The Second World War ended in 1945 but its effects on the life of the people of the UK lasted for many years. The term austerity is used to describe government policy in post-war Britain, in particular rationing.

Problem 1 - Rationing
Rationing of food, clothing, fuel and other commodities had been vital during the Second World War. Once the war was over, people expected that life would return to normal. In reality, rationing not only continued but was extended to a wider range of food and materials. Rationing wasn't all bad, for poorer people life under rationing was often better than their pre-war lives as they had a better diet. However, rich people who bought items on the black market hated rationing and voted for the conservatives when they promised to end it.

- Petrol was rationed until 1950
- Paper until 1954
- Bread until 1948
- Tea until 1952
- Eggs and sugar until 1953
- Milk, meat and cheese until 1954

Problem 2 - Housing
Major cities such as London, Coventry, Leicester, and Birmingham were badly bombed in the blitz. Half a million British homes had been destroyed by German bombing and a further 3 million houses were very badly damaged (1/3 of Britain's houses).

The demand and prices for houses was further increased by:
- The 11% rise in marriages when couples were reunited
- The post-war baby boom - one million extra children being born between 1945 and 1950
- Divorces rising due to marriages breaking apart during war years
- Britain did not have the resources, money or man power to rebuild houses easily.

Housing was a problem that everyone agreed needed fixing quickly. As a result The Labour Minister for Health, Aneurin Bevan, proposed a plan to build 200,000 houses a year, mostly council houses and pre-fabs (157,000), and many tower blocks. They were of better quality than previous housing e.g. indoor bathrooms.

New laws were introduced to help improve the housing situation:
- In 1946, rent controls were introduced which meant tenants couldn't be charged ridiculously high rents by private landlords.
- The New Towns Act 1946 initiated the building of whole new towns for the population to move into
The Housing Act 1949 removed many older restrictions on the types of houses that councils could build which let companies build new and modern houses.

Problem 3- Welfare
Based on the Beveridge report which outlined problems that Britain would face after WWII ended, Labour promised to tackle ‘the Five Giants’. Winston Churchill and the Conservatives were not keen on implementing most of Beveridge’s recommendations, this resulted in Labour winning the election and implementing the following policies:

Government welfare schemes were nothing new. Old Age Pensions and unemployment benefit, known as ‘the dole’, had been around before WW2. The difference was that they applied to everyone and they would be there ‘from cradle to grave’. It was expensive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legislation introduced by labour to tackle the '5 giants'</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| Want
  the lack of the basic things needed to live, like food |
| 1945 Family Allowances Act - 5 shillings a week per child for the second child and every child after
  1946 National Insurance Act - provided unemployment, sickness and maternity benefits, and pensions |
| Ignorance
  the lack of a proper education |
| 1944 Education Act - made education free for all children up to the age of 15 |
| Disease
  the lack of proper fair medical care |
| 1946 National Health Service Act - free medical services available to all citizens. |
| Squalor
  poor living conditions |
| 1946 New Towns Act - gave local councils the powers to make brand new towns across the UK. |
| Idleness
  not having a job. |
| There were no laws passed directly to address this, but the problem was solved until the 1970s by full employment. |

Case study- The NHS
The National Health Service began on 5 July 1948. It gave all British citizens access to free medical care from GPs and dentists, and free hospital treatment. It had been a struggle to get it started:

- The Conservatives had opposed it
- Then the British Medical Association, who represented doctors, threatened that they would refuse to take part in it because they were scared for doctors wages and job security.

The government had estimated that the NHS would cost £140 million a year by 1950. In fact, by 1950 the NHS was costing £358 million. Despite this the NHS quickly became a source of national pride. A survey in 1956 found that 90% of the population thought the NHS was a good service, with 7% undecided and only 3% against it.

However, the government had expected 50 million prescriptions to have been given out by 1951 but the actual figure was 227 million. There were queues of people waiting to see a dentist and a five-month wait for glasses. The poorest people now rushed to receive treatment for conditions - hernias, cancers, toothache and ulcers, with
which they had been living for years. Some believed that they were taking advantage of the system.

