures and relations, and from the understandings and codes which made them meaningful. Stuart Hall and his collaborators argued against the idea of any "natural"

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53. "Education of the Teen-age Child", *S.A. Teachers' Journal*, vol. 7, no. 11, 1957, p. 26.

54. *ibid.*, pp. 27-8.

55. See Jon Stratton, *The young ones: Working-class culture, consumption and the category of youth*, Black Swan Press, Perth, 1992, ch. 3 for an extended exploration of these issues.

meanings in cultural systems. Objects and commodities assume meaning within local contexts, because they are arranged "according to social use, into cultural codes of meaning, which *assign meanings to them*."<sup>56</sup> Class formations and the gender order are two such crucial contexts. The youth of Unley and Mitcham within those contexts adapted the products of the mass culture. Though two broad streams were identified at the beginning of this chapter, a more compliant "teenage" youth culture, as well as a less compliant bodgie and widge youth culture, neither were lacking in agency towards the local institutions within or against which they made their lives.

The shadow of the perceived threat of this agency may be read in the efforts of all secondary schools to continue the promotion of "high culture" among its youth. At the mainly working class Goodwood Boys Technical High School, the attempts to engage the students in the "appreciation" of classical music and "art" were unremitting. Visits by boys to symphony concerts and the occasional string quartet occurred from the late 1940s right through the 1950s.<sup>57</sup> In the mid 1950s the school worked up annual concerts devoted to particular composers, including Mozart (1955), Schubert and Schumann (1956), Bach and Handel (1957).<sup>58</sup> The school prided itself on its collection of oils and water colours from South Australian artists, holding assemblies to celebrate the artists who often donated works to the school.<sup>59</sup> Other references in the school magazine and school journal suggest that the place of high culture in the school was only sustained with great effort. As early as 1944 jazz and "boogie woogie" had to be denigrated to justify the classical curriculum of the lunch-time music club.<sup>60</sup> Nor were the school magazines by the early 1960s immune from the poems or stories about pop and rock singers which appeared in most of the schools of the district, regardless of their class character and despite early efforts such as the banning "comics of the less desirable type and cheap magazines and weekly papers". At the Methodist Ladies College, the school "at least [was] not the place for the cheap and tawdry ...".<sup>61</sup> At Concordia in 1964, a parting comment on a record card for a girl leaving school was the

56. John Clarke and others, "Subcultures, cultures and class" in Stuart Hall & Tony Jefferson eds., *Resistance through rituals: Youth sub-cultures in post-war Britain*, Hutchinson, London, 1976 [1975], p. 55. This approach derives from my reading of F. R. Leavis, Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall. Since "youth culture" is not the focus of the present study it is not appropriate to develop the discussion of culture beyond this indication of approach.

57. For example Goodwood Boys' Technical High School, *School Journal*, 1947-1958, entries: 18 September, 25 September, 1947; 4 July, 8 July, 1952.

58. Programmes of concerts are collected in the *School Journal*, 1947-1958.

59. For example, *ibid.*, entry, 31 October, 1947.

60. Goodwood Boys' Technical High School, *Magazine (Arunga)*, 1944, p. 5.

61. Quotations from Methodist Ladies College, *Annual*, 1951, p. 2. On magazine literature responsive to mass culture, for example, a fantasy about "Melvin Presley" being pursued through the streets of Adelaide, Goodwood Boys' Technical High School, *Arunga*, 1961, p. 38. In the adjoining suburb at the very middle class Walford C.E.G.S. there were poems about the Beatles and "surfies". Walford School, *Walford House Magazine*, vol. 7, no. 81, 1964, pp. 55-6.

blunt: "Too interested in Beatles and pleasures of world. Left without notice."<sup>62</sup> If secondary schooling was practically universal by the 1960s, the school now demanded deferment not only of adult pleasures, but also pleasures that the new mass youth culture was making available.

The end of the period under study coincides with the introduction of television into the lives of youth. A survey of all the Goodwood "Tech" boys in 1960 revealed that even then 66% of the boys had televisions at home and 33% had been to the cinema during the week before the investigation. Sunday school or church attendance stood at a rather high 47% but membership of a library at a low 13%.<sup>63</sup> One of the missions of secondary schooling, to promote the higher culture, required increasing effort, often against the interests of parents as well as youth. Arguing that her son was wasting "money and time" by learning classical music at Concordia, the seeking of permission for him to learn "semi music" brought an adverse response.<sup>64</sup>

The difficulty with modern music or semi-music or jazz is that it would introduce a type of music that we as a teaching staff do not encourage at College. [It would add to the already noisy practice sessions] ... jamboree modern music ... jazz ... with its peculiar rhythm and its customary loudness with heavy use of the pedals and hammering on the keys ... [...] ... the Staff definitely does not consent to jazz being practised here.<sup>65</sup>

Johnson argued that for girls and boys, the new commodities and "styles" offered by the market to youth as teenagers allowed a new sense of public presence. Though their schooling was being extended, the market provided "their own clothes, hair styles, music, radio programmes, popular literature and their own magazines." In fact, the market suggested youth could be in control of its own growing up. The school's role was reduced in some respects to a monitoring process.<sup>66</sup>

This discussion of the representations of youth has been less expansive than that for the pre-World War II period. Missing is a discussion of the subtleties of the developments and changes to the broader range of representations discussed earlier. That discussion has been dislodged in favour of a concentration on some of the more dramatic developments, those which were attached to the new politicization of youth during the Cold War, the increasing confidence of psychology to define and resolve the problems of the adolescent, and those

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62. Jill Warner, Record Card 61-31, Concordia College Archive.

63. Goodwood Boys' Technical High School, *Arunga*, 1960.

64. Mrs R. Horwood to Headmaster, 9 June 1957, Student Record 55-71, Concordia College Archive.

65. Headmaster to Mrs R. Horwood, 13 June 1957, SR 55-71, CCA.

66. Lesley Johnson, "The teenage girl: the social definition of growing up for young Australian women, 1950 to 1965", *History of Education Review*, vol. 18. no. 1, 1989, p. 9.

concerned with new youth cultures. In the first and last of these themes, youth began the process of emerging with a little more control over its own history. The psychological discourse continued the opposing process, by which youth were made subject to new and disempowering regimes of truth, and continued to be made subject to institutions and practices designed to meet their expertly determined differing capacities.

### Adolescence and gender

Gendered expectations of what girls and boys should or should not be and do were a major concern of the secondary school. The commentaries by teachers on particular students in confidential files are particularly revealing. Comments on boys were likely to be intrusive, but at the same time were less likely to inspire summary judgements solely in the terms of desirable gender characteristics.<sup>67</sup>

Andrew Burgoyne was a boy in trouble:

*February 1964.* Truancy ...

*May 1964.* Suspected truancy ... Suspected by father of smoking. Found out of schoolyard lunchtime (smoking).

*December 1964.* Presented himself for Leaving Exam - wearing a beard.

*August 1965.* Brought whisky, wine, brandy to Opera ...<sup>68</sup>

In Andrew's case, none of the offences except truancy have much to do with his performance as a student. Nor is his masculinity called into question, although the drinking, smoking and beard-growing had everything to do with the rejection of the desired model of adolescence that schools promoted. Andrew it appeared could not wait, both to grow up, in terms of presenting himself as behaving as some men behave, but also to present himself as indisputably male, in the sense that the youths in Willis' study defined their maleness against the desired adolescence of the school.<sup>69</sup> The important discourse which made Andrew's activities objectionable was the conjunction of class and adolescence, as much as gender.

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67. For a discussion of adolescent girls in particular, using theory informed by Foucault, on "the gaze of the teacher onto the inner life of the average girls or boy", see Ester Faye, "Producing the Australian adolescent as school child in the 1950s: The fantasised object of desire", *History of Education Review*, vol. 20, no. 2, 1991, pp. 66-78. [Quotation from p. 69, italics in original.]

68. Teacher's comments (1964-5), Andrew Burgoyne, V.G. card 3532, Unley High School Student Records.

69. Willis, *Learning to Labor*, ch. 3.

Comments by teachers on different girls from two secondary schools reveal a more prominent connection between gender and adolescence for girls:

Sweet, fluffy, reliable, feminine but hopeless academically.<sup>70</sup>

Interested in work but only superficially. Likes glamour.<sup>71</sup>

Shocking family background; the child, neglected, has, at 15 yrs of age, knowledge and experiences that appal one, but she rather glories in them.<sup>72</sup>

Shirley has been seen speaking to young painter, John Smith. Write to mother.<sup>73</sup>

Behind the quotations from the record cards of the four girls above, is an unspoken model of femininity, and femininity in relation to adolescence. First, is the grudging acceptance of that femininity which made the first two girls accomplished as possible objects of desire, specifically through "sweetness" and "glamour".<sup>74</sup> The acceptance is grudging because neither of the first two girls were good students. A more respected femininity would have incorporated a degree of scholarly intention. In this respect, the secondary school remained true to Buss and Beale, and first wave feminist ideals. The third and fourth quotations also established continuity with the end of the nineteenth century. Actual and potential sexual precocity were strongly disapproved of, to the point of causing shock. The secondary school assumed a surveillance and reporting role in relation to such precociousness. And where families failed to respond to the warnings, families were condemned. The desired model of female adolescence, at least as far as the secondary school was concerned, may be partially reconstructed from the teacher comments. The best kind of femininity for the female adolescent continued to involve relative innocence of sex, and a willing subjection to the protective intentions of the school. It also incorporated a genuine identification with the school curriculum and its academic rituals. There were other socially accepted femininities - how could anyone who was "sweet, fluffy" and "reliable" be rejected? - but there was an hierarchy. At the bottom was the girl who knew what only an "adult" should know, which knowledge itself inferred neglect, and denoted a "shocking family background". Such a girl was not a healthy "teenager", but a very potential "widgie", the equivalent, or worse. Such a discussion requires further consideration of the relationship between gender and adolescence. The discussion will be continued in the thesis Conclusion.

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70. Teacher's comment (1961), Janine Parker, V.G. card 3168, Unley High School Student Records.
  71. Teacher's comment (1961), Fiona Miles, Student file 6115, Walford C.E.G.G.S. Student Records.
  72. Teacher's comment (1961), Bronwyn Mercer, Student file 6143, Walford C.E.G.G.S. Student Records.
  73. Teacher's comment (1961), Shirley Twartz, V.G. card 3213, Unley High School Student Records.
  74. On the role of "glamour" in the making of the femininities of the 1950s and 1960s, see Johnson, "The teenage girl", pp. 6-8.

The school magazines of the 1940s and 1950s saw a brief flowering of students' writing about their "comings out". The debutante ball peaked in popularity in this period, and represented, in theory at least, a ritual arrival by a girl in society, if not directly onto the marriage market. (See Plate 13 below for a typical photograph of debutantes from the 1950s.) A 1949 description of a debut by an Unley High girl begins with an acknowledgment that fifteen was a little young, but fortunately was not a real obstacle.<sup>75</sup>

The great moment came. I took my partner's arm and we stepped on to the blue carpet and slowly made our way down to the front of the hall, which seemed miles away. When we came to the end of the carpet I took my arm from my partner's, and while he stepped sideways I stepped forward and made my curtsy. I stepped back, curtsied again, took my partner's arm, turned and we walked to the back of the hall where we stood while thirteen others were presented. After this, we all turned and curtsied to our partners, and then broke into the debutantes' waltz. The rest of the night is indescribable, for it was the happiest night I have ever spent.<sup>76</sup>

Johnson argued that the debutante ball, like the beauty quests of the time "told a story of feminine achievement at the same time as it affirmed the necessity of marriage as providing the goal of this project and its desired point of closure."<sup>77</sup> This was "femininity-under-control"<sup>78</sup> By the 1950s however, the debut was rather an empty ritual. The events which marked the important transitions were more likely to be the leaving of school and entry into the work-place, and they were transitions from dependence towards some levels of self-determination.<sup>79</sup> In this the transitions were the same as those for boys. Adolescence was a relevant construct for girls as well as boys, but the differences between male and female adolescences were also substantial - framed mainly by the different socialization processes which established the gender order. The meaning of work was also different. Life-long careers were still not an expectation of the majority of women.

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75. It would have been at M.L.C. where the announced rules on eligibility for being presented at the Old Scholars Ball were comprehensive. Girls had to have turned sixteen, should have completed their Intermediate exam or spent five years at the school, and made the debut within two years of leaving the school. (Methodist Ladies College, *Annual*, 1960, p. 45.)

76. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 30, no. 3, 1949, p. 3. For a description of such an event as a trial from the male partner's point of view, see Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1948, p. 6.

77. Johnson, *The modern girl*, p. 138.

78. *ibid.*, p. 147.

79. See John Modell, *Into one's own: From youth to adulthood in the United States 1920-1975*, University of California press, Berkeley, 1989, p. 12-20. Modell argues for the U.S. that the rapid increase in part-time work for high school students in the post-World War II period blurred even these markers. By comparison, Australian students were less likely to be involved in the labour market during the same period.



Plate 13  
Debutantes in the 1950s



DEBUTANTES AT THE OLD SCHOLARS' ASSOCIATION ANNUAL BALL  
Back Row (left to right): M. Heston, J. Haines, D. Heyworth, J. Wright, R. Schryer.  
Front Row: J. St. George, R. Newman, P. Winton, V. Henderson.

Source: Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 101, 1953, p. 6.

It is in the process of developing masculinities and femininities that rituals such as the debutante ball became important. Gender roles were cumulative panoplies of gestures, rites, and attitudes, some learnt from family, others from wider communities, and others from interpreting and internalizing cultural products of the mass media. An Unley High girl reviewed the progress of boys through such a process in a school magazine article of 1946. The story is replete with the gestures and rites of a developing adolescent masculinity, including the exercising of petty tyrannies. After the "cowboys and indians" phase:

comes the time when all these childish pastimes are left behind, and, instead of playing with a bow and arrow, the future chemist attempts to blow himself, and the whole house up. It is at this time that, with much inward mirth, "stink bombs", little packages of  $H_2Sn$  mixture, are carried into church and dropped furtively behind the pews.

Just after this stage, the young man discovers the hidden strength that lies behind his fists. Catastrophe is unavoidable and his sister becomes the tearful owner of two continually bruised arms. Retribution is swift however, and, acting on "inside" information, our hero's mother catches him in the act of "lighting up" behind the shed.

This last pastime being condemned, he now becomes a swing fan. The whole house literally rocks as the wireless blares out one of Spike Jones's numbers. Then comes a blow which leaves the neighbours prostrate. To the blaring of the wireless is added the blaring of the exhaust of a very powerful motor bike. The neighbours gnash their false teeth in helpless rage as our hero, with exhaust roaring (he scorns a silencer), tears up and down the street for as long as his watered petrol ration will allow.

Then at last comes the day when the motor bike is exchanged for a sports car. Everyone (except our hero) heaves a sigh of relief. But the young man has decided that, with his coming of age, a car is more dignified, and besides, the lady of his choice prefers it so.<sup>80</sup>

In this representation of adolescence, the school contributes the fascination with chemistry. Mass culture contributes "swing", or more importantly, the aggressive playing of swing. The motor cycle, represented independence of another kind. If there is any most popular theme of the boy school magazine writers, it is the significance of learning to drive and the fascination of motor cycles and cars.<sup>81</sup> Shaving and the advent of long trousers were also subjects, but neither had the appeal of the motor on wheels. The sixteen year-old Leaving author of the "Open Road" (1955) captured the enthusiasm:

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80. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 27, no. 2, 1946, p. 12.

81. For examples see Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 23, 1946, p. 13; Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 29, no. 2, 1948, p. 9 vol. 29, no. 1, 1948, p. 8; vol. 32, no. 1, 1951, pp. 25-6; vol. 32, no. 2, 1951, p. 8; vol. 33, no. 2, 1952, p. 32; Urrbrae Agricultural High School, *Harvest*, 1962, p. 27.

On my sixteenth birthday the only thought in my mind was to get myself a drivers' license and jump into the car and career madly round the streets of Adelaide ...<sup>82</sup>

Women in the original article are represented by the sister, a victim of the adolescent male's aggression (and a "tell-tale"). The mother and eventual girl friend have the roles of modifying his dangerous or aggressive behaviour. These behaviours and attitudes of adolescence for boys were congruent with developing models of masculinity. Such behaviour by girls would have caused concern, though the not always affectionate category of "tom boy" was available to girls who resisted some of the more passive aspects of femininity.

### **Agency and rebellion: the failures of the modern mass secondary school**

It stood to reason that by making practically all youth subject to secondary schooling, and increasing the time spent in such schooling, that increasing problems of governing youth in secondary schools would occur. When those developments were allied with the emergence of new youth cultures, which regardless of their origin, tended to emphasise the cultural differences between youth and their elders, those problems were likely to be exacerbated. When both these movements were situated in the contexts on one level of a contracting demand for youth labour, and at another, the dominant curriculum practices in secondary schools rewarding the few and failing the many, it is remarkable that the 1960s did not see more unrest than it did. The 1960s was the decade in which the post-war baby boom children moved into the secondary schools, and in South Australian state secondary schools at least, those youth found themselves subject to crowded conditions, and organizational and differentiating practices which tended to treat them as a mass.

In the pre-war period, prolonged secondary schooling was mainly chosen by families and youth, and its offerings, including its credentials, were pursued within the context of family strategies. Families of the professional and employed middle class were the most successful at integrating secondary schooling into their futures. After the war prolonged secondary schooling increasingly became an experience for all youth, and the importance of class and to a lesser degree, gender as factors in predicting who might stay longer, or be more successful, declined. At the same time, this universalizing of attendance did not mean that secondary schooling was successfully integrated into family strategies. Hostility to compulsory and extended schooling, perceived at a crude level in class and gender patterns

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82. Unley High School, *Magazine*, no. 106, 1955, p. 8.

of early leaving, was a response not only to the different structures and priorities of different families, but also a response of youth itself to the conditions of mass secondary schooling.

Raymond Dahl at Concordia, according to the school, was neither working nor communicative. In a letter to his parents, the Head argued that Dahl should be put to some "useful work":

His attitude to his "studies" is negative. Kindness, patience, and perhaps occasional severity have not produced any change in his fundamental attitude.