To help reduce costs, Labour introduced a 1 shilling (5 pence) prescription charge in 1951, and asked people to pay half of the cost of spectacles and false teeth, although pensioners, the poor and disabled people did not have to pay. It caused arguments in the Labour government and resulted in Bevan, the Minister for Health, resigning in protest. This made Labour look weak as they were going back on their promises.

Problem 4 - The economy
There was an enormous economic cost to pay for winning the war:
- The National Debt had risen from £500mill in 1939 to £3,500mill in 1945.
- Since a lot of the work force had died or were injured and natural resources had been used, few industries had the means or materials to produce goods.
- The USA had also stopped the Lend-Lease scheme, this meant that Britain now had to find and pay for all of its own materials.
- The pound was also reduced in value compared to the dollar in 1949 (devaluation of the pound), dropping from $4.03 to the pound to $2.80 to the pound.

*It seemed a humiliating defeat at the time, but it improved Britain's exports by making British goods cheaper abroad.*

Nationalisation of industry
The nationalisation of key industries in 1945 was a major policy that aimed to solve the economic problems Britain faced. The post-war Labour government wanted to create a mixed economy, this meant that some industries were brought under government control (called public ownership) and others were not.

Public ownership of industries was not a new idea in the UK, it had been used during the war years to ensure effectiveness. Labour said that nationalisation would lead to more co-ordination between key industries. Many people believed that nationalisation would lead to full employment, a stronger economy lower prices, and better working conditions. State control meant people living in the countryside got electric and gas supplies, which private companies had considered not worth the price it would cost.

By 1951 Labour's nationalisation programme was complete and one in ten people now worked for a newly nationalised industry:
**BANK OF ENGLAND (1946)**
To spread government influence through all banks but without having to control them directly; it meant that the government would be able to get money for investment.

**CABLE AND WIRELESS (1947)**
The government could now connect the Commonwealth by controlling all international radio and telegraph services.

**COAL (1947)**
Labour created the National Control Board because they knew that 2000 mines would be hard to control; miners did quickly see improvements in their working conditions, although not in their pay because the directors were the same. Coal production increased drastically.

**ELECTRICITY (1947) and GAS (1948)**
500 electricity companies now became 14 area electricity boards and 1,000 gas companies became 12 area gas boards. The aim was to make gas and electricity more available across the country at a standard price and by connecting remote areas.

**TRANSPORT (1948)**
British Rail was created to take control of 52,000 miles of track with its aim to modernise the railways and make them profitable again; the aim was to provide a co-ordinated transport policy that would serve everyone in the UK, even those living in remote areas.

**IRON and STEEL (passed 1947–1951)**
Labour wanted to control these industries because they were so important to the economy; the Conservatives strongly objected to this as these industries were already efficient and should be left to the businessmen who already knew how to run them well.

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**‘A tonic for the nation’ The Festival of Britain 1951**
The Festival of Britain took place in the summer of 1951 - It advertised the best of British design and manufacturing to the world. This new Festival was intended to help raise British morale after years of rationing and shortages, to show that Britain had recovered from the war and was ready to face the future. The popular festival included

- A new Royal Festival Hall for concerts
- The Telecinema with innovative 3D films
- The spaceship-like Dome of Discovery
- A large futuristic metal sculpture called the Skylon
- Nineteen pavilions of displays and exhibitions broken into themes

Other related events were also held around London in 1951:

- The Festival Pleasure Gardens at Battersea, which included a very popular series of funfair rides, a miniature railway and foaming fountains
- A science exhibition in South Kensington.

Events were also held outside of London:

- The ‘Industrial Power’ exhibition in Glasgow
- The ‘Ulster Farm and Factory’ exhibition in Belfast.

Although many complained about ticket prices a survey taken in the summer of 1951 showed that 58% of people approved of the Festival. In many ways the Festival achieved its aims. There was a genuine sense of excitement and national pride.
Why did labour lose the 1951 general election?

1. Labour weaknesses

Labour politicians were getting older. In 1950 the average age of the Cabinet was 60. Many had been made very ill by the stress of more than a decade in government. Voters associated Labour with unpopular policies like the continuation of rationing and the devaluing of the pound.

As strikes increased as a result of trade union dissatisfaction, Labour provided very few answers. This made them seem weak and unable to stand up to the trade unions, or as unsupportive of the trade unions. Labour politicians did not agree with one another over various policies, the NHS being the main gripe. Bevan resigned in protest at the introduction of prescription charges.

2. Popularity of the Conservatives

Winston Churchill was still very popular and a powerful public speaker, he worked closely with younger Conservatives and allowed them to take the limelight. In their election manifesto they promised to “maintain and improve” popular Labour policies like the health service, as well as the more traditional Conservative promise to “reduce taxation”. Churchill promised that 300,000 houses a year would be built whereas Labour could only manage 200,000. The election of 1951 actually showed how little difference there was between the parties, as the conservatives won effectively promising to continue many of the polices (NHS, nationalisation) introduced by labour.

3. Election changes

The 1948 Reform Act had re-drawn constituency boundaries to keep up with population changes. These changes had not been in Labour’s favour. The Act also introduced postal voting, which also favoured Conservatives as it meant that more elderly and ill voters could still take part in elections.

4. Timing of the election

Labour only had a small majority which made it difficult for Labour to pass new laws. To increase their seats the government needed to have another election. The election was called in October 1951 so that it did not clash with the King’s proposed visit to Australia (which he never went on) in the spring of 1952. Also, the Korean War was coming to an end and so rationing could be relaxed in 1952. Rising wages and the improving situation of British businesses as a result of Labour’s devaluation of the pound in 1949 became more noticeable in 1952. Both of these things would have made Labour more popular if the election had been held in 1952.
6. The British voting system

In 1951 Labour won more votes than any other political party in any election up until 1992 but they won fewer parliamentary seats than the Conservatives. The ‘first past the post’ electoral system says that it is the party with the most seats in the House of Commons, not the party with the most votes that wins the election.

The end of austerity? How did Britain recover 1951–1965?

Harold Macmillan, the Conservative Prime Minister from 1957 to 1963: “Let us be frank about it: most of our people have never had it so good” – this idea of "never had it so good" dominated the 1959 General Election. The Conservative election slogan was ‘Life’s better with the Conservatives’ and they promoted the idea that the Conservatives were responsible for the new-found affluence and wealth of the British people in the late 1950s. Labour argued that there was a bigger difference between rich and poor people in the 50s.

What was the British economy like in the early 1950s?

Britain was still one of the richest countries in the world in 1951. By 1952 British manufacturing employed 40% of the workforce and was responsible for a quarter of the world’s manufacturing exports. Britain was the leading world producer of ships and the leading European producer of coal, steel, cars and textiles. Many of Britain’s European rivals were still recovering from the Second World War. After the war ended there was a lot of money to be earned from overseas trade through exports and investments. There was rising demand at home now as rationing and austerity had ended, resulting in full employment and affluence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Successes</th>
<th>Problems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TEXTILES</td>
<td>Britain was the largest European producer of textiles in 1951 and a world leader in luxury cotton</td>
<td>Wool and cotton businesses found it difficult to compete with new man-made fibres like nylon and cheaper textiles produced in places like India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARS</td>
<td>Britain was the largest exporter of cars in the world in 1950 and the BMC made 40% of cars in Britain.</td>
<td>British cars became more expensive compared to rivals from the USA, West Germany and Japan due to production and safety methods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COAL</td>
<td>The government invested a lot of money in modernising the coal industry, e.g. electric railways underground and large ‘power-loader’ machines.</td>
<td>The use of coal in houses was reduced as people switched to the cheaper gas and/or electricity in their houses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARMING</td>
<td>The 1947 Agriculture Act guaranteed prices for farm produce, provided grants to modernise farms and resulted in a 20% increase in agricultural output.</td>
<td>Modernisation resulted in rural depopulation (people moving away from the countryside).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The main features of Britain's growing affluence in the 1950s and 1960s

1. Wage rises and tax cuts

As well as the end of rationing a number of other elements helped to give people this feeling of affluence: firstly, a huge financial boost to UK businesses due to post-war trade. Secondly, a reduction in working hours in the 1950s led to more leisure time and greater spending on leisure activities.