... he would rather be at work than at school. Unless you can change that attitude by convincing him of the usefulness of some higher education, I am afraid there will be very little use in sending him back to school ....

All educators of sound views are aware that not all children, - by no means all - take kindly to a post-elementary course.<sup>83</sup>

This was written in 1949. Taking kindly or not, all children were increasingly to experience a post-elementary course. There would be no escape.

For day students, whether state or corporate, there was always some kind of release from the regulations of the school in the mid-afternoon. For boarding students, the supervision continued. It was against such regulation that many youth, male and female, attempted to define their identities, including their sexual identities. At Concordia the attempts to separate the sexes caused considerable difficulties. Correspondence from 1949 and 1950 concerning incidents in which girls secretly met boys, and then failed to return to their hostel (in the first case until 5 am. the next morning), revealed the anxieties of those in charge, and the energy put into the interrogations and the extracting of confessions and promises never to do the same again. In this case the girls were defiant, "instead of being contrite and apologetic ...".<sup>84</sup> Almost worth as much attention, certainly to the extent of informing parents and attempts at formal discipline, were other matters to do with the regulation of appearance and the body, especially when coinciding with behaviour offences. That Simon Hinde had had his hair cut in 1957, just before the exams (no doubt to lessen his chances of being called to account), "in that ridiculous fashion that is not approved of here", added to offences of rowdy boarding house behaviour and absence without leave. The response to Simon's behaviour was the disappointment that he had not lived up to the old model. He had been immature, not a "young man"; he had lacked "courtesy, good behaviour, gentlemanliness,

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83. Headmaster to Mr. L. S. Dahl, 4 December, 1949, Student Record 48-04, Concordia College Archive.

84. Headmaster to Mr A. T. Hunt, 6 May, 1949. See also other correspondence in the file for Maureen Hunt, Student Record 46-67, Concordia College Archive.

decency"; he had neither behaved as a Christian, nor a Concordian.<sup>85</sup> The apology eventually written was equivocal, but in this and in other cases, the reach of the school could extend beyond the period of enrolment. In early 1958, Simon found himself having to ask the Headmaster for a reference for employment. The best that could be said was that he had "a very good family background".<sup>86</sup>

Other offences of behaviour which called forth extremes of admonition included smoking, always an issue for modern adolescence. As a symbol of self-determination and insistence on the rights of adulthood, it inevitably conflicted with the elements of modern adolescence which emphasised protection, a prolonged childhood and close supervision.<sup>87</sup> Fay Hook "Could not accustom herself to restrictions of boarding life ..." and left school early.<sup>88</sup> Janice Sando's parents complained of the lack of freedom for and trust in the girls; that they were "treated like babies". The school's reply was in terms of the "very good reasons" that girls in particular had to be supervised, and the rhetorical question, "what parent would not wish it so", and a recourse to a psychological discourse, common in the supervision of adolescents:

I feel that Janice is going through a stage where she needs every encouragement to keep her mind on the things that are really important at this stage of her life. ... I have had a talk to her and have endeavoured to help her see things from the point of view which she will undoubtedly have later about such things.<sup>89</sup>

In looking at the problems of students in the boarding houses of the different schools it becomes especially apparent that it is the social construction of adolescence which produced the volatilities of modern youth as much as any inherent expression of "nature". The insistence on the dual demand, the demand for developing maturity, and the demand for prolonged dependence, especially in a period when the institutions established to govern youth were weakened in the face of the differing priorities and values of the mass commercial youth culture, was bound to cause confusion and conflict. A boarding house report from the Methodist Ladies College expressed the confusion. As it had been since the beginning of the century, and as the Headmaster of Concordia had suggested above in his

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85. Headmaster to Mr G. Hinde, 13 December, 1957, Student Record 54-62, CCA.

86. School reference for Simon Hinde, 7 February, 1958, Student Record 54-62, CCA.

87. For example see correspondence and "declaration" in the file of John Tomms, Student Record 62-32, CCA. Tomms was made to read the following declaration concerning his smoking: "I solemnly declare before God and this assembly of students and masters of Concordia College that I have sinned grievously in persistently despising the authority of the Headmaster and the Housemasters, even though I have been corrected, warned, admonished, and reminded that disobedience is a sin which incurs the wrath and displeasure of God."

88. Fay Hook, Student Record 61-4, CCA.

89. Headmaster to Mr & Mrs Sando, 24 October, 1962, Student Record 61-74, CCA.

advice to Janice Sando, the resolution belonged to the future, and a trust accepted by youth that deferral of freedoms and gratifications now, would bring future reward.

In the M.L.C. Boarding House, life was closely supervised and disciplined:

At the same time we must learn to make our own decisions, to be self-reliant and to be held responsible for our own behaviour. For the first time we are without our parents' control and some of us find it difficult to adjust ourselves to this freedom.

But perhaps only because it is hard at first do we grow to appreciate this discipline, and this need to conform.<sup>90</sup>

The confusions about independence and discipline, control and freedom, the one meaning the other depending on the context of family or school, are well expressed here. Only by aging, or more importantly, entering the work-force, could the problems of these age relations be resolved.

Though amplified in the circumstances of the boarding house, the issues were often different only by degree among day students. There may simply have been more spaces within which the tensions could be dissipated. School and home were rarely on the same block. There were more opportunities for unsupervised activity on week ends, and on the way to or from school. Some families regulated their youth more than others. That many regulated less, as has been noted, was the major cause of anxiety for the authors of *The Gap* when seeking explanations of the bodgie and widgie problem. As secondary schools became institutions for the mass of youth, regardless of their own ambitions, or the place of secondary schooling in the strategies of their families, youth resisted aspects of the regulation, and sought to reshape the institutions according to their own social priorities.

The over-crowded state secondary schools of the 1950s and 1960s produced the conditions for widespread alienation and resistance among many of their students. A third year student wrote of the trauma of transferring to Unley High in the mid-1950s:

... I was fresh from a tiny country area school where there were only sixty pupils in the whole secondary part ... There I had been important from first year onward; if I had ambitions, then the rest of the school respected and knew of them, trying to encourage me if they could. There I had been in all the sporting teams there were to be in, so that I left under the impression that I was most important.

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90. Methodist Ladies College, *Annual*, 1953, p. 4.

It was a nasty shock to be dumped as a mere second year into a huge class and left; and even then the full impression of my change did not hit me, for it was when I joined the sporting teams and found it impossible to either be in all the teams or to be outstanding in any, that I began to realize what a jolt my pride was receiving. So I turned my attention to the classroom, only to find that my brain was not as great as I had previously imagined ...

During the recess time, I would stand outside and feel rebellious about teachers, and uncomfortable desks, and Unley High School generally ...

Yet now, things seem to have worked together for good in my case ... [The school] in spite of its obvious faults that have at some time or other caused most of its students to grit their teeth in anger, has done its best to help young people like myself to think independently and to find wider horizons ...<sup>91</sup>

Another female student wrote of similar problems a year or two earlier. There the contrast had also been made between the "informality" of the country high school, and the formality of the large city school. The message was that communicative relations between students and teachers, between the different age groups were greatly hindered by the conditions of mass urban secondary schooling. The author concluded with a final image of her former school:

... I hope I have shown what a happy atmosphere exists in these schools and how the teachers become the real friends of the students.<sup>92</sup>

Alienation and anomie increasingly existed among youth despite the now universal dedication of the secondary school to youth's education and governance. The old discourse which made secondary schooling a privilege began to lose its legitimacy. A Principal's message to students in the early 1950s at Unley High recognised some of the conflicts. He doubted the wisdom of parents forcing students to remain beyond the compulsory leaving age against their wills. He recognised at the same time that many students now had the right to decide whether to stay on at school in their own hands. He argued that the foundation of a "really successful life" was still to be found in completing the high school course. Not just earning power was involved:

During the fourth and fifth years at school you begin to develop those latent powers of judgement, and those latent powers of self restraint, which, when developed, are at once the hallmark of the educated man and the key to a really successful life.<sup>93</sup>

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91. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 108, 1956, p. 19

92. *ibid.*, vol. 33, no. 2, 1952, p. 11.

93. *ibid.*, vol. 33, no. 1, 1952, p. 1.

The conflicts were the conflicts of youth agency in determining their own timing for the leaving of school and entering the work-force, the potential conflict between such decisions and the intentions of parents, and the conflicts associated with the growing confusion over the school's own role. Could it continue to argue the idea of the senior state secondary school as a voluntary institutions, dedicated to liberal and meritocratic goals? How far did it need to recognise that increasingly its students were captives; that it had joined the elementary school as a universal, and compulsory agency of socialization, and an arm of the state in this function?

The rumblings of resistance were evident in state and corporate secondary schools. By the early to mid-1960s, school magazines hinted at the subterranean mood change. The last page of Concordia's magazine in 1954 was devoted to an imitation of the semi-subversive art and themes of Geoffrey Searle's work in the Molesworth series of school boy books.<sup>94</sup> Sometimes articles about racism and the threat of atomic war can be read as comments on the discontents of adolescence. Ostensibly about South Africa and the thoughts of a black non-citizen, a student wrote:

Why? Why? Why? The world kept drumming in his brain until he felt he could bear it no longer. He wanted to go into the street and shout it to the people but they wouldn't understand, to go up on to the cliffs and shout it to the winds but they didn't care. Nobody understood, nobody cared, they were all wrapped up in their own petty troubles even to try.<sup>95</sup>

The context of the dissent was the often rigid streaming and curriculum practices of the schools as well as the cultural changes external to them. These practices were occasionally criticised within the schools by Principals and teachers as well as by students, especially when they were recognized as conflicting with the other theme of progressive education, the desire to see each student as a "unique personality".<sup>96</sup> The continuing domination of the school curriculum by the University's public examinations authority was also part of the problem, though there was plenty of support for it, given the residual arguments of those who saw the secondary schools as academic institutions for youth as scholars, rather than universal institutions for the socialising of all youth.<sup>97</sup>

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94. Concordia College, *The Brown and the Gold*, 1954, p. 56.

95. Unley High School, *Magazine*, 1962, p. 21.

96. Scotch College, *Magazine*, vol. 38, 1958, p. 9.

97. For example: "The courses of study at the high schools are largely determined by the requirements of the Public Examinations Board syllabuses. Yet it is not felt that these requirements are restrictions on educational freedom." *Report of the Minister of Education, 1957*, p. 11, SAPP, 1958, no. 44. See also Mary Champion, *An investigation into success and failure of first-year, full-time students at the University of Adelaide with special reference to the type of school they attended*, M. Ed. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1966, pp. 196-213.



The Unley High student "riot" of 1961 was an unprecedented event in the life not only of that school, but of any in the district. The issues at its centre were those of gender and freedom. Resistance to re-asserted restrictions on boys and girls mixing with one another during their non-class times saw a refusal to go into class, and crowds of students, mainly boys and some girls chanting anti-sex segregationist slogans. Boys played the girls' game of hopscotch while girls played marbles, a boys' game. After an assembly in the afternoon in which prefects had insisted on the absence of teachers, an appeal to "respect authority" was mainly heeded.<sup>98</sup> On the following day a smaller demonstration occurred with "bursts of roaring from a huddle of more than 200 boys ostensibly following a 'floating' marble game", while two girls were cheered as they "walked from their restricted area through the boys' area."<sup>99</sup> On the following day, the morning newspaper recorded the explanations of the state Minister of Education and the school Principal. The Minister was keen to assert that students were free for the most part, even if the freedom had to be restricted from time to time. The Principal thought the students were "merely having some fun". He also said that

Casual conversations between boys and girls were allowed but the school did not want strong friendships developing between them in the school grounds.<sup>100</sup>

The older form of the regulation of gender relations was becoming quite untenable by the early 1960s, and in this case, youth itself took action to assert its case.

Resistance to secondary schooling in the post-war period, and under the conditions of new youth cultures and huge enrolments took many forms other than demonstrations. Increases in vandalism of school property and defiance of school-rules and teachers in general, including bomb threats, were increasingly reported in the school journals kept by the heads of the state secondary schools.<sup>101</sup> The relations between schools and parents were given more attention. The theme increasingly became one of cooperative effort between school and family to govern youth. In the pre-World War II period, it was more common for secondary schools to establish a critical distance from families, and assert the rules and rights of the school to manage youth regardless of family. By 1952 at Scotch, schools merely existed "to help the family to bring up its children."<sup>102</sup> The problem of the unsatisfactory

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98. *The News*, Adelaide, 22 June, 1961, p. 1.

99. *ibid.*, pp. 1 & 5.

100. *The Advertiser*, Adelaide, 23 June, 1961, p. 3.

101. For example, Goodwood Boys Technical High, *School Journal*, 17-24/8/1948; Unley High, *School Journal*, 12/4/1961. See also Campbell, *State high school*, pp. 182-184.

102. Scotch College, *School Magazine*, vol. 29, no. 1, 1952, p. 12.

family remained however, and the litany of complaints remained extensive. The M.L.C. editorial of 1960 thought that:

Today parental authority is becoming a joke, discipline is nearly obsolete and self-restraint does not exist.<sup>103</sup>

In the student records the criticisms were at their most trenchant. Single parent families, families who asserted their rights to their children regardless of the school's priorities, families who blamed the school for their children's inadequacies and those who distrusted the level of care provided by schools, and many others were the subject of often caustic comments.<sup>104</sup> The "good" family sought the school's advice and responded positively to it. Like the school it was expected to supervise the life of its teenage with firm and fair discipline.<sup>105</sup>

By the 1960s however, no single approach to youth or discourse about adolescence contained the repercussions of the changing cultural circumstances. Youth who followed the old rules and expectations of the school and their parents wrote in the school magazines of the boredom of their lives, and increasingly resented the prolongation of their "childhood" when new freedoms seemed so close:

Nothing exciting ever happens to me! The same old routine every day; get up at seven o'clock; have breakfast; run for the same train; do the same dreary lessons at school; catch the same "snail" train home; have tea; do homework and climb into the same old bed. Never a change! How I wish I could do exciting things like those they do in books!<sup>106</sup>

John Curnow sat down at his desk, feeling tired and irritable. Things had seemed against him lately. He was always depressed, tired, on edge, and he felt he had not had enough outings, as a boy of seventeen should have. To put it in a nutshell, he felt his teenage life to be slipping past him.<sup>107</sup>

Others were reconciled to the restrictions and found joy in their family and school lives<sup>108</sup>, but the now old model of modern adolescence was subject to growing pressures which made its status, even in the realm of discourse, as opposed to social experience, decreasingly viable.

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103. Methodist Ladies College, *Annual*, 1960, p. 2.

104. For examples of each of the issues, see student records at Unley High, Michael Dean, V.G. card 3386; and Concordia College: Roma Heal, SR 61-24; Mary Frame, SR 61-37 and Charles Shotton, SR 47-49 (CCA).

105. On the construction of such a family, see the correspondence on Gary Kurtz, SR 48-23, CCA.

106. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 103, 1954, p. 25.

107. Scotch College, *School Magazine*, vol. 39, 1958, p. 15.

108. For example, Unley High, *School Magazine*, vol. 33, no. 2, 1952, p. 31.

## Conclusion

Mass secondary education was not the only reason for the pressures on the old model of modern adolescence. Cultural changes, including those associated with the new commodities of mass culture were recognised at the time as being in part responsible. A student magazine editorial of 1957 echoed common sentiments:

Our society today is a highly artificial one; "pleasure" is sold in such forms as American film-cans, and packets of pills; escapism is rife; and aims are more uncertain than ever.<sup>109</sup>

Schools fitfully attempted to reshape themselves to their changing students. By the mid-1960s, experiments with student representative councils had begun to occur.<sup>110</sup> The age of the school prefect, that essential model of adolescence in the elite deriving from the English public school system was in decline. Mixed school socials, adult supervised, became more frequent. Student newspapers were replacing school magazines as the vital agents of the new school youth. The editorialists of the most successful of these newspapers, the *Unley Eye* promised that the paper would be alert

to all that is happening around us. It must also be the mouth-piece of the students; a place where their thoughts may be expressed freely.<sup>111</sup>

There was also the revived youth cultures, especially among the working class which revived the fear of youth on the streets of the city. But this time, the class and the settings were changing. Youth had more mobility, and as *The Gap* had proclaimed, the new delinquents were as likely to come from "good" (that is middle, and respectable working class) homes, as well as the others.

In only some respects does Gillis' argument that the 1960s was the period which saw the beginning of the end of the modern adolescent make sense. It is true that the old compliance of youth in the schools was breaking down. It was also true that there was less acceptance of the old arguments for the deferral of adult gratifications until the completion of secondary schooling. Yet this was still a period in which youth employment was limited and economic dependence by youth on family was more common than ever. It was also the period which saw a triumph of modern adolescence as a universal condition. It was less differentiated along class and gender lines than at any time previous in history. Dramatically greater

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109. Unley High School, *Magazine*, vol. 109, 1957, p. 1.

110. For example, Urrbrae Agricultural High School, *Harvest*, 1962, p. 9.

111. *The Unley Eye*, no. 1, 1962, p. 2. On the history of this newspaper and its continuing battle with censorship by school authorities, see Campbell, *State high school*, 204-206.

numbers of boys and girls, from all levels of the working class were remaining at school for longer periods. The paradox of an apparently simultaneous triumph and decline of modern adolescence occurs in the pitting of the social structuring of prolonged school attendance against important cultural changes, in which youth had begun the process of reclaiming the making of their own history, and through youth cultures began no longer to defer a whole range of adult gratifications.

The history of youth and the secondary schools in Mitcham and Unley in the post-war period is complex, and no single argument or narrative is capable of containing the complexities of the issues. From a period in the 1940s when old themes were dominant, the changes came very rapidly. Former gender and class relations expressed through secondary schooling tended to dissipate while the technologies associated with IQ testing and streaming increasingly moulded youth's experience of schooling. At a time when the scientific discourse surrounding adolescence had become familiar, if not popular, modern adolescence was itself under threat from the growing strength of youth cultures which rejected its repressive aspects. This in turn inspired new fears about the uncontrollability of youth. As the demographic changes of the post-war period became apparent among youth entering secondary schools, ethnicity also became a factor, though still minor, in explaining the character of different lives. The interactions with the new mass culture industries allowed youth to explore a wider range of images and behaviours, and allowed appropriations which gave new powers and a sense of agency to youth. The fears and conflicts concerning youth, in a period of Cold War anxiety became central to a number of important discourses. Through them ran the concern that the now old institutions established to manage youth from the beginning of the twentieth century were no longer doing their work efficiently. In this period, at least in Unley and Mitcham there was an awareness of the problems, but the most common solutions continued to be the fortification of the old institutions which had worked so well for an aspiring new middle class: the voluntary youth clubs, and the secondary school.

## Conclusion

This study of the history of modern adolescence and secondary schooling derived many of its organizing questions from an historiographical debate stretching from the publication in English of Ariès' *Centuries of childhood* in the early 1960s through to the early 1990s.<sup>1</sup> Important contributions to that debate, especially that of Katz and his collaborators, advocated the grounding of the study of youth in the social structures of class, the processes of class formation and the contexts of urbanization and industrial capitalism.<sup>2</sup> Feminist historians including Dyhouse exposed the major weakness in the early historiography, in its confirmed tendencies either to ignore girls, or use the terms "youth" and "adolescence" without reference to gender.<sup>3</sup> Stanley Hall, as the founder psychologist in the field of adolescence had himself confused the gender issue by uncritically using the term "youth", when he meant for the most part, "male youth". Revisionist educational historians during the same period began the process of examining schools and schooling processes with the questions and methods of the emerging sub-discipline of social history. While Kett and Gillis in their seminal works on modern adolescence had both argued that the rise of mass secondary schooling was a crucial factor in understanding the history of modern adolescence, little work even in the 1990s had directly and specifically addressed that issue, especially at the local level. Ueda's study of the Somerville High School, Boston came closest to examining the issues.<sup>4</sup>

Many conclusions of the preceding research on the history of youth have been confirmed in this study. Its main contribution may not be the discovery of new elements in the making of modern adolescences, but the discovery that themes well developed in North American and Western European histories of youth were recognisable and relevant to youth history in a rather unremarkable, mainly suburban district, in a small city of a sparsely populated state of Australia. Themes relevant to the centre were active on the periphery, not only as a result of disseminations from greater centres of population and economic activity, but also as authentic responses and adaptations to local conditions. The school magazines, written by students and their teachers, have provided evidence about the depth of the penetration of new ways of conceiving youth as modern adolescents. If some of the themes explored in this study are familiar, the timings of their

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1. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A social history of family life*, Vintage, New York, 1962 [1960].
  2. Three of many works include Michael B. Katz & Ian E. Davey, "Youth and early industrialization in a Canadian city"; Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet & Mark J. Stern, *The social organization of early industrial capitalism*; Mark J. Stern, *Society and Family Strategy: Erie County, New York, 1850-1920*.
  3. Dyhouse, *Girls growing up in late Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 116.
  4. Kett, *Rites of Passage*; Gillis, *Youth and history*; Ueda, *Avenues to adulthood*.

emergence and periods of importance have been especially responsive to the local conditions.

The timing of two interventions by the state has been most responsible for this. When Williams and Tate (Directors of state Education Departments in South Australia and Victoria respectively) visited North America and Europe in 1907 to gather evidence on recent developments in schooling, they discovered well established networks of secondary schools with modern curricula, at their most impressive in Germany and the United States. In South Australia the attempts to build similar institutions were well under way by the mid-1920s, but it was not until after World War II that secondary schooling became "universal". The core institutions of modern adolescence, whose demands included the separation of youth from the labour markets and the founding of new forms of youth governance, were established quite late. South Australia until World War II was not highly industrialized. Its economy was firmly based on the trade and production of primary goods from agricultural, pastoral and mining activity. The strength and size of the old middle class in South Australia was based on the primacy of this form of economy. The raising of protectionist tariffs by the colonial governments of the 1890s had seen the beginnings of some industry, but crucial decisions by state and federal governments immediately preceding and during World War II finally led to full-scale industrialization. The beginnings of the rise of a new middle class preceded industrialization, but its size and importance were dramatically assisted by the demands such a process made on the state and business. The increased size of the public service and business corporations, the increased size of the population itself as a result of industrialization and immigration, all made for many new employment opportunities in white collar and professional labour markets. The rise of the new middle class, and the linking of the rise of secondary schooling to that class's fortunes were late in South Australia in comparison with north-eastern North American historical experience. Modern adolescence as the dominant organizing mode in the lives of the majority of South Australian youth was more recent than in many places with more advanced industrial economies.

Consequently, the time period chosen for the study, 1901-1965 was not too late to establish the significance of secondary schooling for the re-making of classes and class relations, for the formation of new gender identities and relations, and the universalizing of modern adolescence in relation to those processes.

On social class, the study confirmed conclusions from much of the earlier historiography, that the workings of secondary schools were intimately bound to the reconstitutions of class society. Empirical evidence on enrolment, length of attendance and rates of success of students from different social classes, and differing groups within them, all pointed to

the differing significance of secondary schooling for those groups. For the new middle class, the relevance of new forms of secondary schooling for its reproduction and expansion was quite clear. Without capital or property with commodity based productive potential, prolonged secondary schooling, and an identification with meritocratic practices and culture, was a pre-eminent means of accumulating credentials, which were valuable, and convertible into secure non-manual employment. This remained so for the entire period of the study. While the involvement of boys in this process is relatively straight forward, the restrictions on girls in entering various sectors and levels of the labour market, and the expectation that most would not remain long, led to different demands of secondary schooling for girls by this class. Nevertheless modern labour markets had created positions for girls and young women which required school credentials, and crucial areas of state activity in particular required women with increasingly high secondary school qualifications. The demand for girls in teaching led to some girls for example, early in the century remaining the longest, and accumulating the public examination credentials on offer at higher rates than boys.

The early emergence of modern adolescents from the new middle class was supported by the cultural orientations of the early state high schools in particular, and those schools were rewarded with the loyalty of that class. Taking and adapting the paraphernalia of residual Arnoldian institutions invented for elite corporate schools did not disguise the growth of meritocratic practices and institutions. The rituals associated with the preparation for and the sitting of public examination, and the celebrating of the good results were established early. Examinations, open to all and based on merit, were crucial expressions of a middle class vision of liberal democracy. Individualism and individual effort rewarded, opportunities available to all, without discriminations based on religious tests or birth, and careers open to talent were the values and expectations of the supporters of the new state high schools. Nor were those values and expectations impervious to demands of gender equality. In many respects, the girls' corporate schools established in the early twentieth century, including the Methodist Ladies College, constructed their views of education, schooling and some aspects of femininity itself around such ideas.

By not concentrating on the students of one school alone, but a district-wide network of private, corporate, state high and state technical schools, it has been possible to detect the importance of the different school types in the making of modern adolescence, and the different roles class and gender have played in the different systems. For the working class, interventions by the state through the provision of secondary schools were of major historical significance. For an element of the skilled working class, state secondary schools provided opportunities for upward social mobility, and a significant source of new white collar workers in the making of the new middle class. Girls and boys from the

unskilled working class were the least likely to experience prolonged, secondary school-mediated modern adolescences. The cultural values of the schools expressed through common representations of what constituted good students, responsible youth, responsible families and appropriate ambitions, and with their advocacy of the "high culture" as the only culture worth pursuing, all negatively sustained the pressures and practices of class and gender reproduction in the unskilled working class. The leaving of school as early as allowed, the rapid entrance into the labour force, the continuing necessary contributions to meagre household economies, and the confirmation of pride in one's gendered identities and capabilities, often expressed through resistance to schooling, were part of the powerful denial of a place for compliant, well regulated modern adolescences in family and class life.

In the old middle class, apparently split between business proprietors and the older professional families, yet often united by family networks, and support for the same mainly private and corporate schools in this study, there had been a role for secondary schooling from well back into the previous century. As late as the 1940s and 1950s, patterns in the use of secondary schools by the old middle class dating back to the mid-nineteenth century remained in operation. The contrasting use of Concordia College by the families of farmers and clergy, and the crucial service provided by the school when boys from the land could not or would not return, in providing the foundations of professional training has been demonstrated. For girls from farming families the school provided some accomplishments, some higher education, a degree of Christian training, and an important though short experience of school-governed adolescence, before the return home. For some girls from such families, and most from families of the clergy, the school again provided the crucial academic training in order to go most typically into school teaching or nursing. By situating the relationships between old proprietorial middle class families within the increasing pressures on rural Australia, evidence was found that the role of secondary schooling for these families was about to assume a much greater importance. The old middle class had provided the pioneers of modern adolescence, as the analysis of the early enrolments of the Bible Christian and Methodist schools, Way College and Methodist Ladies College has shown. By the 1920s their leading role had been overtaken by the new middle class, but the commitment to secondary schooling of some length was unwavering.

Families and secondary schools had different expectations of boys and girls: at home, at school, in the work-force, and in their roles as future makers of families, classes and nation. At the turn of the century, even for those few girls who remained for long periods at secondary school, there was some doubt (expressed by historians of female youth among others) as to whether adolescence as it was applied to boys is a useful construct for girls at all. Even quite late in the period of this study, and even for those girls who



had prolonged periods at secondary school, patterns of supervision, curriculum and expectations remained different. Hudson has argued that the constructs of adolescence and femininity were directly contradictory, were "subversive of one another".<sup>5</sup> Her study of girls and adolescence in the late 1970s and early 1980s assumed that femininity and adolescence were both social constructs, the first tending to produce girls as passive and subservient, the latter, expecting youth to be immature, irresponsible and beginning the transition towards adult stability.<sup>6</sup> She argued that the problem of adolescence for girls was qualitatively different than for boys as a result of the conflicting nature of the discourses. In essence, the masculinity expected of boys was much more congruent with the expected manifestations of adolescence than that for girls. The consequence for girls was that "whatever they do, it is always wrong ... since so often if they are fulfilling the expectations of femininity they will be disappointing those of adolescence, and vice versa."<sup>7</sup> As part of her argument, Hudson showed that highly sexualized expressions of femininity in the school setting attracted disapproval, and could be interpreted as a form of schooling resistance. Schools "whilst not denying femininity, must also keep it within bounds, must 'manage it'."<sup>8</sup> In Hudson's discussion there is no denial of the idea that girls were also adolescents. It is here that there is a difference from the discussions about youth at the beginning of the century, when circumstances were such that Dyhouse and Coulter could argue that girls did not have an adolescence.<sup>9</sup>

The argument that girls never had an adolescence, and, that as females they were permanently adolescent must be situated in the context of the middle class at the end of the Victorian era. Working class females, at least until the triumph of the male bread-winning wage, and the subsequent contraction of the female labour market, rarely enjoyed even the possibility of modern adolescences. That there should be such an argument about modern adolescence and females derives firstly from the inadequacies of Stanley Hall, whose adolescent ideal is indisputably male. The girls in his study are pale domestic ideals, subject to the perceived weaknesses and inadequacies of their psychology and physiology. The study of "the adolescent" for much of the twentieth century was the study of the boy. The argument also derives from the inadequacies of the early historiography of childhood and youth.

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5. Barbara Hudson, "Femininity and adolescence" in Angela McRobbie & Mica Nava eds., *Gender and generation*, Macmillan, 1984, p. 31.

6. *ibid.*, pp. 36-7.

7. *ibid.*, p. 53.

8. *ibid.*, p. 40.

9. Dyhouse, *Girls growing up in late Victorian and Edwardian England*, p. 118; Rebecca Priegert Coulter, "Between school and marriage: a case study approach to young women's work in early twentieth-century Canada", *History of Education Review*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1989, pp. 24.

The proposition that girls had no adolescence at all is an extreme position however. More useful is the argument that as modern adolescence came to the different social classes at different rates, so it also came to the sexes at different rates, and that these rates were modified by class position and class relations. First wave feminism encouraged a greater independence of women, and as part of that, the "better" education of girls, a consequence of which was the devaluing of the older accomplishments curriculum. Contiguous with first wave feminism was the effort of many professional and employed middle class families to insure daughters against failure to marry, divorce or death of husband, by equipping them with an education which could be turned to the earning of a living.<sup>10</sup> In that sense, the decision to keep girls at secondary schools for long periods, and sometimes they were longer periods than for boys, led to some of the first modern adolescent girls. The surveillance, supervision and expectations of girls were different from those for boys. Yet, the general conditions of modern adolescence such as protection from premature entry into the labour market and protection from too soon an entry into adult society and its dangers, were in existence for both. Both sexes were increasingly governed by the new institutions of modern adolescence. Secondary schools in the twentieth century in South Australia, state, corporate and private existed for girls and boys. Nor by 1901 was there any formal bar on university entrance or entry to most professions.

At the same time, of course there were considerable cultural, legal and economic restraints for the whole of the period under discussion on the ambitions and behaviour of women, and the dominant discourse of femininity usually supported those restrictions. Yet, the reduction of the restraints had well begun by the turn of the century. In secondary education, the founding of the Advanced School for Girls, with its ambitious academic curriculum, and its record of old scholars entering the University and the professions, was a clear indication of the possibility of a modern adolescence.<sup>11</sup> Institutions other than the school such as provided by church and the Girl Guides also existed for girls from early in the century. Many middle class girls had begun to experience a form of modern adolescence. Earlier quantitative analyses have shown that girls from unskilled working class families were the least likely to experience the prolongation of some of the conditions of childhood on which modern adolescence depended, and that across the classes gender was a reason for inhibiting modern adolescences for females. But the differences were those of scale rather than dichotomy.

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10. Alison Mackinnon, *The new women: Adelaide's early women graduates*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1986, pp. 25-6, 202-3.

11. In this argument, it is as important to emphasise the decline in sex-differentiated curriculum as much as the continued existence of certain subjects taken solely by girls or boys.

Hudson's argument that the discourse of femininity often subverted the discourse of adolescence can be applied to boys. Those masculinities associated with parts of the working class in particular, which allowed sexual precocity, and the traditional larrikin traits in general, also stood in opposition to the desired models of adolescence for boys in the secondary schools. The troubles of Andrew Burgoyne were a ready indication of this.<sup>12</sup> Much more acceptable was the behaviour of the top stream boys as described by John Hirst.<sup>13</sup> That masculinity was constituted, if not by passivity, then a compliance with the wishes of teachers and parents, an industrious application to the work of the school curriculum, and a controlled competitive individualism exercised in the ritualized arenas of sports field and examination hall. The school uniforms of the Unley and Mitcham schools reinforced the impression of compliance and attachment to a ritualized and institutionalized modern adolescence. Tyack and Hansot have pointed to the problematics of this kind of masculinity in their discussion of coeducation and the high school. It had been an argument early in the century in North America that the effect of the high school was to "feminize" boys.<sup>14</sup>

Social class and gender (and their interrelations) are the joint keys to understanding the history of modern adolescence in Unley and Mitcham. Differing constructions and discourses of gender, masculinities and femininities, and the ambitions and strategies of families of different social classes, meant differing rates for the emergence of modern adolescence.

For this study I have argued a growing convergence for boys and girls into many recognisably similar aspects of modern adolescence. In that process, the constitution of the gendered identities of girls and boys changed. This was recognised in the school magazines coming from girls' schools, where little doubt existed that the "modern girl" was increasingly different to her Victorian predecessor. An important part of that modernity involved the assumption of the characteristics of modern adolescence. For many girls at the corporate and state high schools, tension existed between desires for increased autonomy and older expectations of femininity. Girls were supported in their ambitions to succeed in examinations, in competition with boys. Their university and later professional careers were celebrated. Adolescence, as a means of prolonging some aspects of childhood, of preventing a too early and possibly ruinous entrance into the world of adults, as a means of planning for future rewards at the expense of immediate adult gratifications was often argued in very similar ways for girls and boys at the secondary schools. As a middle class strategy for raising children and ensuring their

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12. See p. 350 above.

13. See p. 317 above.

14. Tyack & Hansot, *Learning together*, ch. 6.

future employment security, and ensuring the transference of a certain class culture, secondary schooling assumed a coinciding relevance for girls and boys.

Such an argument does not infer non-recognition of the continuing and powerful gender based differences in the socialising, educating and general development of boys and girls. The power relations involved with gender order over the period of this study remained in favour of men in many respects, and as Johnson has argued, the later period of this study, especially the 1950s, was regressive in a number of ways.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, the possibilities for girls of using secondary schools as a means of asserting an identity separate from family, of using their educational processes to defer an immediate return to the supervision of families in preparation for marriage, of preparing for more or less extended participation in the work-force; indeed to transform the self, as the 1920s school magazine cartoon, "From Grub to Butterfly" so powerfully suggested, increased.<sup>16</sup> Nor should it be accepted that families, schools and youth always had separate or conflicting objectives in these respects. The influences of first wave feminism late in the previous century had prepared the way for the modern, more independent girl; and as Mackinnon has shown in her study of the first female graduates of the University of Adelaide, mothers and sometimes fathers were often driving forces behind the ambitions and fights for degrees of independence of their daughters. Such arguments apply less to working class girls and some elements of the old proprietorial middle class. Again the empirical evidence concerning prolonged secondary school participation and success suggests that many girls, almost over the entire period of this study, did not experience modern adolescences. But, nor did some boys, and social class, its means of reproduction and means of developing new formations were the crucial factors involved. The making of secondary schooling compulsory for all youth after World War II was a reason for suggesting that modern adolescences became much more common for girls and boys of all social classes towards the end of the period of the study.

The thesis of convergence in the post-war period is not uncomplicated however. The formal requirement of all youth to attend secondary schools, and for longer periods, was driven by state regulation, changing youth labour markets and attempts to restructure secondary schooling to provide for all, rather than the academic elite, and the youth of middle class families who could pay the private and corporate college fees. This was crucial for the universalization of modern adolescences for youth, but the experience of modern adolescence also varied considerably. In state and corporate schools, new technologies of educational management, and in particular the use of intelligence testing for the purpose of streaming ensured that new dimensions were added to the

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15. Johnson, *The modern girl*, pp. 152-3.