By the end of the 1950s Britain had a higher averaged income than anywhere else in the world except for the USA. Between 1955 and 1969 prices increased by 63%, while weekly earnings rose by 130%, which meant that workers could afford to buy more with the money they earned. Full employment due to the demand for skilled and un-skilled labour meant that people could change jobs more easily and earn better salaries. This led to higher wages as employers competed to recruit the best candidates. Public sympathy made the government give reasonable pay rises to teachers and nurses.

Tax cuts meant that workers got to keep more of the money they earned. The Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, R. A. Butler, cut income tax from its highest level of 47.5% to 42.5% in 1955 in time for the general election.

Hire Purchase was also introduced which allowed people to pay for items in monthly instalments so they became more affordable. At least one third of families in 1953 were buying on hire purchase. By 1956 one half of televisions were bought on HP. By the end of the 1960s the first credit card had been introduced into Britain by Barclaycard to make access to credit even easier.

2. Consumerism

Spending money on non-essential or luxury items rather than on the essentials is known as consumerism. Consumer spending increased by 115% in the 1950s. As wages increased and tax fell people were spending more money because they felt more financially secure.

They had more money to spend on goods, and a greater variety of goods to choose from. As the demand for more consumer items grew, prices fell, allowing more people to buy these items. This was known as the consumer cycle. People bought good such as, fridges, freezers, cars, gramophone players, cars, hoovers and TVs.

Consumerism affected what and how British people ate. The end of rationing and the beginnings of consumerism also saw the rise of convenience foods e.g. frozen peas, Bird's Eye frozen fish fingers, Batchelors’ ‘boil in the bag’ curry and the tea bag was invented by Tetley's in 1952. There was an increase in ways in which people could eat out. In summer 1953 the first Wimpy burger bar opened in Wimbledon.

Not everyone benefitted from consumerism: old age pensioners had seen the value of their pensions decrease as prices rose with inflation. Some people were just paid very
low wages, or were discriminated against because of their gender or race and were not able to enjoy consumerism.

3. Shopping
Before the 1950s, food shopping had been done either by regular home deliveries (milkmen or grocer's vans), or by going to shop in local butchers, bakers and greengrocers. Often this shopping had to be done every day as it was difficult to keep food fresh for long without a refrigerator. Shoppers had to ask a shop assistant to get them what they needed from the shelves or a store room.

The 1950s saw the rise of self-service shops in which customers picked up the items they wanted to buy and took them to a till to pay (10 in 1947 to 24,000 in 1967). The self-service system started with the Co-op in London in 1942 because of a wartime shortage of staff

The next step was the supermarket (Sainsbury's was the first in 1951), a large store which sold a wide range of different products in large quantities (367 supermarkets in 1960, to 3000 in 1967). Supermarkets were efficient and convenient and stocked a variety of products and produce. Rising car ownership meant that people were able to travel further to shop and carry more home with them. As people had refrigerators they could keep food fresh and the daily shop was replaced by the weekly shop.

On the high street, which were rebuilt, chain stores started to take over from local independent shops Marks & Spencer, Selfridges and John Lewis were all very successful and led to a consumer boom. Shopping centres began to change. In the new towns they avoided the higgledy-piggledy layout of old shopping centres because they were starting from scratch. The Bull Ring was the first shopping centre in 1964.

How did the government support and encourage Britain's growing prosperity?

1. Housing and town planning
By 1951 900,000 new houses had been built but many more were still needed. Harold Macmillan was appointed as minister in the new Ministry and given the job of beating Labour's record and building 300,000 houses a year. This was made easier by:

- Encouraging local authorities to allow private contractors to build more houses
- Abolishing the tax on land development making it cheaper to build houses
- Increasing the amount the government paid towards each house being built
- Improve mortgages so people could borrow money more easily to buy houses
- Reducing the quality standards set by Labour for council houses.

Macmillan managed to produce 327,000 houses in 1953 and 354,000 in 1954. Britain had built more houses in the post-war period than any other country in Europe. This new houses had fitted
kitchens, underfloor heating, proper bathrooms, bedrooms for each child rather than shared ones. Many of these houses were prefabs and council houses which did not provide long term solutions but were a big improvement on many peoples living situations.