16. See Plate 4, p. 195.

differentiation of youth experience based on gender, class and the proof of merit. Such technologies, when added to the increased influence and interventions of psychology in dealing with adolescent deviance and delinquency, and the new efforts in vocational guidance, formed new bases for treating youth differently, albeit "scientifically". I have argued that a major effect of these new technologies was to reinforce the dependence of youth on schools and families, and to reinforce the compliance of youth with the demands and values of their schooling. Schools stood in opposition to some emerging youth sub-cultures, that of the bodgie and widgie youth gangs, being the most demonized. At Unley High School the compliant industry of the A stream, from which school prefects were chosen and who identified most thoroughly with the meritocratic goals of their institution, stood in sharp contrast to the activities of the low streams.

At the same time, youth were not complete captives of the institutions that governed them (nor had resistance in earlier times, even in the youth from the classes which adopted and made the new secondary schools their own, been completely absent). The emergence of a mass consumer culture whose commodities were directed exclusively at youth encouraged appropriations and interpretations of that culture which allowed youth to begin a process of separating themselves from adherence to the desired models and representations of adolescence admired in their schools and beyond. Youth from the middle class, by the end of the period of this study had begun to experiment openly, individually and collectively with resistance. The Unley High riot of 1961 has been interpreted as an indication of such a development. In that sense, Gillis' argument that as modern adolescence approached universalization, becoming the common experience of youth from all classes, middle class youth began the process of departing from some of its essential elements, has been partially confirmed. An acceptance, if often grudging, of the indefinite deferral of adult freedoms and gratifications was certainly no longer uncontested. Yet I have also argued that the economic dependence of youth, and the continued importance of school credentials in the labour market ensured a considerable future life for the old model. The extensive re-opening of the labour market to youth, especially to part-time work by youth still in secondary schools, was a development for the future in South Australia, and certainly beyond the mid-1960s, the end point of this study.

Discourses about youth, especially those which represented youth as ideal modern adolescents have been interpreted ideologically. Such discourses were closely associated with class interests and gender imperatives, and helped legitimize reformed systems of managing and governing youth. They added legitimacy to the comprehensive claims of the schools to regulate youth, and in many cases, regulate families. Secondary schools were not the only modern institutions developing such claims. The penetration of a variety of voluntary youth groups, also with ideological ambitions, was considerable by

the post-World War II period. That secondary schools developed into universal institutions whose right to govern, socialize and educate youth became largely uncontested points to the success of their claims. Even the attempts during the Depression to limit the expansion of secondary schooling had limited long term effects. It also points to the real coincidence of school cultures and activities with the interests not only of most in the middle class, but many in the skilled working class at least. The price of this legitimacy, this universalization, was increased and more scientific forms of differentiation however. The state split its system in two, within schools streaming and the direct vocationalization of some courses divided the students. The universalization of modern adolescence was not the same as its democratization; and the essential adherence of schools to meritocratic values and practices assisted in the process by which class relations continued to be reproduced and classes reconstituted.

The capacity of the secondary school to help create in effect a new life stage, that of modern adolescence, which was near universally accepted as a "natural" life stage is also evidence of the success of the modern secondary school. At Concordia in 1962, Marjorie Johnston's father wrote that his wife was concerned that her daughter gain an education, her confirmation and Christian discipline while at the college. But most important of all was that she be situated in her peer group. Marjorie

has a complex about her age: at the time of entering college, she will be 15 years and 4 months old and the prospects of being in a junior class may prove a barrier to any success she may achieve.<sup>17</sup>

Such consideration of age-relations, rather than those concerning an academic education or the social "finishing" of an elite marked the integration of secondary schooling into the lives of all youth, regardless of class and gender. Modern adolescence, mediated and supervised by the modern secondary school, but with its crucial differentiations, had become a universal institution for the people of Mitcham and Unley.

That the social consequences of industrialization in capitalist societies were variably experienced according to class, gender and ethnic differences in the population has been corroborated by a large range of studies.<sup>18</sup> Among such consequences are the responses that families develop over the long and short term to deal with the new demands associated with changing work structures, new demands by the state and the

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17. Mr. F. Johnston to Headmaster, 22 December, 1962, SR 62-45, Concordia College Archives.

18. Two recent studies from the U.S. with such themes, and having schooling at the centre of their analyses are David John Hogan, *Class and Reform: School and society in Chicago, 1880-1930*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985 and Joel Perlmann, *Ethnic Differences: Schooling and social structure among the Irish, Italians, Jews, and Blacks in an American city, 1880-1935*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988.

requirements of transformed markets, associated with new industrial developments, patterns of commerce and the growth of corporate and bureaucratic organizations. The problem of what to do with youth has been a key issue for families, given the changing circumstances. One of the responses in Australia, and in much of the western world in the last century and more, has been to reduce the number of children for which families are responsible. But the link between the decline in female fertility and the new circumstances associated with industrialization was not necessarily direct. Caldwell has argued that a state intervention, the provision of mass compulsory schooling, was the means, more than any other, by which changing economic circumstances contributed to the demographic transition.<sup>19</sup>

During the twentieth century, the pace of change hardly slowed. Indeed many argue that the post-modern, post-industrial age has begun. South Australia, experienced its major period of industrialization after World War II and in so doing developed "modern" social institutions, social classes and relations (for example, a large industrial working class and the development of modern corporate and bureaucratic state structures) quite late. Its development of modern adolescence as a universal life-stage for its youth was late for similar reasons, but was none the less pervasive for that.

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19. John C. Caldwell, "Mass education as a determinant of the timing of fertility decline", *Population and Development Review*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1980, pp. 225-255. See also Stern, *Society and family strategy*, pp. 14-17 for a critical assessment of Caldwell's argument by an historian of family strategy - which confirms much of Caldwell's argument.

## Appendix A

### The main data-base

The main data base was built by linking records from nine sources of information about students.<sup>1</sup> Because each source was not consistently available for all students from each school, there is variation in the sources used for each of the schools. Where the main source was not a school register, the alternative main source is noted in the school list below. The sources were as follow:

- School admission registers
- Public examination board manuals
- University graduate records
- School vocational guidance records
- South Australian business directories
- School student record files
- School accounts book
- School magazines
- School form lists

The sampling plan required the selection of students at the beginning of their secondary schooling, in yearly cohorts corresponding to the years of the Commonwealth census. That correspondence allowed comparisons to be made between the characteristics of the secondary school population and their parents with the characteristics of the broader population, whether district, metropolitan Adelaide, or State. Therefore, In so far as the data was available, *all* students who began their secondary schooling in 1901, 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954 and 1961 were recorded in school/year files. Where school records were not available for those seven years, records as close as possible to the years selected were substituted. Those substitutions for Way College, Methodist Ladies College, Concordia College and Goodwood Central School are noted below.

In South Australia, the University of Adelaide through its Public Examinations Board administered the public examinations and credentialling of students for the period under study (1901-1965). Therefore it was possible to check all students in the Board's manual (published yearly) for their examination performances. The University Calendars provided the lists of graduates. (South Australia's second university, Flinders, began in 1966. Its graduation records were used to complete the graduation records for the 1961 cohort.)

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1. These sources are described and their location indicated in the Bibliography.



The numbers of students in the data base for each year's cohort is as follows:

Table A1: Data-base sample by cohort and sex (N)

<i>Cohort year</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
- 1901 -	83	98	181
- 1911 -	155	138	293
- 1921 -	272	321	593
- 1933	527	402	929
1947	556	572	1 128
1954	783	753	1 536
1961	929	923	1 852
<i>Total</i>	3 305	3 207	6 512

Information about students from 24 schools composed the data base which is organized in school/year files. Because information on up to 62 variables was collected on each student (see Code-book, Appendix B), it was impracticable to report the contribution of each of the schools' records to each variable. The following listing refers to the completeness of the cohort student list and reports the absence of any of the main variables which contributed to this study, that is: sex of student, parent occupation, school entry age and dates of enrolment and leaving school. Public examination records for all students in the data-base are complete.

I collected the data over a period of a year, mainly by visiting the schools with a portable computer which allowed the direct entry of data. Some records were held in the Public Records Office, and others in the Mortlock Library of South Australia. The University of Adelaide's Barr Smith Library had a complete set of the Public Examination Board's manuals for the twentieth century. SSABSA, the succeeding organization to the old Board, held a complete set of 1890s manuals, crucial for completing the data file on the Way College students of 1896. The Mortlock Library had a complete set of business directories for South Australia, and the relevant directories for all other states of Australia so that the fact of business proprietorship or not in the clarification of parent occupation could be established. Tables A2 to A25 summarize the school by school results of the data collection.

## Blackwood High School

Complete list of students, all main variables present.

Table A2: Blackwood High students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1961	78	59	137

## Cabra College

Incomplete list of students for 1901 and 1911. Admission registers are missing for the early period. The only students recorded here are those who passed public examinations.

Complete list of student names for the year cohorts after 1911, but other data is haphazardly recorded for the 1933 cohort.

Table A3: Cabra College students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1901		5	5
1911		2	2
1921		28	28
1933		25	25
1947		48	48
1954		78	78
1961		129	129

## Concordia College

This school began its life at Murtoa (Victoria), shifting to its present site in South Australia in 1904. No file of students for 1901 has been compiled since the school was outside the geographical boundary of the study. Main variables present.

Complete lists of students after 1903 from admission registers. The first two of the data base years occur in that period of the school's history when admissions occurred on a mainly triennial basis. Consequently the admissions for 1910-1912, and then 1920-1922 were combined to make up the notional 1911 and 1921 files. By 1933 the school had reverted to an annual admissions policy.

Table A4: Concordia College students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
- 1911 -	37		37
- 1921 -	41		41
1933	14	6	20
1947	24	21	45
1954	38	37	75
1961	52	53	105

### **Convent of Mercy, Parkside**

Incomplete list of students. Register unavailable. Students recorded here are those who passed public examinations.

Table A5: Convent of Mercy School by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1901		3	3

### **Goodwood Boys Technical High School**

Complete list of students, all main variables present.

Table A6: Goodwood Boys Technical High School students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1947	195		195
1954	238		238
1961	145		145

### **Goodwood Central School: Super Primary**

Complete list of boys only for the 1932 cohort. The 1933 register for girls and boys, and the 1932 register for girls are missing. All main variables present.

Table A7: Goodwood Central School students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1932	139		139

### **King William Road School, Hyde Park**

Incomplete list of students. Register unavailable. Students recorded here are those who passed public examinations.

Table A8: King William Road School by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1921		3	3

### **Kyre College**

Complete list of students, parent occupations and names missing.

Table A9: Kyre College students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1911	40		40

### **Malvern College**

Incomplete list of students for 1901. Admission registers are missing. The only students recorded here are those who passed public examinations.

Table A10: Malvern College students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1901	5		5

### **Mercedes College**

Complete list of students, all main variables present.

Table A11: Mercedes College students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1954		89	89
1961		42	42

### **Methodist Ladies College**

Complete lists of students, all main variables present.

Table A12: Methodist Ladies College students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1902		55	55
1911		78	78
1921		120	120
1933		30	30
1947		69	69
1954		89	89
1961		112	112

### **Mitcham Girls Technical High School**

Complete list of students, all main variables present.

Table A13: Mitcham Girls Technical High School students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1961		71	71

### **Parkside High School**

Incomplete list of students. Admission registers missing. The only students recorded here are those who passed public examinations.

Table A14: Parkside High School students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1901		3	3

### **Parkville School**

Incomplete list of students. Register unavailable. Students recorded here are those who passed public examinations.

Table A15: Parkville School by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1911		1	1
1921		1	1

### **Rutherland School**

Incomplete list of students. Register unavailable. Students recorded here are those who passed public examinations.

Table A16: Rutherland School by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1901		2	2

### Scotch College

Complete list of students, all main variables present.

Table A17: Scotch College students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1921	92		92
1933	27		27
1947	117		117
1954	92		92
1961	113		113

### Southfield School

Incomplete list of students. Register unavailable. Students recorded here are those who passed public examinations.

Table A18: Southfield School by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1901		2	2

### Unley Central School: Super Primary

Complete list of students , all main variables present.

Table A19  
Unley Central School students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1933	106	118	224

### Unley Girls Technical High School

Complete list of students, all main variables present.

Table A20: Unley Girls Technical High School students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1947		224	224
1954		221	221
1961		108	108

### **Unley High School**

Complete list of students, all main variables present.

Table A21: Unley High School students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1911	78	55	133
1921	139	110	249
1933	189	138	327
1947	171	108	279
1954	266	194	460
1961	366	263	629

### **Unley Park School**

Incomplete list of students. Admission registers missing. The only students recorded here are those who passed public examinations.

Table A22: Unley Park School students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1901		22	22

### **Urrbrae Agricultural High School**

Complete list of students, all main variables present.

Table A23: Urrbrae Agricultural High School students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1933	52		52
1947	49		49
1954	149		149
1961	175		175

## Walford School

For 1901 and 1911, an incomplete list of students. Register unavailable. Students recorded here are those who passed public examinations.

For 1921, 1933 and 1947 there is only minimal information from admission registers supplemented by non-systematic sources such as school magazines and old scholar lists. Enrolments for these years are inflated by the inability to distinguish sufficiently between lower form and secondary students. Public examination lists were the only systematic source of records for these years.

For 1954 and 1961, a complete list of students with all main variables present.

Table A24: Walford School students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1901		6	6
1911		2	2
1921		59	59
1933		85	85
1947		102	102
1954		45	45
1961		86	86

## Way College

Complete student list compiled from accounts book. Main variables present with exception of age at enrolment.

Table A25: Way College students by cohort and sex (N)

Cohort year	Males	Females	Total
1896	78		78



## Appendix B

### Codebook for main data-base

Each student in the main data-base was allocated a file containing three records. The first record mainly contained information on the student. The second concentrated on information about the parents, while the third recorded curriculum details and post-school destinations. The codebook was written in a form suitable for use with SPSS-X software.

Table B1: Main codebook

*/1 RECORD*

1	1-7 (7)	CASEID	CASE IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	School no. then register no.
2	9-23 (15)	SSNAME	STUDENT SURNAME	Self coding (A)
3	25-34 (10)	S1NAME	STUDENT FIRST NAME	Self coding (A)
4	36-45 (10)	S2NAME	STUDENT SECOND NAME	Self coding (A)
5	47-48 (2)	MDB	STUDENT MONTH OF BIRTH	Month (eg 08 = August)
6	49-51 (3)	YDB	STUDENT YEAR OF BIRTH	Year (eg 889 = 1889)
7	52-53 (2)	RELIG	DENOMINATION/RELIGION	11 Anglican 12 Presbyterian 13 Methodist 14 Baptist 15 Congregationalist 16 Lutheran 17 Church of Christ 18 Salvation Army 19 Seventh Day Adventist 20 Unitarian 21 Brethren 22 Australian Church 23 Christadelphian 24 Jehovah Witness 25 Quaker 26 Christian Scientist 27 Assembly of God 40 Protestant (undef) 45 Mormon 50 Roman Catholic 51 Catholic (undef)

- 52 Apostolic Catholic
- 55 Greek Orthodox
- 56 Russian Orthodox
- 58 Orthodox (undef)
- 59 Orthodox (other)
- 60 Other Christian
- 70 Jewish
- 75 Chinese inc Confucian
- 80 Muslim
- 85 Buddhist
- 86 Hindu
- 90 Unknown
- 91 Atheist
- 92 Agnostic
- 93 No religion
- 99 None state

8 55-56 SCHOOL SCHOOL  
(2)

- 10 Blackwood
- 11 Cabra
- 12 Concordia
- 14 Goodwood Boys Tech
- 15 Kyre College
- 16 Malvern Grammar
- 17 Mercedes
- 18 Methodist Ladies College
- 19 Mitcham
- 20 Scotch
- 21 Unley Girls Tech
- 22 Unley High
- 23 Unley Park
- 24 Urrbrae
- 25 Walford
- 26 Way
- 27 Unley Central
- 28 Goodwood Central
- 29 Parkside High School
- 30 Convent Mercy Parkside
- 31 Southfield School
- 32 Parkville School
- 33 King William Road School
- 34 Rutherdale School

9 57-58 MDE DATE OF ENTRY (MONTH) as in 5 above  
(2)

10 59-61 YDE DATE OF ENTRY (YEAR) as in 6 above  
(3)

11 63-64 MDL DATE LEFT SCHOOL (MONTH) as in 5 above  
(2)

12 65-67 YDL DATE LEFT SCHOOL (YEAR) as in 6 above  
(3)

13	69 (1)	HM	HOME OR INSTITUTION	1	Yes
14	71-72 (2)	LSCHL	LAST SCHOOL CODE	09	Eden Hills Prim
				10	Black Forest P
				11	Goodwood Primary
				12	Unley Primary
				13	Parkside Primary
				14	Belair Primary
				15	Blackwood Primary
				16	Colonel Light G P
				17	Mitcham Primary
				18	Upper Sturt Primary
				19	Coromandel Valley P
				20	Highgate Primary
				21	Westbourne Park Prim
				22	Brownhill Creek P
				23	Fullarton
				24	Edwardstown
				25	St Therese's School (CLG RC)
				26	St Anthony's Sch (Edwdstn RC)
				27	St Thomas' (Goodwood RC)
				28	St Joseph's (Kingswood RC)
				29	St Raphael's (Parkside RC)
				30	St Bernadette's (St Mary's RC)
				31	Mercedes (Prim) (Springfield RC)
				32	Cabra (Prim) (Cumberland Pk RC)
				33	Parkside convent (Parkside RC)
				40	St John's (Unley Luth)
				50	St John's Grammar (Belair CofE)
				51	Walford (Prim) (Hyde Park CofE)
				52	St George's (Goodwood CofE)
				55	MLC (Prim) (Wayville Meth)
				56	St Augustine's (Unley C of E)
				57	St Oswald's (Parkside C of E)
				58	St Michaels's (Mitcham C of E)
				88	Same school (Re-enrolled)
				89	Overseas
				90	Other state prim (Incl interstate)
				91	Other catholic prim
				92	Other private prim
				93	State Secondary transfer incl i/s o/s
				94	Catholic sec transf
				95	Private Secondary transfer SA
				96	Home/ private tuitION
				97	Interstate
				98	Other school, indeterminate
				99	Unknown
15	74-75 (2)	PBIR	PLACE OF BIRTH	01	Australia ter & NG <sup>2</sup>
				02	New Zealand
				03	United Kingdom