New concrete high-rise developments began to be built in towns. These developments would eventually provide 440,000 more homes. In 1958 local councils were given a government subsidy for high-rise tower blocks that were built over five storeys high. These blocks were relatively cheap to build and could accommodate whole communities without taking up a lot of land. Tower blocks were not the best quality, Ronan Point in East London even partly collapsed in 1968.

Some changes in housing policy were less popular. The 1957 Rent Act reduced government control on the level of rent private landlords could charge, in many cases rent increased drastically for tenants.

2. Investment in roads and motorways
The motor car became the ultimate symbol of Britain's growing affluence. There were a number of popular models – Hillman Minx family saloon, Morris Minor, Austin 7, and eventually the BMC mini which was easy to park in cities. They were all cheap to buy and to run and easy to fix. For the richer driver there was the 1961 E-type Jaguar which cost £2,200. 28% of households owned a car in 1960, and in 1969 49%.

This led to an increase in road and motorway building under the 1949 Special Roads Act. It was a road design that had been inspired by the autobahn highway system of Nazi Germany.

The first stretch of the M1, 67 miles from London to Leicester opened in 1959, with three lanes on each side and the first motorway service station, Watford Gap. A total of 1,200 miles of new roads were built between 1957 and 1963. This building of new roads (begun by the Conservative government in the 1950s) had a number of consequences:

- To make space for new straight roads, old houses were demolished and country-estates dug
- Town landscapes were changed as tunnels and flyovers
- People could drive to new supermarkets and fill up the car with a week's shopping
- Number of people commuting to work and better schools from suburbs increased
- Motorway businesses boomed such as service stations, like Little Chef (1971)
- Caravanning holidays became more popular
- Car designs improved for more comfort, reliability and fuel-efficiency.
- Due to increases in breakdowns and accidents Roadside assistance organisations like the AA and the RAC increased and improved.
- Increased traffic in old towns and villages - new town were built with this in mind
- New roads resulted in increasing numbers of road injuries and deaths
- The MOT test was introduced in 1960
Barbara Castle, Minister of Transport in 1965 brought in the unpopular Road Safety Act 1967. This banned people from driving for a year if they were caught Drunk-driving, introduced a maximum speed limit of 70mph and made seat belts compulsory. This immediately led to a 20% reduction in the 6000 road deaths.

3. The Beeching axe and the British Railway network

Railways were part of the British heritage. At the beginning of the 1950s every town and most large villages had their own railway station and people could go to most places on the train. Trainspotting had even become a popular hobby for young boys.

By 1960 British Rail had losses of £68 million and by 1962 this had grown to £104 million. To combat this it was decided that Britain’s nineteenth-century railways would be modernised, aiming to increase speed, reliability, safety and capacity at a cost of £22 billion. Diesel engines were introduced in 1954 instead of steam power; Electrification was not carried out very well and cost £1.2 billion. This initial plan was unsuccessful.

In 1961 Dr Richard Beeching, a businessman was appointed as Chairman of the British Transport Commission and given the job of making British railways more efficient. Controversially, his salary was £24,000, twice that of the Prime Minister. In 1961 Beeching’s staff were sent out to survey British rail traffic. Beeching’s researchers found that the quietest third of railway lines carried only 1% of the passengers and 1.5% of the freight. Their findings were brought into question as they carried it out during off-peak times and they had clear connections with the motoring industry.

In his report Beeching recommended the following measures:

- Closure of all branch (non-main) lines and 2,359 local stations
- Dismantling 5,000 miles of track (30%) - from 13,000 miles to 8,000
- The loss of 160,000 jobs over 7 years.

Beeching’s recommendations (1965) became known as the ‘Beeching Axe’. The station and branch line closures left many rural communities isolated and led to rural depopulation. Some criticized the cuts as an attack on British culture and heritage, while others realised they were necessary to preserve the railway system and save money. The British Railways Board was rebranded as ‘British Rail’ in 1965. With the money saved British Rail was able to modernise, implement electrification and gradually start to reopen some of the closed stations.

British prosperity under Labour, Wilson’s ‘White Heat of Technological Revolution’

In 1963, Labour leader Harold Wilson said: “The scientific revolution cannot become a reality unless we are prepared to make far-reaching changes in the economic and social attitudes... The Britain that is going to be forged in the white heat of this revolution will be no place for restrictive practices or for outdated methods on
either side of industry…” Wilson’s speech aimed to unite the Labour Party after years of internal arguments, and persuade voters to elect them in 1964. He wanted:

- Labour to appear technologically forward-thinking and modern, unlike the Conservatives who were portrayed as old fashioned and backward looking
- To unite Labour, rather than being divided over issues such as nationalisation and whether Britain should own nuclear weapons
- To show that he intended to control the trade unions’ demands for higher pay.

Some questioned how he would pay for this: a ‘menu without prices’ as the Conservatives called it. Despite this Labour went on to win the 1964 general election with a small majority.

As Wilson himself was not very scientific, the Ministry of Technology was created in 1964 to oversee the ‘scientific revolution’. The first Minister of Technology was Frank Cousins, a trades-union man rather than a scientist. Government studies suggested that investment in science and technology would lead to economic growth as new technologies would be part of the competition for new and improved products for consumers.

Unilever was, and still is, at the forefront of technological advances in consumer goods. Examples of scientific advances in consumer items:

- Refrigerators and washing machines were more efficient and smaller
- TVs became larger, and showed pictures in colour
- Ready-made furniture units and synthetic furnishings made buying and building furniture easier
- Pre-packaged food; food technologists worked on crisps, easy spreading margarine, sliced bread, canned soft drinks, mass-produced yoghurts and breakfast cereals etc.
- Household cleaning products – Fairy Liquid, J cloths, aerosols, disinfectants
- Synthetic fabrics – Nylon, Terylene, Dacron, Lycra, PVC
- Other - polythene (clingfilm), teflon-coated non-stick pans; ring-pull cans.

Although it did seem as if Britain had ‘never had it so good’, Wilson worried that it was too good to last and the rising prices and inflation would lead to trouble.

The rise of Comprehensive education

Primary school

Primary school education focused on the ‘3 Rs’ (reading, writing, arithmetic). In the 1960s the school building programme meant that the old classrooms, with formal rows of wooden desks, were replaced with new classrooms. There could still be more than forty children (less than that after the war). Another change was that Pupils were given topics to explore rather than lists of facts to learn.

Secondary school

The 1944 Butler Education Act set out to make education more equal by making school free until the age of 15. A tripartite school system was then put in place with three different types of school:
• Grammar schools, for more academic children who took exams and would go on to study in further education
• Secondary modern schools, for more practical children who left at 15 without qualifications
• Technical schools for academically weak children, although very few of these were ever built due to costs.

Children would take the 11 plus exam at the end of primary school and that would determine which school they would go to.

Although the schools were meant have equal status and access to resources, by the 1960s the average grammar school had three times the resources of a secondary modern and the pick of the best teachers. The 11-plus exam taken at the end of primary school (or 'scholarship test') decided which school a child would go to. By 1960 two-thirds of children went to secondary modern schools but many came to see themselves as failures. Studies started to show that IQ testing like the 11-plus could be influenced by a pupil's background/stability and the ability of a family to afford coaching. It could also split up children from the same family or friends from each other. On rare occasions the 11-plus exams did allow for brighter, poorer children upward social mobility.

Examinations
To measure the progress of children, the first national externally-set exams came into existence in 1951. The Ordinary Level ('O Level') was taken at 16, and Advanced level ('A Level') was taken at 18. These exams were usually only taken by pupils at grammar schools. Secondary modern pupils could only take locally-offered school certificates until the introduction of the national Certificate of Secondary Education ('CSE') in 1965.

Comprehensive Schools
In 1965 the Labour government issued circular 10/65 calling for all schools to become comprehensive; this meant children of all abilities went to the same school. Comprehensive schools grew and many parents, whose children failed the 11-plus, supported this growth. This change became greatly debated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arguments in favour of Comprehensive education</th>
<th>Arguments against Comprehensive education</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Larger schools could offer a wider curriculum</td>
<td>• Standards would fall as the less able would hold back brighter pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It would be fairer because there would be no selection by exam aged 11</td>
<td>• More able students would not be properly stimulated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Equality of opportunity for all families</td>
<td>• Schools would become so large they would become impersonal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Children would not be condemned as failures at 11. Only 2% of those who failed the exam were still in school at the age of 17</td>
<td>• Large schools would be difficult to manage and organise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• People from a variety of backgrounds would get to mix together</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1966 money was made available for new school buildings, providing they were comprehensives. Some grammar schools remained and others decided to become completely private instead of changing. Interest in schooling had increased and the
BBC started showing a realistic children's drama about life in a comprehensive school from 1978, called *Grange Hill*.