2. This limited list was appropriate for the one school (Concordia) which provided information on place of birth.

04 Greece  
 05 Italy  
 06 Lithuania  
 07 Germany  
 09 Netherlands Holland  
 09 Yugoslavia  
 40 USA  
 41 Canada  
 99 Unknown

16	78 (1)	SSEX	SEX OF STUDENT	1 Male 2 Female
17	80 (1)	REC1	RECORD CARD 1	1
<i>/2 RECORD</i>				
1	1-7 (7)	CASEID	CASE IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	Same as /1 1 (1-7)
2	9-23 (15)	PSNAME	PARENT SURNAME	Self coding (A)
3	25-34 (10)	P1NAME	PARENT FIRST NAME	Self coding (A)
4	36-45 (10)	P2NAME	PARENT SECOND NAME	Self coding (A)
5	47-49 (3)	POCCU	PARENT OCCUPATION	[see Appendix C]
6	51-52 (2)	POCC2	PARENT OCCUPATION RECODE	[see Appendix C]
7	53 (2)	POCC3	EMPLOYMENT STATUS	1 Unemployed
8	55 (1)	PSEX	SEX OF PARENT	1 Male 2 Female 3 Indeterminate
9	57-60 (4)	RES	PARENT RESIDENCE	[see Appendix D]
10	63-64 (2)	ATT11	ATTENDANCE YEAR 1, TERM 1	Self coding (no of days)
11	65-66 (2)	ATT12	ATTENDANCE YEAR 1, TERM 2	Self coding (no of days)
12	67-68 (2)	ATT13	ATTENDANCE YEAR 1, TERM 3	Self coding (no of days)

13	69-70 (2)	ATT14	ATTENDANCE YEAR 1, TERM 4	Self coding (no of days)
14	77-78 (2)	NCHIL	NO. CHILDREN IN FAMILY	Self coding
15	80 (1)	REC2	RECORD CARD 2	2

*/3 RECORD*

1	1-7 (7)	CASEID	CASE IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	Same as /1 1 (1-7)
2	9-23 (15)	FATE	DESTINATION AFTER LEAVING	Self coding (A)
3	25-26 (2)	FATE2	DESTINATION RECODE	11 Work: indefinite G 12 Work: Prof Admin Prop 13 Work: Domest Service 14 Work: Commercial 15 Work: Transport 16 Work: Industrial 17 Work: Primary Producer 18 Private sec school 19 University 20 Teachers Coll or Junior tchr 21 State high 22 Business college 23 Theological college 24 Military college 25 Central or Tech transfer 26 School of Art 27 Schl of Mines/SAIT 28 Kindergarten T Coll 29 Roseworthy Coll 30 Trade school 40 Reformatory 96 Home 97 Unemployed 98 Other 99 Unknown
4	27 (1)	FATE3	EMPLOYMENT PROVISION	1 Provided by father/family
5	32-34 (3)	IQ	IQ SCORE	Self coding
6	36 (1)	FORM1	FORM/CLASS FIRST/PRIM YEAR	1 A class/stream 2 B class/stream 3 C class/stream 4 D class/stream 5 E class/stream & below 9 Class not known

7	38 (1)	FORM3	FORM/CLASS THIRD/JUN/INT YEAR		as above /3 6
8	39 (1)	CLAD	CLASS ON ADMISSION	1 1 2 2 3 4 5 5 5 8 9	"Primary" First year Sub-intermediate Second year Junior/Intermediate Senior/Leaving Higher Public Leaving Honours New Matriculation Other Not known
9	40 (1)	HLEVEL	HIGHEST LEVEL COMPLETED		as above no. /3 8
10	42 (1)	PEXAM	HIGHEST PUBLIC EXAM PASSED	1 3 4 5 5 9	Primary Junior/Intermediate Senior/Leaving Higher Pub/L Hons New Matriculation None" or "not known"
11	43 (1)	TEXAM	HIGHEST TECH CERT GAINED	3 4 9	Intermediate Tech Leaving Tech None or "not Known"
12	44 (1)	COURSE	COURSE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Public/General Commercial Technical Domestic Central Agriculture Theology/Seminary Other Unknown
13	47 (1)	LANG1	LANGUAGE STUDIED LEVEL 1	1 2 3 8 9	Latin Latin & other Lang/s Modern lang/s No lang Not known
14	48 (1)	MATH1	MATHS STUDIED LEVEL 1	1 2 3 8 9	Maths I &/or II Arithmetic Other math No math Not known
15	49 (1)	SCI1	SCIENCE STUDIED LEVEL 1	1 2 3	Physics & Chem Physics (& other sci) Chem (& other sci)

				4	Geology (& other sc)
				5	Botany (& other sci)
				6	Physiology (& other sc)
				7	General Science
				8	No science
				9	Not known
16	50 (1)	HUM1	HUMANITIES STUD LEVEL 1	1	History
				2	History & other hum
				3	Geography
				4	Geography & other
				5	Social Studies
				6	Soc St & other hum
				7	Economics (& other hum)
				8	No humanities
				9	Not known
17	51 (1)	COM1	COMMERCIAL SUBJ LEVEL 1	1	Typing
				2	Typing & Shorthand
				3	Bookkeeping
				4	Combination 123
				5	Shorthand only
				6	Other comm subj/s
				8	No commercial sub
				9	Not known
18	52 (1)	PRAC1	PRACTICAL SUBJ LEVEL 1	1	Woodwork
				2	Metalwork
				3	Tech drawing
				4	Combination 123
				5	Drawing
				6	Home Science
				7	Mothercraft
				8	No practical
				9	Not known
19	53 (1)	GRAD1	A/B GRADES GAINED LEVEL 1		Self coding
20	55 (1)	LANG3	LANGUAGE STUDIED LEVEL 3		as above no. 13
21	56 (1)	MATH3	MATHS STUDIED LEVEL 3		as above no. 14
22	57 (1)	SCI3	SCIENCE STUDIED LEVEL 3		as above no. 15
23	58 (1)	HUM3	HUMANITIES STUD LEVEL 3		as above no. 16
24	59 (1)	COM3	COMMERCIAL SUBJ LEVEL 3		as above no. 17

25	60 (1)	PRAC3	PRACTICAL SUBJ LEVEL 3	as above no. 18
26	61 (1)	GRAD3	A/B GRADES GAINED LEVEL 3	Self coding
27	63 (1)	LANG4	LANGUAGE STUDIED LEVEL 4	as above no. 13
28	64 (1)	MATH4	MATHS STUDIED LEVEL 4	as above no. 14
29	65 (1)	SCI4	SCIENCE STUDIED LEVEL 4	as above no. 15
30	66 (1)	HUM4	HUMANITIES STUD LEVEL 4	as above no. 16
31	67 (1)	COM4	COMMERCIAL SUBJ LEVEL 4	as above no. 17
32	68 (1)	PRAC4	PRACTICAL SUBJ LEVEL 4	as above no. 18
33	69 (1)	GRAD4	A/B GRADES GAINED LEVEL 4	Self coding
34	70-71 (2)	UNIV	UNIVERSITY QUALIF GAINED	01 Arts (Adelaide University) 02 Science (Adel) 03 Med (Adel) 04 Law (Adel) 05 Dentistry (Adel) 06 Architecture (Adel) 07 Engineering (Adel) 08 Music (Adel) 09 Technology/Apppl Sci (Adel) 10 Pharmacy (Adel) 11 Agric Science (Adel) 12 Economics (Adel) 21 Arts (Flinders University) 22 Science (Flinders) 25 Education (Flinders) 26 Economics (Flinders) 99 None found
35	72 (1)	ATC	ENTERED TEACHERS COLLEGE	1 ATC 2 Western 3 Wattle Park 4 Lutheran 9 None found
36	80 (1)	REC3	RECORD CARD 3	3



## Appendix C

### Occupation coding, occupation recode and class coding

Before the information about parent occupations could be analysed, occupation codes and recodes into employment groups and social classes had to be devised.

Coding such historical data is difficult, especially for a study spanning the first 65 years of the twentieth century when labour markets, and the nature and status of so many occupations changed. Moreover the relatively crude basis on which occupations were grouped and eventually re-grouped into social class categories cannot reflect the complexity of the social theories one would wish to incorporate into such a process. Occupational groupings, even when checked against business directories to determine distinctions between employees and business proprietors, say little of the class consciousness or the class relationships of individuals and families. The methods chosen for coding occupations do not solve these problems, though the codes employed have a logic to them which seek to minimize the inevitable problems.

The work of Mackinnon and Davey was used as the basis for coding and re-coding. Their occupation codes based on the 1881 and 1891 censuses of South Australia had the strength of identifying and classifying many occupations which were progressively lost during the twentieth century. Their work in turn owed much to that of Katz whose discussion of occupational classification in history continues to be useful.<sup>3</sup>

Though comprehensive for the first two of the cohorts in this study (1901 and 1911), by 1921 a strategy of adding to the occupations and codes needed to be devised. As each new occupation appeared it was added to the code list below (Table C3), and coded on the same basis that the original list had been devised, that is, by reference to the nearest Commonwealth Census. For the 1950s and 1960s, work of Congalton and to a lesser extent, Encel could also be used for reference.<sup>4</sup>

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3. See Alison Mackinnon, "Less for fashion than substance ...": the Advanced School for Girls, Adelaide 1879-1908, M. Ed. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1981, pp. 168-195, for the code and the discussion about its composition. See also Michael B. Katz, "Occupational classification in history", *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1972, pp. 63-88.
  4. A. A. Congalton, *Occupational status in Australia*, Studies in Sociology, no. 3, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 1963 & *Status and prestige in Australia*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1969; S. Encel, *Equality and authority: A study of class, status and power in Australia*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1970.

The categories for skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers are relatively unproblematic compared with those of the middle class, though one would not make the same claim for periods preceding substantial industrialization. Within the broad middle class is a tremendous range of groups with more and less capital and social power. Attempts to isolate a "ruling class" or even "upper middle class" were always going to be impossible given the nature of the records available. A less intractable problem was presented by the dividing of middle class occupations according to proprietorship, professional and employee status. Such a division allowed the discussion in the text of a "new" or "employed" middle class as opposed to the "old" middle class. The established professionals and proprietors were grouped together for the same reasons discussed by Labaree. Their self-employment led to important differences with the new employed white-collar workers. As Labaree argued, the difference was "a function of the social relations of production."<sup>5</sup>

I have reversed the usual order for the code tables which logically should have the re-codes following the original occupation coding. Since the recode tables are much shorter, and they have formed the basis of much of the text reliant on the quantitative material, I have placed them first. They only make sense in each case with reference to the succeeding table.

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5. Labaree, *The making of an American high school*, p. 185.

Table C1: Class Recode

<i>Recode</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Occupation Recodes (see Table C2)</i>
01	Proprietorial middle class (rural)	11
02	Proprietorial and professional middle class (urban)	01 02 06
03	Employed middle class	03 04 05
04	Skilled working class	07
05	Semi-skilled and unskilled working class	08 09 10 12
06	Not employed	13
07	Unknown	14

Table C2: Occupation Recode

<i>Recode</i>	<i>Description</i>
01	Professional & non-rural proprietor
02	Merchant, manager & agent
03	Business employee
04	Government & institution employee
05	Seller of services & semi-professional
06	Manufacturer & master
07	Skilled worker
08	Transport worker
09	Operative & unskilled worker
10	Domestic & protective service worker
11	Rural proprietor
12	Rural worker
13	Not employed
14	Unknown

[See Table C3 following for the actual occupations incorporated in the C2 categories.]

Table C3: Occupation Code

## A. Professional, Administrative, Proprietor, etc.

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>Recode</i>				
Officer of government dept	a	001	04	Guard	a	063	10
Officer of statistical dept	a	002	04				
Officer of census	a	002	04	Clergyman	a	070	01
Officer of education dept	a	003	04	Priest	a	070	01
Inspector School Inspector	a	003	04	Minister of religion	a	070	01
Officer of mining dept	a	004	04				
Civil servant	a	005	04	Instructor (non specific)	a	075	04
Customs officer	a	006	04				
Health department officer	a	007	04	Church officer	a	080	04
Research officer, govt. dept.	a	008	04	Verger	a	081	04
				Theological student	a	082	13
Local government officer	a	010	04	Seminary student	a	082	13
Municipal officer	a	010	04	Missionary	a	083	04
Council employee	a	011	09				
Council labourer	a	012	09	Personnel officer	a	084	03
				Employment officer	a	084	03
Officer of armed forces	a	020	04	Officer of charitable instit	a	085	04
Navy officer	a	021	04	Attendance of charitable ins	a	086	04
Navy petty officer	a	022	04	Sister of charity	a	087	04
Navy sailor	a	023	10	Sister of mercy	a	087	04
Airforce officer	a	025	04				
Airforce (undef)	a	026	10	Radiographer	a	088	05
Army officer	a	030	04	Medical inspector (govt)	a	089	01
Army NCO	a	031	04	Medical practitioner	a	090	01
Army private Soldier	a	032	10	Physician	a	091	01
Military police	a	033	04	Surgeon	a	092	01
				Irregular medical practitioner	a	093	05
Judge	a	040	01	Medical student	a	094	13
Lawyer	a	041	01	Dentist	a	095	05
Barrister	a	042	01	Dental surgeon	a	095	05
Solicitor	a	043	01	Veterinary surgeon	a	096	05
Law-court officer	a	044	04	Chemist	a	097	05
Law clerk	a	045	04	Druggist	a	097	05
Law student	a	046	13	Pharmaceutical chemist	a	097	05
Patent attorney	a	047	01	Chemist's assistant	a	098	10
Magistrate	a	048	01	Pharmaceutical assistant	a	098	10
Justice of the Peace	a	049	01	Hospital officer	a	099	04
				Hospital attendant	a	100	10
Police officer	a	050	04	Hospital orderly	a	100	10
Constable	a	051	04	Hospital nurse	a	101	04
Detective	a	052	04	Nurse	a	101	04
Searcher	a	053	04	Midwife, monthly nurse	a	102	04
Police instructor	a	054	04	Asylum officer	a	103	04
Police prosecutor	a	055	04	Asylum attendant	a	104	10
Private detective	a	056	05	Matron of institution	a	105	04
				Asylum nurse	a	106	04
Penal officer	a	060	04	Physiotherapist	a	107	05
Warder	a	061	10				
Turnkey	a	062	04	Psychologist	a	108	05

Educational consultant	a	108	05	University student	a	148	13
Chiropodist	a	109	05	Teacher's college student	a	149	13
Author	a	110	01	Librarian	a	150	04
Editor	a	111	05	Library attendant	a	151	10
Journalist	a	112	05	Headmaster, headmistress	a	152	04
Reporter	a	113	05	Craft teacher, instructor	a	153	04
Short-hand writer	a	114	05	Woodwork teacher	a	153	04
Proof reader	a	115	05	Technical instructor	a	153	04
Building surveyor	a	116	05	Swimming instructor	a	154	04
Planning engineer	a	117	05	Artist painter	a	155	05
Methods engineer	a	117	05	Sculptor	a	156	05
Observatory	a	120	04	Engraver	a	157	05
Botanical Department officer	a	121	04	Photo Engraver, hatchman	a	157	05
Zoological Gardens officer	a	122	04	Photographer	a	158	05
Art gallery attendant	a	123	10	Photographic artist, colourist	a	159	05
Chemical engineer	a	124	05	Art teacher	a	160	05
Analytical chemist	a	125	05	Art student	a	161	13
Research chemist	a	125	05	Musician vocalist	a	162	05
Assayer	a	126	05	Music master, mistress	a	163	05
Metallurgist	a	127	05	Music teacher	a	163	05
Geologist	a	128	05	Actor	a	164	05
Mineralogist	a	129	05	Actress	a	164	05
Civil engineer	a	130	05	Circus performer	a	165	05
Chartered engineer	a	130	05	Studio, radio director	a	166	05
Consulting engineer	a	130	05	Radio operator	a	167	05
Designing engineer	a	130	05	Radio announcer	a	168	05
Surveyor	a	131	05	Radio manager	a	169	02
Member of survey party	a	132	09	Theatre proprietor	a	170	01
Architect	a	133	05	Theatre lessee	a	171	05
Draughtsman Draftsman	a	134	05	Theatre manager	a	172	02
Assistant draftsman	a	135	09	Theatre assistant	a	173	10
Cartographer	a	136	05	Film projectionist	a	174	09
University administrator	a	137	04	Race course secretary	a	175	05
Training officer	a	138	04	Race course caretaker	a	176	10
Master of University College	a	139	01	Jockey	a	177	05
Professor	a	140	01	Cricket ground caretaker	a	178	10
Lecturer	a	141	01	Billiard table proprietor	a	179	01
School master (state)	a	142	04	Billiard table keeper	a	180	05
School mistress (state)	a	142	04	Billiard table maker	a	181	07
Teacher (state)	a	142	04	Caretaker	a	182	10
School master (private)	a	143	04	Curator	a	183	05
Teacher (private)	a	143	04	Tennis professional	a	184	05
Teacher	a	144	04	Bacteriologist	a	188	04
Tutor	a	145	04	Anthropologist	a	189	04
Governess	a	146	04	Scientist	a	190	04
Teacher of languages	a	147	04				
Teacher of accomplishments	a	147	04				
Dance teacher	a	147	04				

Technical assistant	a	191	07
Laboratory assistant	a	191	07
Technical officer	a	192	04
Fire officer, fireman	a	193	10
Politician Member of Parliament	a	195	01
Union official	a	196	04
Embassy officer	a	197	04

### B. Domestic and Service etc.

Guest house proprietor	b	198	01
Hotel proprietor	b	199	01
Saloon proprietor	b	199	01
Hotel keeper	b	200	05
Publican, innkeeper	b	200	05
Licensed victualler	b	200	05
Boarding, lodging house keeper	b	201	05
Coffee palace manager, keeper	b	202	05
Restaurant keeper	b	203	05
Eating house keeper	b	203	05
Club house manager	b	204	04
Club house secretary	b	205	04
House keeper	b	206	10
Barman, bar tender	b	207	10
Canteen assistant	b	208	10
Hotel employee	b	209	10
Cellar hand	b	209	10
Servants registry office keep	b	210	03
Lady's companion, help	b	211	05
Housekeeper	b	212	10
Domestic servant	b	213	10
Lodging-house servant	b	214	10
Boarding house servant	b	214	10
Inn servant	b	215	10
Club servant	b	216	10
Restaurant servant	b	217	10
Waiter	b	218	10
Waitress	b	218	10
Cook, chef	b	219	10
Office keeper	b	220	10
Office, school cleaner	b	221	10
Bath keeper	b	222	10
Bath attendant	b	223	10
Laundry keeper	b	224	10
Laundry assistant	b	225	10
Laundry attendant	b	225	10
Laundress	b	225	10
Washer woman	b	226	10
Mangler	b	227	10

Powder magazine keeper	b	228	10
Bonded warehouse keeper	b	229	10
Cemetery keeper	b	230	10
Watchman	b	231	10
Masseur	b	234	10
Hairdresser, barber	b	235	05
Wigmaker	b	236	05
Shoe black	b	237	05
Dry cleaner	b	238	10
Caterer	b	239	05

Nightman, night watchman	b	240	10
Lift attendant	b	242	10
Undertaker	b	245	05
Funeral director	b	245	05

### C. Commercial proprietor, employee etc.

Capitalist, investor	c	250	02
Banker	c	251	02
Bank manager	c	252	02
Bank officer	c	253	03
Bank clerk	c	254	03
Bank messenger	c	255	10
Company director	c	257	02
Building society manager	c	260	02
Building society officer	c	261	03
Building society clerk	c	262	03
Broker	c	265	02
Stock broker, share broker	c	266	02
Stock dealer share dealer	c	266	02
Stock jobber, share jobber	c	267	02
Broker's clerk	c	268	03
Money lender, bill discounter	c	270	05
Pawnbroker	c	271	05
Insurance company manager	c	275	02
Insurance officer	c	276	03
Claims officer	c	276	03
Insurance clerk	c	277	03
Insurance agent	c	278	03
Insurance canvasser	c	279	03
Insurance salesman	c	279	03
Accountant, professional	c	285	01
Chartered accountant	c	285	01
Auditor	c	286	01
Auctioneer	c	287	02

Appraiser	c	288	02	Bookseller	c	320	02
Valuer	c	289	02	Stationery dealer	c	321	02
Land Valuator	c	289	02	Book hawker, canvasser	c	322	03
Officer in public company	c	290	03	Book salesman	c	322	03
Friendly society officer	c	291	03	Receptionist, telephonist	c	323	03
Trust officer	c	292	03				
Auctioneer's clerk	c	293	03	Paymaster	c	324	03
Land broker	c	294	02	Newspaper proprietor	c	325	01
Land proprietor	c	295	01	Newspaper publisher	c	326	01
House proprietor	c	295	01	Newspaper manager	c	327	02
Land, house agent	c	296	02	Newspaper clerk	c	328	03
Real estate agent	c	296	02	Newspaper seller	c	329	10
Rent collector	c	297	03	Bill sticker, distributor	c	330	10
Proprietor (unspec)	c	298	01				
Business proprietor	c	298	01	Musical instrument importer	c	331	02
General manager	c	299	02				
Company manager	c	299	02	Newspaper representative	c	332	02
Managing director	c	299	02	Newspaper agent	c	332	02
				Newsagent	c	332	02
Merchant	c	300	02				
Importer	c	301	02	Publisher (undef)	c	333	01
Dealer	c	302	02	Publisher's assistant	c	334	05
Office manager	c	303	03	Picture dealer	c	335	02
Staff supervisor, superintend	c	303	03	Picture frame dealer	c	336	02
Department manager	c	303	03	Brush, broom dealer	c	337	02
Branch supervisor, manager	c	303	03	Fancy goods dealer	c	338	02
Manager	c	304	02				
Agent, representative	c	305	02	Second hand dealer	c	339	02
Commission agent	c	306	02				
				Sporting goods dealer	c	340	02
Public relations employee	c	307	03	Toy shop keeper	c	341	02
Publicity officer	c	307	03	Cricket, football dealer	c	342	02
Advertising agency employee	c	308	03	Fishing tackle dealer, seller	c	343	02
Commercial artist	c	309	05	Billiard table ball importer	c	344	02
				Billiard table ball dealer	c	344	02
Clerk	c	310	03				
Commercial clerk	c	311	03	Scrap metal dealer	c	347	02
Purchasing officer	c	311	03				
Credit clerk	c	311	03	Engine machinery importer	c	350	02
Dispatch, freight clerk	c	311	03	Implement importer	c	350	02
Secretary (professional)	c	312	03	Sewing machine importer	c	351	02
Company secretary	c	312	03	Sewing machine agent	c	352	02
				Sewing machine dealer	c	352	02
Accountant (undefined)	c	313	03				
Book-keeper	c	314	03	Service officer	c	353	03
Typist, stenographer	c	315	03				
Secretary	c	315	03	Oil colorman dealer	c	355	02
Shorthand typist	c	315	03	Paper hanging dealer	c	355	02
Comptometrist	c	316	03	Furniture importer	c	356	02
				Furniture agent	c	357	02
Bailiff	c	317	03	Furniture dealer	c	357	02
Cashier, teller	c	318	03				
Employment agent	c	319	02	Chemicals importer	c	360	02

Chemicals by-products importer	c	360	02	Tobacco importer	c	411	02
Chemicals by-products dealer	c	361	02				
				Cold store proprietor	c	413	01
Mercer	c	364	02				
Manchester warehouseman	c	365	03	Livestock dealer	c	415	02
Draper, linen draper	c	366	02	Livestock agent Stock agent	c	415	02
Woollen draper	c	366	02	Livestock salesman	c	416	03
Draper's assistant	c	367	03	Horse letter	c	417	05
Outfitter	c	368	02	Livery stable keeper	c	417	05
Clothes dealer	c	369	02	Ostler, hostler, groom	c	418	10
				Animal trainer, tamer	c	419	10
Slop seller	c	370	02	Horse trainer, breaker	c	419	10
Hat, cap, bonnet dealer	c	371	02				
Hat, cap, bonnet seller	c	371	02	Wool merchant, broker, buyer	c	420	02
Shoe dealer, seller	c	372	02	Wool sorter, stapler,	c	421	05
Boot dealer, seller	c	372	02	Wool appraiser	c	421	05
Umbrella, parasol dealer	c	373	02	Wool classer	c	421	05
Umbrella, parasol seller	c	373	02				
				Hide, skin dealer	c	422	02
Milk seller, salesman	c	380	03	Fellmonger	c	422	02
Milk vendor	c	380	03	Leather dealer	c	423	02
Dairy products seller	c	380	03	Leather merchant	c	423	02
Dairy products salesman	c	380	03	Bone dust, manure dealer	c	424	02
Milkman, milk woman	c	381	03	Bone collector	c	424	10
				Rag dealer	c	425	02
Meat salesman	c	382	03	Skin classer	c	426	05
Preserved provision dealer	c	383	02				
Salt provision dealer	c	383	02	Seed merchant	c	430	02
Poulterer	c	384	02	Seedsman	c	431	03
Poultry wholesaler	c	384	02				
Game, rabbit dealer	c	385	02	Lime, cement dealer	c	435	02
Fishmonger	c	386	02	Plaster dealer	c	435	02
Fish salesman, hawker	c	387	03	Pottery dealer	c	436	02
Oyster, shellfish dealer	c	388	02	Earthenware dealer	c	436	02
Oyster, shellfish hawker	c	389	03	Crockery merchant, dealer	c	437	02
				Bottle dealer	c	438	02
Grain merchant, dealer	c	390	02	Bottle collector	c	439	10
Chaff merchant	c	390	02	Stone, slate dealer	c	440	02
Flour merchant, dealer	c	390	02	Marble dealer	c	440	02
Meal merchant, dealer	c	390	02	Precious stone importer	c	441	02
Confectionery dealer	c	391	02	Precious stone dealer	c	442	02
Greengrocer, fruiterer	c	392	02	Opal buyer	c	442	02
Fruit hawker	c	393	03				
				Iron monger	c	450	02
Wine, beer, spirit merchant	c	394	02	Hardware dealer, merchant	c	451	02
Colonial wine seller	c	395	02				
Grocer	c	396	02	Electrical dealer	c	452	02
Tea dealer	c	397	02				
Florist	c	398	02	Timber merchant	c	455	02
Bread retailer	c	399	02	Timber clerk	c	456	03
				Coal merchant	c	457	02
Wheat grader	c	400	05	Firewood merchant, dealer	c	458	02
Tea taster	c	401	05	Wood merchant, dealer	c	458	02
Tobacconist	c	410	02	Sales manager, executive	c	459	03





Ship's store dealer	d	552	02
Shipping manager	d	553	02
Boat proprietor	d	555	01
Lighterman, bargeman	d	556	08
Stevedore	d	557	09
Lumper	d	558	09
Waterman, boatman	d	559	08
Crane driver	d	560	08
Truck, semi-trailer driver	d	561	08
Furniture removalist	d	562	08
Petrol station assistant	d	563	09
Garage assistant	d	563	09
Garage manager	d	564	03
Postal officer	d	565	04
Postmaster, postmistress	d	565	04
Postal clerk	d	566	04
Postal, letter sorter	d	567	10
Postal worker	d	568	10
Letter carrier, postman	d	569	10
Transport contractor	d	570	02
Mail contractor	d	571	04
Mail carrier	d	572	10
Mail guard	d	573	10
Telegraph officer	d	575	04
Telegraph operator	d	576	04
Telegraphist	d	576	04
Telegraph clerk	d	577	04
Telegraph messenger	d	578	10
Telegraph mechanic	d	579	07
Messenger	d	580	10
Porter, night porter	d	581	10
Errand boy, girl	d	582	10
Superintendent, postal	d	584	04
Telephone mechanic	d	585	07
Telephone technician	d	585	07
Linesman	d	586	08
Cable patrolman	d	586	08
Traffic officer	d	587	04
Air traffic officer	d	588	04
Aircraft refueler	d	589	08
Aircraft pilot	d	590	05
Air hostess	d	595	05

#### E. Industrial etc.

Manufacturer	e	600	06
Foreman	e	601	07
Mechanic	e	602	07
Labourer	e	603	09
Apprentice	e	604	09
Motor mechanic	e	605	07
Works, factory manager	e	606	02
Production manager	e	606	02
Motor trimmer	e	607	07
Process worker	e	608	09
Factory worker	e	608	09
Assembler, assembly worker	e	608	09
Process engraver	e	609	07
Printer	e	610	07
Master printer	e	610	06
Compositor	e	611	07
Type setter, linotypist	e	611	07
Linotype operator	e	611	07
Stereotypist	e	611	07
Lithographic printer	e	612	07
Lithographer	e	612	07
Bookbinder	e	613	07
Ruler, book ruler	e	614	07
Musical instrument maker	e	615	07
Musical instrument tuner	e	616	07
Piano tuner	e	616	07
Musical instrument repairer	e	616	07
Organ maker, builder	e	617	07
Piano maker	e	618	07
Typewriter mechanic	e	619	07
Carver, wood carver, turner	e	620	07
Gilder	e	620	07
Picture frame maker	e	621	07
Image maker, modeller	e	622	07
Basket maker	e	623	07
Wicker weave maker	e	623	07
Brush, broom maker	e	624	07
Artificial flower maker	e	625	07
Taxidermist	e	626	07
Factory proprietor	e	627	01
Technician	e	628	07
Television technician	e	628	07
Factory, works supervisor	e	629	07

Tanner	e	630	07	Woollen mill manager	e	670	02
Currier	e	631	07	Woollen mill clerk	e	671	03
Saddler, harness maker	e	632	07	Weaver	e	672	07
Whipmaker	e	633	07	Spinner	e	673	07
Leather belt maker	e	634	07	Dyer	e	674	07
Port manteau maker	e	635	07	Scourer	e	674	07
Leather bag maker	e	635	07	Textile worker	e	675	09
Leather worker	e	636	07	Tailor's cutter	e	676	09
Ship, boat builder	e	637	07	Anodiser	e	677	07
Shipwright	e	638	07	Maintenance worker	e	678	09
Sailmaker	e	639	07	Dress designer	e	679	05
Decorator, house decorator	e	640	07	Tailor, tailoress	e	680	07
Painter, house painter	e	641	07	Tailor (business prop)	e	680	06
Paperhanger	e	642	07	Dressmaker	e	681	07
Glazier	e	643	07	Seamstress	e	682	07
Plumber, house plumber	e	644	07	Sewing machinist	e	683	09
Master plumber	e	644	06	Milliner	e	684	07
Gas fitter	e	645	07	Hat, cap, bonnet maker	e	685	07
Electrician	e	646	07	Shoe, boot maker	e	686	07
Electrical engineer	e	647	07	Clothing manufacturer	e	687	06
Refrigeration engineer	e	647	07	Shop clothing manufacturer	e	688	06
Electrical mechanic	e	648	07	Slopman, slopwoman	e	689	09
Refrigeration mechanic	e	648	07	Furrier	e	690	07
Electrical fitter	e	648	07	Hosiery maker	e	691	07
Inspector electric company	e	649	03	Knitter	e	692	07
Bellhanger	e	650	07	Umbrella, parasol maker	e	693	07
Locksmith	e	651	07	Feather dresser	e	694	07
Venetian blind maker	e	652	07	Glove cleaner	e	695	07
Furniture maker	e	653	07	Rug maker	e	696	07
Furniture manufacturer	e	653	06	Shoeing smith	e	697	07
Cabinet maker	e	654	07	Boiler attendant	e	698	09
Mattress, bed maker	e	655	07	Driller, oil driller	e	699	07
Upholsterer	e	656	07	Mat, matting maker	e	700	07
French polisher, polisher	e	657	07	Rope, cord maker	e	701	07
Japaner	e	658	07	Canvas, sailcloth maker	e	702	07
Coffin maker	e	659	07	Tent, tarpaulin maker	e	703	07
Manufacturing chemist	e	660	05	Sacking, sack, bag maker	e	704	07
Industrial chemist	e	660	05	Flax manufacturer	e	705	06
Ink, blacking maker	e	661	07	Smallgoods manufacturer	e	708	06
Starch, blue maker	e	662	07	Food manufacturer	e	709	06
Baking powder maker	e	662	07	Cheese, butter maker	e	710	07
Salt manufacturer	e	663	06	Butcher	e	711	07
Eucalyptus oil manufacturer	e	664	06	Master butcher	e	711	06
Bread manufacturer	e	665	06	Ham, bacon curer	e	712	07
Spray painter	e	666	07	Slaughterman	e	713	07
Sign writer signwriter	e	667	07	Slaughterman assistant	e	714	09
Munitions manufacturer	e	668	06	Miller	e	715	07
Building supervisor	e	669	07	Flour mill worker	e	716	09

Baker	e	717	07	Stone carver (not sculp/mason	e	765	07
Master baker	e	717	06	Tombstone, monument maker	e	766	07
Baker's assistant	e	718	09	Lime burner	e	767	07
Pastry cook	e	719	07	Brick maker	e	768	07
Biscuit manufacturer	e	720	06	Kiln burner	e	768	07
Sugar refiner	e	721	06	Brick manufacturer	e	768	06
Confectionery maker	e	722	07	Tile maker	e	769	07
Jam maker	e	723	07	Pottery maker, potter	e	770	07
Fruit preserver	e	724	07	China, earthenware maker	e	771	07
Olive oil manufacturer	e	725	06	Glass maker, beveller	e	772	07
Sauce, pickle maker	e	726	07				
Biscuit maker	e	727	07	Asphalt manufacturer	e	773	06
Brewer	e	730	07	Sheet metal worker	e	774	09
Maltster	e	731	07	Goldsmith	e	775	07
Distiller	e	732	07	Silversmith	e	776	07
Wine maker	e	733	07	Jeweller	e	777	07
Wine manufacturer	e	734	06	Precious stone worker	e	778	09
Beer, wine, spirits bottler	e	735	07	Electro-plater	e	779	07
Aerated water manufacturer	e	736	06	Plater	e	780	07
Cordial manufacturer	e	736	06	Coppersmith	e	781	07
Coffee grinder, roaster	e	737	07	Copper worker	e	782	09
Chicory grinder, roaster	e	737	07	Tinsmith	e	783	07
Cocoa, chocolate maker	e	738	07	Tin, zinc worker	e	784	09
				Iron founder	e	785	07
Tobacco manufacturer	e	739	06	Moulder	e	786	07
Cigar, cigarette manufacturer	e	739	06	Iron, steel worker	e	787	09
Tobacco, cigar, maker	e	740	07	Wire worker	e	787	09
Cigarette maker	e	740	07	Whitesmith	e	788	07
				Blacksmith, striker	e	789	07
Ice manufacturer	e	741	06	Farrier	e	790	07
				Brass founder	e	791	07
Tallow melter, boiler down	e	745	07	Brass moulder	e	792	07
Soap maker	e	746	07	Chainman	e	793	09
Candle maker, chandler	e	747	07	Type maker	e	794	07
				Type founder	e	795	07
Mirror manufacturer	e	749	06	Pattern maker, cutter	e	796	07
				Pattern filer	e	796	07
Sawmill owner	e	750	01	Die sinker, setter	e	797	07
Sawmill worker	e	751	09	Mould maker Medal maker	e	798	07
Sawyer	e	752	07	Springsmith	e	799	07
Fence, hurdle maker	e	753	07	Watch, clock maker	e	800	07
Splitter	e	754	09	Scientific instrument maker	e	801	07
Bark mill owner	e	755	01	Surgical instrument maker	e	802	07
Bark mill worker	e	756	09	Optical mechanic	e	802	07
Cooper	e	757	07	Optician, optometrist	e	803	05
				Gas meter maker	e	804	07
Tyre fitter	e	758	09	Water meter maker	e	804	07
Chaffcutter	e	760	09	Coach smith	e	805	07
Seed crusher, oil cake maker	e	761	07	Gunsmith	e	806	07
				Armourer	e	807	07
Paper manufacturer	e	762	06	Dental mechanic, technician	e	808	07
Manufacturing stationer	e	763	06				
Paper sorter	e	764	09	Gas engineer	e	809	07