**Corporal punishment**
There was corporal punishment in all schools during this period, this ranged from a smack with a ruler on the back of the hand, to being hit with a slipper, belt or cane for the most serious offences. This was supposed to teach pupils not to break rules.

**Universities**
There was a concern that the UK was not keeping up with other countries' student numbers, and that most university courses were arts-related rather than scientific or technological. Minister of Education Robbes proposed the following changes
- Semi-university status was given to leading colleges of technology and science, which were to be called 'polytechnics'.
- Some technology colleges became new universities and more new universities were founded like York and Warwick
- Teacher training colleges' status were upgraded

The results of these changes were:
- New courses were introduced, e.g. town planning, architecture
- More people became students as they were supported by a local authority grant which paid their living expenses

However:
- Top universities like Oxford and Cambridge were still dominated by public school pupils
- Polytechnics struggled for many years with substandard facilities
- Students were twice as likely to get a university place if they were male rather than female.

Changes in technology had made distance education possible, it was called the 'Open University' (OU) and it was set up by Labour in 1969. The OU used TV and radio to teach its students and students could send essays in via the mail. Many people could now gain a degree with through part time evening studies.
How people listened to music -

1) Records
Before 1950 people had listened to music at home by playing records on large gramophone machines, records were heavy, fragile and expensive. New record technology was introduced in 1948: 7 inch singles (EPs) & 12 inch albums (LPs). These new vinyl records were much cheaper and more durable, and sounded better, these new records were updated with album cover art which increased sales. In 1955 4 million 7 inch singles were sold - by 1963 61 million. Album sales started to overtake single sales.

New designs of record players made listening to records easier. For example, the Dansette was smaller and lighter, with some models designed to be portable. The jukebox, containing hundreds of records, charged the listeners in a public place to select records to play. They stocked American music like jazz and rock n’ roll and were very popular in places that young people socialised.

2) Cassettes
The compact cassette, a small plastic box containing a reel of tape, was invented by Philips in 1963. The cassette tape’s main advantage over records was that it could be bought with music already recorded onto it, but it could also be recorded on. They were also smaller and more convenient than records. By 1977 more music was sold on cassette than on vinyl records. Sony introduced the Walkman in 1979, a small and portable cassette player so young people could listen to music anywhere.

3) Radio
From 1956 transistor radios replaced glass valve radios. They were much smaller and lighter, and powered by much longer-lasting batteries and they were also portable. Teenagers could now listen to what they wanted to in their rooms rather than on the family radio.

Due to the fact that the BBC was limited in what they could play, pirate radio stations appeared, such as Radio Caroline, began broadcasting from a ship anchored off the UK coast, just outside of British territorial waters. Stations like Radio London broadcast popular music aimed at teenagers and gained many listeners were presented by much less formal DJs like Tony Blackburn. The government eventually passed the Marine and Broadcasting Offences Act in 1967 that shut down many of the stations. The BBC responded by hiring many of the most successful pirate radio DJs to work on its new Radio 1 network.

4) Television
In 1956 ITV began showing Cool For Cats, where dancers danced along to popular records. The BBC showed Six-Five Special, a magazine programme for teenagers that included interviews, comedians and popular music performances. The longest-running music television programme was BBC’s Top of the Pops, in the mid-1970s was regularly getting 15 million viewers a week.
Where people listened to music -

1) Dance halls
As television took away their live audiences, old music hall theatres became venues where bands could play to live audiences. Every town had a dance hall and bands like The Beatles spread their music to a wide audience playing these old venues. These dance halls were often very popular – the Hammersmith Palais had 7,000 dancers a night.