Mechanical engineer	e	810	07	Tiler, tile layer	e	848	07
Engine maker, motor engineer	e	811	07	Mason's labourer	e	849	09
Boiler maker	e	812	07	Bricklayer's labourer	e	850	09
Machinery maker	e	813	07	Plasterer's labourer	e	851	09
Fitter, turner	e	814	07	Carpenter	e	852	07
Machinist	e	815	09	Joiner	e	853	07
Engine driver (undef)	e	816	07	Turner	e	854	07
Stoker (undef)	e	817	09	Floor layer	e	855	07
Machine operator, setter	e	818	09	Door hanger	e	856	07
				Window fixer	e	856	07
Motor cycle builder	e	819	07	Rigger	e	857	07
Agricultural implement manuf	e	820	06	Bitumen contractor	e	858	02
Sewing machine manufacturer	e	821	06	Electrical contractor	e	859	02
Millwright	e	822	07	Contractor	e	860	02
Tool maker, machinist	e	823	07	Railway contractor	e	861	02
Cutler	e	824	07	Road contractor	e	862	02
Saw sharpener, setter	e	825	07	Time-keeper	e	863	03
Saw grinder	e	825	07	Ganger	e	864	09
Knife, scissors grinder	e	826	07	Navy Railway labourer	e	865	09
Razor grinder	e	827	07	Road labourer	e	865	09
				Paviour, asphalt layer	e	866	09
Welder	e	828	07	Stone breaker	e	867	09
Panel beater	e	829	07	Builder's labourer	e	868	09
Motor body repairer	e	829	07	Furnaceman	e	869	09
Railway carriage manufacturer	e	830	06	Grave digger	e	870	09
Railway truck manufacturer	e	830	06				
Railway trolley manufacturer	e	830	06	Galvaniser	e	871	07
				Insulator	e	872	07
Carriage, coach builder	e	831	07	Aircraft surveyor	e	873	05
Coach, carriage maker	e	831	07	Production inspector	e	874	03
Perambulator maker	e	832	07				
Bicycle maker	e	832	07	Oil company inspector	e	875	03
Wheelwright	e	833	07	Oil company representative	e	876	02
Motor body builder	e	834	07	Oil company employee	e	877	03
Gasworks worker	e	835	09	Electrical instrument maker	e	878	07
Firewood chopper	e	836	09	Electricity company employee	e	879	07
Charcoal burner	e	837	09	Clothes hoist installer	e	880	07
Chimney sweep	e	838	10				
				Product inspector	e	881	03
Brick kiln proprietor	e	839	01	Motor car tester	e	882	07
Builder	e	840	06				
Building contractor	e	841	06	Radio electrician, technician	e	883	07
				Radio engineer	e	883	07
Mason	e	842	07				
Stonemason	e	843	07	Automobile electrician	e	884	07
Marble mason	e	844	07				
Marble mason (bus prop)	e	844	06	Printer's assistant	e	885	09
Stone cutter	e	845	07	Rubber worker, vulcanizer	e	886	09
				Presser, press operator	e	887	09
Bricklayer	e	846	07				
Plasterer	e	847	07	Metal finisher	e	888	09
Slater, shingler, thatcher	e	848	07	Carpet layer	e	889	07

**F. Primary Producer etc.**

Farmer	f	890	11
Market gardener	f	891	11
Farm bailiff	f	892	03
Farm overseer, manager	f	893	12
Farm servant	f	894	12
Farm labourer	f	895	12
Ploughman	f	896	12
Fruit grower, orchardist	f	897	11
Orchard keeper	f	897	11
Orchard worker	f	898	12
Hopgrower	f	899	11
Hopworker	f	900	12
Hop picker	f	901	12
Tobacco grower	f	902	11
Tobacco worker	f	903	12
Wine grower, vigneron	f	904	11
Vineyard worker	f	905	12
Gardener	f	906	12
Horticulturalist, Nurseryman	f	907	05
Nursery proprietor	f	908	11
Planter	f	909	11
Squatter	f	910	11
Grazier, pastoralist	f	911	11
Dairy farmer	f	912	11
Station overseer, manager	f	913	02
Station storekeeper	f	914	03
Station clerk	f	915	03
Station labourer	f	916	12
Shepherd	f	917	12
Stock rider, boundary rider	f	918	12
Shearer	f	919	12
Herdsmen/woman, stockman	f	920	12
Drover	f	921	12
Shearing contractor	f	922	02
Dairyman	f	923	12
Poultry farmer	f	924	11
Fisherman, fisherwoman	f	925	12
Beekeeper, apiarist	f	926	11
Game, wild fowl catcher	f	927	12
Rabbit, vermin trapper	f	928	12
Rabbit, vermin poisoner	f	928	12
Sheep breeder	f	929	05
Forest inspector	f	930	04
Forest officer	f	931	04
Forest ranger	f	932	12
Woodcutter	f	933	12
Woodman	f	934	12
Wood carter	f	935	08

Flower grower	f	936	11
Gas meter reader	f	938	03
Gas supply collector	f	939	03
Water supply officer	f	940	04
Water meter reader	f	940	04
Water supply employee	f	940	04
Water supply collector	f	941	04
Turncock	f	942	04
Wellsinker	f	943	12
Well borer, bore sinker	f	943	12
Hydraulic engineer	f	944	05
Mining engineer	f	945	05
Mining inspector	f	946	04
Mining surveyor	f	947	05
Mine owner	f	948	11
Mine manager	f	949	02
Mine clerk	f	950	03
Miner, mine digger	f	951	12
Goldminer	f	952	12
Copper miner	f	953	12
Copper smelter	f	954	09
Silver miner	f	955	12
Mine labourer, slabber	f	956	12
Opal miner	f	957	12
Mine store officer	f	958	03
Quarry owner, proprietor	f	960	11
Quarry manager	f	961	02
Quarry clerk	f	962	03
Quarry labourer	f	963	12
Mine engine driver	f	964	12
Quarry engine driver	f	964	12
Quarry truck driver	f	964	12
Quarry engine stoker	f	965	12
Mine engine stoker	f	965	12
Grader driver	f	966	09
Quarry contractor	f	967	02
Shift foreman	f	968	12
Park keeper, ranger	f	969	10

**G. Indefinite**

Self employed (indeterminate)	g	978	13
Unemployed	g	979	13
Widow	g	980	13
Pensioner, invalid pensioner	g	985	13
War service pensioner	g	986	13
Annuitant	g	990	13
Independent means	g	995	13
Gentleman, lady	g	996	13
Home duties, domestic duties	g	997	13
Retired	g	998	13
Unknown	g	999	14

## Appendix D

### Residence coding

The residence code was simply the current day post-codes for the towns and districts.<sup>1</sup> Many towns and districts from early in the century had either had name changes, were incorporated into larger districts, or had ceased to be populated. *Manning's Place Names of South Australia*<sup>2</sup> was especially useful in locating and then coding the difficult to find districts. The chief disadvantage of this procedure is that the exact name of the locality is often "lost" in the process of entering the code as the only registration of residence.

The post-code codes were adapted for suburbs within Unley and Mitcham to allow a finer differentiation of residence . Similarly, new codes were devised for interstate, overseas, boarding addresses and unknown origins. The full code is reproduced below.

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1. *Postcode: An alphabetical list of Poscodes throughout Australia*. No. 16, June 1990, Australia Post, was used for the coding.
  2. Geoffrey H. Manning, *Manning's place names of South Australia*, Adelaide, 1990.

Table D1: Residential codes

<i>Suburb</i>	<i>Code</i>				
		<b>Blythewood</b>	<b>0622</b>	Cobdogla	5346
		Boarding	9998	Cockabidnil	5642
Aberdeen	5417	Bolivar	5110	Cockatoo Valley	5351
Aberfoyle Pk	5159	Boooleroo Centre	5482	Cockburn	5440
<b>Ackland Gdns</b>	<b>0391</b>	Bordertown	5268	Coffin Bay	5607
ACT	2888	Bowden	5007	College Park	5069
Adelaide	5000	Bowmans	5550	Collinswood	5081
Africa	9997	Bradbury	5153	<b>Colonel Lt Gd</b>	<b>0412</b>
Albert Park	5014	Brahma Lodge	5109	Cooper Pedy	5723
Alberton	5014	Brayville	5038	Coomandook	5260
Aldgate	5154	Bridgewater	5155	Coonalpyn	5265
Aldinga	5173	Brighton	5048	<b>Coromandel Valley</b>	<b>0513</b>
<b>Alexandra Park</b>	<b>0391</b>	Brighton North	5048	<b>Cottonville</b>	<b>0414</b>
Allenby Gdns	5009	Brighton South	5048	Cowandilla	5033
Alma Plains	5460	Brinkworth	5464	Cowell	5602
America	9996	Britain	9991	Cradock	5432
Angaston	5353	Broadview	5083	Crafers	5152
Angle Park	5010	Brompton	5007	Craigmore	5114
Angle Vale	5117	Brooklyn Park	5032	Croydon	5008
Appila	5480	Burnside	5066	Crystal Brook	5523
Ardrossan	5571	Burra	5417	Cudlee Creek	5232
Ascot Park	5043	Burton	5110	<b>Cudmore Park</b>	<b>0391</b>
Ashford	5035	Bute	5560	Culburra	5261
Ashton	5137			<b>Cumberland Pk</b>	<b>0415</b>
Asia	9995	<b>Cabra Estate</b>	<b>0415</b>	Cummins	5631
Athelstone	5076	Cadell	5321	Curramulka	5580
Athol Park	5012	Callington	5254	Currency Creek	5214
Auburn	5451	Caltowie	5490		
<b>Audrey Park</b>	<b>0621</b>	Cambrai	5353	Darke Peak	5642
Auldana	5072	Camden Park	5038	Darlington	5047
<b>Avenue Park</b>	<b>0415</b>	Campbelltown	5074	<b>Daw Park</b>	<b>0411</b>
		Canada	9996	Delamere	5204
Balaklava	5461	Canberra	2888	Dernancourt	5075
Balhannah	5242	Carey Gully	5144	Devon Park	5008
Banksia Park	5091	Carrieton	5432	Direk	5110
Barmera	5345	Cavan	5094	Dover Gdns	5048
Baroota	5495	Ceduna	5690	Dry Creek	5094
Beachport	5280	<b>Centennial Park</b>	<b>0421</b>	Dublin	5501
Beaumont	5066	Cheltenham	5014	Dudley Park	5008
<b>Bedford Park</b>	<b>0423</b>	Cherry Gdns	5157	Dulwich	5065
<b>Belair</b>	<b>0522</b>	Cherryville	5134		
<b>Bellevue Hts</b>	<b>0502</b>	Christie Downs	5164	East Glenelg	5045
Berri	5343	Christies Beach	5165	Eastwood	5063
Beulah Park	5067	<b>Clapham</b>	<b>0627</b>	Echunga	5153
Beverley	5009	Clare	5453	<b>Eden Hills</b>	<b>0501</b>
Birdwood	5234	<b>Clarence Gdns</b>	<b>0392</b>	Eden Valley	5235
Birkenhead	5015	<b>Clarence Park</b>	<b>0343</b>	Edillilie	5630
<b>Black Forest</b>	<b>0351</b>	Clarendon	5157	Edithburg	5583
<b>Blackwood</b>	<b>0511</b>	Clayton	5256	<b>Edwardstown</b>	<b>0391</b>
Blair Athol	5084	Clearview	5085	Elizabeth	5112
Blanchetown	5357	Cleve	5640	Elizabeth Downs	5113
Blyth	5462	Clovelly Park	5042	Elizabeth Field	5113



Elizabeth North	5113	Glenside	5065	Hoyletown	5463
Elizabeth Park	5113	Glenunga	5064	<b>Hyde Park</b>	<b>0611</b>
Elizabeth West	5113	Glossop	5344	Hynam	5262
Elliston	5670	Glynde	5070		
Elsewhere	9998	Golden Grove	5125	Ingle Farm	5098
Enfield	5085	<b>Goodwood</b>	<b>0342</b>	Inglewood	5133
England	9991	<b>Goodwood Park</b>	<b>0342</b>	Inman Valley	5211
Erindale	5066	Goolwa	5214	Iron Bank	5153
Ethelton	5015	Grange	5022	Iron Baron	5600
Eudunda	5374	Green Fields	5107	Iron Knob	5601
Europe	9992	Greenacres	5086	Ironbank	5153
Evandale	5069	Greenhill	5140		
Evanston Gdns	5116	Greenock	5360	Jabuk	5301
<b>Everard Park</b>	<b>0352</b>	Greenways	5272	Jamestown	5491
Exeter	5019	Greenwith	5125	Jervois	5259
		Gulnare	5471	Joslin	5070
Fairview Park	5126	Gumeracha	5233	<b>Joyce Park</b>	<b>0621</b>
Farrell Flat	5416				
Felixtow	5070	Hackham	5163	Kadina	5554
Ferrydon Park	5010	Hackney	5069	Kalangadoo	5278
Findon	5023	Hahndorf	5245	Kangarilla	5157
Finniss	5255	Halidon	5309	Kanmantoo	5252
Firle	5070	Hallet	5419	Kapunda	5373
Fitzroy	5082	Hallet Cove	5158	Karkoo	5607
Flagstaff Hill	5159	Hamilton	5373	Karoonda	5307
Flaxley	5153	Hamley Bridge	5401	Keith	5267
Flinders Park	5025	Hammond	5430	Kensington Gd P	5068
Forest Range	5139	Hampstead Gdns	5086	Kent Town	5067
<b>Forestville</b>	<b>0354</b>	Happy Valley	5159	Kersbrook	5231
Frances	5262	Haslam	5680	<b>Keswick</b>	<b>0353</b>
Freeling	5372	Hatherleigh	5280	Keynetown	5353
Frewville	5063	Hawker	5434	Ki Ki	5261
Fulham Gdns	5024	<b>Hawthorn</b>	<b>0621</b>	Kidman Park	5025
<b>Fullarton</b>	<b>0633</b>	<b>Hawthorndene</b>	<b>0512</b>	Kielpa	5642
		Hazelwood Park	5066	Kilburn	5084
Galga	5308	Heathfield	5153	Kilkenny	5009
<b>Galway East</b>	<b>0629</b>	Heathpool	5068	Kimba	5641
Gawler	5118	Hectorville	5073	Kingoonya	5710
Georgetown	5472	Hendon	5014	<b>Kings Park</b>	<b>0344</b>
Gepps Cross	5094	Henley Beach /S	5022	Kingscote	5223
Geranium	5301	Highbury	5089	Kingston Park	5049
Gilberton	5081	<b>Highgate</b>	<b>0632</b>	Kingston SE	5275
Gilles Plains	5086	Hillbank	5112	Kingston-on-Murray	5331
Gillman	5013	Hillcrest	5086	<b>Kingswood</b>	<b>0623</b>
Gladstone	5473	Hillier	5116	Klemzig	5087
Glandore	5037	Hilltown	5455	Knoxville	5064
Glanville	5015	Hilton	5033	Kongorong	5291
Glen Osmond	5064	Hindmarsh /W	5007	Koolunga	5464
Glen Osmond	5064	Holden Hill	5008	Kooringa	5417
<b>Glenalta</b>	<b>0521</b>	<b>Hollywood</b>	<b>0415</b>	Kudla	5115
<b>Glenburnie</b>	<b>0624</b>	Hope Valley	5090	Kurralta Park	5037
Glencoe	5291	Hornsedale	5491	Kyancutta	5651
Glenelg /E/N/S	5045	Houghton	5131	Kybunga	5462
Glengowrie	5044	Hove	5048	Kybybolite	5262

Lake View	5555	McLaren Vale	5171	Murray Town	5481
Lameroo	5302	Meadows	5201	Mylor	5153
Langhorne Creek	5255	Medindie	5081	Myponga	5202
Largs Bay /LNth	5016	Melrose	5483	<b>Myrtle Bank</b>	<b>0641</b>
Laura	5480	<b>Melrose Park</b>	<b>0391</b>	Myrtle Park	5064
Leabrook	5068	Meningie	5264		
Leawood Gdns	5150	Mercunda	5308	Nailsworth	5083
Leigh Creek	5731	Meribah	5333	Nairne	5252
Lenswood	5240	Merriton	5523	Nangwarry	5277
Linden Park	5065	Middleton	5213	Naracoorte	5271
Lipson	5607	Mil Lel	5291	Narrung	5259
Littlehampton	5250	Milang	5256	<b>Netherby</b>	<b>0629</b>
Lobethal	5241	Mile End /S	5031	Netley	5037
Lochiel	5510	Millicent	5280	New Guinea	9994
Lock	5633	<b>Millswood</b>	<b>0345</b>	New South Wales	2999
Lockleys	5032	Mindarie	5309	New Well	5357
Longwood	5133	Minlaton	5575	New Zealand	9995
Lonsdale	5160	Minnipa	5654	Newton	5074
Louth Bay	5607	Mintabie	5724	Nildottie	5238
Loveday	5345	Mintaro	5415	Noarlunga	5168
Lowbank	5320	<b>Mitcham</b>	<b>0625</b>	Nonning	5710
Lower Light	5501	<b>Mitcham Estate</b>	<b>0622</b>	Normanville	5204
<b>Lower Mitcham</b>	<b>0622</b>	<b>Mitcham Park</b>	<b>0411</b>	North Adelaide	5006
Loxton	5333	Mitchell Park	5043	North Haven	5018
Lucindale	5272	Moana	5169	North Plympton	5037
Lyndhurst	5731	Moculta	5353	North Shields	5607
Lyndoch	5351	Modbury H N	5092	Northern Terr	8999
<b>Lynton</b>	<b>0628</b>	<b>Monalta</b>	<b>0522</b>	Northfield	5085
Lyrup	5343	Monarto South	5254	Norton Summit	5136
		Monash	5342	Norwood	5067
Macclesfield	5153	Monreith	5065	Novar Gardens	5040
<b>MacDonald Park</b>	<b>5121</b>	Montacute	5134	Nuriootpa	5355
Magill	5072	Moonta	5558		
Maitland	5573	Moorak	5291	O'Halloran Hill	5158
Mallala	5502	Moorlands	5301	O'Sullivan Bea	5166
<b>Malvern</b>	<b>0614</b>	Moorook	5332	Oakbank	5243
Mambray Creek	5495	Morchard	5486	Oaklands Park	5046
Manna Hill	5440	Morgan	5320	Ob Flat	5291
Manningham	5086	Morphett Vale	5162	Olary	5440
Mannum	5238	Morphettville	5043	Old Noarlunga	5168
Manoora	5414	Mortana	5680	One Tree Hill	5114
Mansfield Park	5012	Mount Barker	5251	Oodnadatta	5734
Mantung	5308	Mount Bryan	5418	Orroroo	5431
Marama	5307	Mount Burr	5279	Osborne	5017
Marden	5070	Mount Compass	5210	Ottoway	5013
Marino	5049	Mount Gambier	5290	Outer Harbour	5018
Marion	5043	Mount Osmond	5064	Ovingham	5082
Marla	5724	Mount Pleasant	5235	Owen	5460
Marleston	5033	Mount Torrens	5244		
Marrabel	5413	Mundoora	5520	Padthaway	5271
Marree	5733	Mundulla	5270	Palmer	5237
Marryatville	5068	Munno Para	5115	<b>Panchito Park</b>	<b>0624</b>
Maslin Beach	5170	Murdinga	5607	<b>Panorama</b>	<b>0413</b>
Maylands	5069	Murray Bridge	5253	Para Hills	5096

Para Hills	5096	Queensland	4999	Semaphore P S	5019
Para Vista	5093	Queenstown	5014	Sevenhill	5453
Parachilna	5730	Quorn	5433	Sheidow Park	5158
Paracombe	5132			Sherlock	5301
Paradise	5075	Ramco	5322	Skye	5072
Parafield /Gdns	5107	Rapid Bay	5204	Smithfield P W	5114
Parilla	5303	<b>Ravenswood</b>	<b>0612</b>	Smoky Bay	5680
Paringa	5340	<b>Reade Park</b>	<b>0412</b>	Snowtown	5520
Park Holme	5043	<b>Reade Park Gdns</b>	<b>0415</b>	Solomontown	5540
<b>Parkside /S</b>	<b>0631</b>	<b>Redfern</b>	<b>0415</b>	Somerton Park	5044
Parndana	5220	Redhill	5521	South Africa	9997
Parrakie	5310	Redwood Park	5097	South Kilkerran	5573
Paruna	5311	Regency Park	5010	<b>South Malvern</b>	<b>0614</b>
<b>Pasadena</b>	<b>0421</b>	Rendelsham	5280	<b>South Road Esta</b>	<b>0422</b>
Paskeville	5552	Renmark	5341	Southend	5280
Payneham /S	5070	Renown Park	5008	Spalding	5454
Peake	5301	Reynella	5161	<b>Springbank</b>	<b>0413</b>
Peebinga	5307	Richmond /W	5033	<b>Springbank Gdns</b>	<b>0421</b>
Penfield /Gdns	5121	<b>Ridge Park</b>	<b>0641</b>	<b>Springfield</b>	<b>0626</b>
Penneshaw	5222	Ridgehaven	5097	Springton	5235
Pennington	5013	Ridleyton	5008	St Agnes	5097
Penola	5277	Risdon Park	5540	St Georges	5064
Penong	5690	Riverton	5412	<b>St James Park</b>	<b>0627</b>
Perponda	5308	Robe	5276	St Kilda	5110
Peterborough	5422	Robertstown	5381	<b>St Marys</b>	<b>0422</b>
Peterhead	5016	Rose Park	5067	St Marys West	5039
Piccadilly	5151	<b>Rosefield</b>	<b>0632</b>	St Morris	5068
Pine Point	5571	Rosenthal	5118	St Peters	5069
Pinnaroo	5304	Rosewater	5013	Stansbury	5582
Plympton P S	5038	Roseworthy	5371	Stenhouse Bay	5577
Plympton North	5037	Rosslyn Park	5072	Stepney	5069
Point Pearce	5573	Rostrevor	5073	Stirling E W	5152
Poochera	5655	Rowland Flat	5352	Stirling North	5710
Pooraka	5095	Royal Park	5014	Stockport	5410
Port Adelaide	5015	Royston Park	5070	Stockwell	5355
Port Augusta	5700	Rudall	5642	Stonyfell	5066
Port Broughton	5522			Strathalbyn	5255
Port Clinton	5570	Saddleworth	5413	Streaky Bay	5680
Port Elliot	5212	Salisbury D N S	5108	Sturt	5047
Port Germein	5495	Salisbury E H P	5109	Summertown	5141
Port Hughes	5558	Sandalwood	5309	<b>Sun Valley</b>	<b>0521</b>
Port Kenny	5671	Sanderston	5237	Surrey Downs	5126
Port Lincoln	5606	Sandy Creek	5350	Sutherlands	5374
Port Macdonald	5291	Scott Creek	5153	Swan Reach	5354
Port Neill	5604	Seacliff /P	5049		
Port Noarlunga	5167	Seacombe Gdns	5047	Tailem Bend	5260
Port Pirie	5540	Seacombe Height	5047	Taldra	5311
Port Victoria	5573	Seaford	5169	Tantanoola	5280
Port Vincent	5581	Seaton	5023	Tanunda	5352
Port Wakefield	5550	Seaview Downs	5049	Taperoo	5017
Port Willunga	5173	Second Valley	5204	Taplan	5333
Price	5570	Sedan	5353	Tarcoola	5710
Prospect	5082	Sefton Park	5083	Tarcowie	5431
		Sellicks Beach	5174	Tarlee	5411

Tarpeena	5277	Venus Bay	5607	Whyalla Stuart	5608
Tasmania	7999	Verdun	5245	Whyte Yarcowie	5420
Tea Tree Gully	5091	Victor Harbor	5211	Willaston	5118
Tennyson	5022	Victoria vic-	3999	Williamstown	5351
Teringie	5072	Virginia	5120	Willunga	5172
Terowie	5421	Vista	5091	Wilmington	5485
Thebarton	5031			Windsor	5501
Thevenard	5690	Waikerie	5330	Windsor Gdns	5087
Thorngate	5082	Walkerville	5081	Wingfield	5013
Tintinara	5266	Walkley Heights	5098	Winkie	5343
Tooperang	5214	Wallaroo	5556	Wirrabara	5481
Toorak Gdns	5065	Wanbi	5310	Wirrulla	5661
<b>Torrens Park</b>	<b>0624</b>	Wangary	5607	Wistow	5251
Torrensville	5031	Wanilla	5607	Wolseley	5269
Tranmere	5073	Warooka	5577	Woodcroft	5162
Trinity Gdns	5068	Warrachie	5607	Woodeforde	5072
Trott Park	5158	Warradale	5046	<b>Woodlands Park</b>	<b>0622</b>
Truro	5356	Warrambo	5650	Woodside	5244
Tumby Bay	5605	Warrow	5607	Woodville G N	5012
Tungkillo	5236	Wasleys	5400	Woodville P S W	5011
Tusmore	5065	Waterfall Gully	5066	Wool Bay	5582
Two Wells	5501	Waterloo Corner	5110	Woomera	5720
		Watervale	5452	Wudinna	5652
UK	9991	Wattle Park	5066	Wynarka	5306
Underdale	5032	<b>Wayville</b>	<b>0341</b>	Wynne Vale	5127
Ungarra	5607	Weetulla	5573		
Unknown	9999	Welland	5007	Yacka	5470
<b>Unley</b>	<b>0613</b>	West Beach	5024	Yahl	5291
<b>Unley Park</b>	<b>0612</b>	West Lakes	5021	Yandia	5482
<b>Upper Sturt</b>	<b>5156</b>	West Lakes Shore	5020	Yaninee	5653
Uraidla	5142	<b>West Mitcham</b>	<b>0624</b>	Yankallila	5203
<b>Urrbrae</b>	<b>0642</b>	<b>Westbourne Pk</b>	<b>0414</b>	Yatala Vale	5126
<b>Urrbrae Park</b>	<b>0642</b>	Western Aust	6999	Yeelanna	5632
USA	9996	Wharminda	5603	Yongala	5493
		Whyalla	5600	Yorketown	5576
Vale Park	5081	Whyalla Jenkins	5609	Yumali	5261
Valley View	5093	Whyalla Norrie	5608	Yunta	5440
Veitch	5312	Whyalla Playford	5600		

Table D2: Residence codes for suburbs of Unley and Mitcham Council areas

<i>Suburb</i>	<i>Code</i>				
wayville	0341	Everard Park	0352	Alexandra Park	0391
Goodwood	0342	Keswick	0353	Clarence Gdns	0392
Clarence Park	0343	Forestville	0354	Melrose Park	0391
Kings Park	0344				
Millswood	0345	Cudmore Park	0391	Avenue Park	0415
		Edwardstown	0391	Daw Park	0411
Black Forest	0351	Ackland Gdns	0391	Redfern	0415

Reade Park Gdns	0415	Hawthorndene	0512	Springfield	0626
Reade Park	0412			St James Park	0627
Colonel Lt Gd	0412	Glenalta	0521	Clapham	0627
Springbank	0413	Belair	0522	Glenburnie	0624
Panorama	0413	Monalta	0522	Lynton	0628
Cottonville	0414			Netherby	0629
Westbourne Pk	0414	Hyde Park	0611	Galway East	0629
Cumberland Pk	0415	Unley Park	0612	Blythe	0622
Cabra Estate	0415	South Malvern	0614	Brownhill Creek	0622
Hollywood	0415	Unley	0613		
Mitcham Park	0411	Malvern	0614	Parkside	0631
				Highgate	0632
Springbank Gdns	0421	Audrey Park	0621	Rosefield	0632
Pasadena	0421	Hawthorn	0621	Fullarton	0633
Centennial Park	0421	Ravenswood	0612	Fullarton Estat	0633
South Road Estate	0422	Woodlands Park	0622		
St Marys	0422	Joyce Park	0621	Myrtle Bank	0641
Bedford Park	0423	Lower Mitcham	0622	Urrbrae Park	0642
		Mitcham Estate	0622	Urrbrae	0642
Eden Hills	0501	Kingswood	0623	Ridge Park	0641
Bellevue Hts	0502	Torrens Park	0624		
		West Mitcham	0624	Upper Sturt	5156
Blackwood	0511	Panchito Park	0624		
Coromandel Val	0513	Mitcham	0625		

## Appendix E

### The minor data-bases

#### (a) Concordia family strategy data-base

This data-base was composed from linking details about individual students from the attendance registers to student record folders at Concordia College. (Both located in the Concordia College Archives.) The data-base was used for Chapter 6, especially in the analysis of differing intentions and behaviours of the families of farmers and clergy. Table E1 shows the numbers involved, while Table E2 is the codebook.

Table E1: Data-base according to cohort and sex of student

Years	Males	Females	Total
1953-1957	95	93	188

Table E2: Concordia family strategy codebook

*/1 RECORD*

1	1-4 (4)	CASEID	CASE IDENTIFICATION NUMBER	Year & list no (eg. 5301)
2	6-18 (13)	SURN	STUDENT SURNAME	Self coding (A)
3	20 (1)	BORD	BIRTH ORDER	1 First child of male or female 2 Second child of sex, etc.
4	22 (1)	SSEX	SEX OF STUDENT	1 Male 2 Female
5	24 (1)	PSEX	SEX OF PARENT	1 Male 2 Female
6	26-27 (2)	POCC2	PARENT OCCUPATION RECODE	See Table C2 above plus category 16 Clergy
7	29-31 (3)	MCHOICE	MOTHER'S OCCUPATION CHOICE	See Table C3 above plus categories 970 Uncertain 971 Child's own choice 972 Not filled out 973 Home on farm 974 Parent deceased 975 Marry 976 Deaconess

8	33-35 (3)	FCHOICE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION CHOICE	As for no. 7 above
9	37-39 (3)	CCHOICE	CHILD'S OCCUPATION CHOICE	As for no. 7 above
10	41 (1)	HLEVEL	HIGHEST LEVEL COMPLETED	1 First year 2 Second year 3 Third year, Intermediate 4 Fourth year, Leaving 5 Fifth year, Leaving Hons.
11	43 (1)	CTIME	YEARS AT CONCORDIA	Self-coding
13	48 (1)	AGREE	FAMILY UNITY ON OCC CHOICE	1 United 2 Parents united 3 Mother & child united 4 Father & child united 5 Disunity
14	50 (1)	REC1	RECORD 1	1

**(b) Unley High voluntary organizations data-base**

This data-base was an extension of the main data-base, but for one school only, Unley High School. Its analysis was utilized in Chapter 7 for the discussion of youth groups in the post World War II era. One additional record (4) was added to the existing three, containing coded information on voluntary organizations students reported belonging to when they began high school. The information was taken from the vocational guidance cards which all state secondary schools were required to keep in the 1940s through to the 1980s. The records for students from the 1947, 1954 and 1961 cohorts were searched for this data. Table E3 shows the size of the data-base, and Table E4, the coding instructions (codebook). Table E5 shows the names of the actual organizations which were coded into the 11 main groups of Table E4.

Table E3: Data-base of voluntary organizations belonged to by Unley High School students according to cohort and sex of student (N)

Cohort	Males	Females	Missing (%)	Total
1947	142	81	37 (14.2)	260
1954	225	161	41 (9.6)	427
1961	277	227	32 (6.0)	536

Table E4: Unley High voluntary organizations codebook

<i>/1 RECORD</i>				See Main Codebook above (Table B1)
<i>/2 RECORD</i>				as above
<i>/3 RECORD</i>				as above
<i>/4 RECORD</i>				
1	9 (1)	SCOUT	SCOUTS & GUIDES	0 No membership 1 One group/club 2 Two groups/clubs, etc.
2	10 (1)	CHCH	CHURCH YOUTH	as above
3	11 (1)	MEDIA	MEDIA ORGS	as above
4	12 (1)	SPORT	SPORTS	as above
5	13 (1)	ARTS	ARTS	as above
6	14 (1)	SERV	SERVICE	as above
7	15 (1)	SURF	LIFE SAVING	as above
8	16 (1)	SUND	SUNDAY SCHOOL	as above
9	17 (1)	POL	POLITICAL & SOCIAL ORGS	as above
10	18 (1)	OTHER	OTHER CULTURAL	as above
11	19 (1)	NONY	OTHER ORGANIZATION	as above
12	80	REC4	RECORD 4	4



Table E5: Coding of voluntary organizations

<i>Group 1: Scouts &amp; Guides</i>	<i>Group 6: Service</i>
Girl Guides	Junior Red Cross
Boy Scouts	St John's Ambulance
Sea Rangers	
Cadets	<i>Group 7: Life saving</i>
	Life saving
<i>Group 2: Church Youth</i>	Surf association
Christian/Junior Endeavour	
Church/Youth Fellowship	<i>Group 8: Sunday School</i>
Girls' Club	Sunday School
Methodist Rays	
Pilots	<i>Group 9: Political &amp; social</i>
YWCA	Young Australia League
Crusaders	Eureka Youth League
Student Christian Movement	
Youth Club	<i>Group 10: Other cultural</i>
YP Society	Girls' Friendly Society
Comrades	Oval teenies
YMCA	Community Centre
Boys Brigade	Breakfast food club
Girls Life Brigade	Airline club
Bible Reading Group	Rural youth
Methodist Knights	
Boys Club	<i>Group 11: Other organization</i>
<i>Group 3: Media Organizations</i>	Legacy
Newspaper children's clubs	Lodge
Radio Station club	RSPCA
ABC Argonauts	Diabetic Association
Famous Five Club	Church
Eagle Club	Alliance Francais
	Caledonian Society
<i>Group 4: Sports Organization</i>	National society
Gymnasium	Missionary support society
Highland dancing	Animal breeding/showing assoc
Sports club	Greek Red Cross
Marching girls	Country Club
	Golf Club
<i>Group 5: Arts</i>	Field Naturalists
Adelaide College of Music	
Ballet School	
Art/handicraft club	
Choir, music society	
Theatre/acting school/club	

## Appendix F

### Multiple Classification Analysis

Many of the important points to be made about the use of MCA analysis in this study have been made in the texts surrounding Tables 3.14, 3.15, 7.24, 7.25, 7.26 in chapters 3 and 7. Such points include not only the interpretation of the "beta" statistics, but the difficulties associated with the categorizing of social relationships and groupings such as social class into the hard categories necessary for statistical analysis. They also include a discussion of the necessity of taking into account the selective nature of the cohorts. In a period when relatively few youth went to secondary schools, one would expect the significance and meaning of the statistics associated with variables to be different for a period when nearly all youth in the population went to such schools. Analyses made under such different circumstances are interpretable only on the basis of their particular data-sets. The texts in chapters 3 and 7 also include discussion of the issue of how independent the variables were from one another. This is the chronic problem for the use of such statistical procedures in the social sciences. Despite the assurances that MCA is a "robust" procedure, able to cope with degrees of collinearity, the question must remain as to the actual meaning of the "beta" and "significance" statistics generated.

Given this degree of scepticism about the procedures, it is worth asking whether the analyses contribute much at all to the argument. I argue that if the limitations of the procedures are known, they can be taken into account for the discussion. If in some circumstances the credibility of a particular beta or significance statistic are in doubt, the MCA tables have the virtue of displaying grand means and variations from the means for each category within a variable. As the texts of my discussions of the MCA tables in chapters 3 and 7 demonstrate, this direct reference to variations from means does assist in the interpretation of the results of the MCA procedures. On the whole, I was encouraged to persist with, and report the results of my use of the procedure by the comparability of my results with those of Labaree in his *The making of an American High School*.

Andrews' text on MCA remains the most useful comprehensive guide to the procedure that I have discovered.<sup>1</sup> I have also found the discussions by Labaree, Katz, Kaestle,

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1. Frank M. Andrews et. al., *Multiple classification analysis: A report on a computer program for multiple regression using categorical predictors*, 2nd ed., Institute for Social Research (University of Michigan), Ann Arbor, 1973.

Hogan, Vinovskis and Perlmann on multi-variate analysis and quantitative methods in general, invaluable, dealing as they often do with comparable historical questions and data.<sup>2</sup>

The chief virtue of MCA for this study was also the reason for its invention. Most of my possible predictor variables for school leaving age or examination success were nominal and ordinal. The use of the more common multiple regression procedure would have necessitated the making of a great number of complex dummy variables.

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