2) Nightclubs and discos
Nightclubs came to take over from dance halls as the places where young people would go to dance in the later 1950s as they were open late. They had bars to serve alcohol and dance floors where DJs played the latest popular music. There were clubs catering for a wide variety of musical tastes:
- The Marquee Club, Oxford street London, launched the careers of bands like the Rolling Stones, Led Zeppelin, Jimi Hendrix and David Bowie.
- The UFO club, Tottenham Court road, it had performances by bands like Pink Floyd
- The Cavern Club, Liverpool, started as a non-alcohol coffee jazz club. The Beatles played there almost 300 times between 1961 and 1963.

3) Outdoor performances and festivals
Free, large-scale outdoor festivals, where audiences could listen to a wide variety of musical acts including some of the most popular bands and artists of the time began as part of the hippy movement in the 1960s (influenced by Woodstock).
- The Isle of Wight Festival started in 1968 and by August 1970 the audience consisted of 600,000 people; the event featured more than fifty musical acts including The Who, Jimi Hendrix and The Doors
- The Pilton Pop, Blues and Folk Festival of 1970 was attended by 1,500 people who came to see headline act Tyrannosaurus Rex (later 'T-Rex'); in 1971 this event became Glastonbury Fayre and had David Bowie as one of its headline acts.

Changing trends in popular music - 1951-79

Popular music 1951 - 'mom and dad' music
American music was already a big influence in the UK before the arrival of 'rock 'n' roll' in the 1950s. American jazz music and swing music had been popular since American radio broadcasts to US troops stationed in the UK. By 1951 it was the music of American artists like Glenn Miller, Frank Sinatra and Dean Martin were the most popular in the UK.

1950s: Rock 'n' roll
'Rock 'n' roll' was the term to describe 'upbeat black American music that was made for a white audience'. Elvis Presley became the most famous singer of this style of music. Many people’s first exposure to rock 'n' roll in the UK was Bill Haley’s ‘Shake Rattle and Roll’ in 1954, and other songs in the film *Rock Around the Clock*. 
The first British rock 'n' roll artists were Tommy Steele and Cliff Richard who had a big hit with 'Move It' in 1958. These British versions of rock 'n' roll were relatively safe and sanitised compared to their American counterparts.

**Skiffle**

Skiffle was a home-made British response to rock 'n' roll, played using acoustic or even homemade instruments. Many young musicians picked up this style of music because the instruments were cheap and the songs and playing style were very accessible. The Liverpool skiffle band The Quarrymen went on to playing electric instruments and became The Beatles.

*Case study - Cliff Richard and the Beatles (you need to research)*

**1960s: Beat music**

As skiffle bands took up electric instruments, they created their own version of rock 'n' roll that is sometimes referred to as ‘beat music’ because of the driving rhythms of the songs and the backbeat in the drumming. These beat bands, like The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Kinks, The Who, etc. were influenced by a wide range of rock 'n' roll and R&B records from America.

*Case study - The Kinks and The Who (you need to research)*

**Psychedelic rock**

In the later 1960s, psychedelic rock music tried to replicate (give people) the mind-altering experience of taking hallucinatory drugs like LSD. This was achieved by mixing elements of world music, like Indian instruments like the sitar and tabla, with new electronic synthesisers and the mellotron, which could play recorded sounds through a keyboard were also used. Psychedelic lyrics often referred to drugs, literature (like the works of Tolkien), or were filled with surreal imagery. These influences can be seen in albums like The Beatles’ *Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (remember the song – Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds).

**1970s Glam Rock and Punk**

A new generation of musicians became popular in the early 1970s with loud electric pop music that went along with outrageous fashions and controversial ideas. The optimistic 1960s had led into the more miserable 1970s and young people were looking for music to escape from the increasingly harsh reality. Glam rock was loud and bright and challenged many existing ideas of what was acceptable in terms of dress and attitudes about sexuality, Male performers were seen wearing big platform boots, glitter and make-up like David Bowie.

*Case study - T-Rex (you need to research)*

**Punk rock**

The term ‘punk’ was originally used to mean ‘beginner’ in America, punk music requires very little skill but is all about attitude. By the second half of the 1970s many young people were very disillusioned as there was rising unemployment. Punk rock became the way that these angry teenagers expressed themselves. Punk lyrics were
deliberately provocative, attacking the Royal Family, dead-end jobs, the police, war, anarchy, riots and consumerism. Punk fashions were intended to shock – haircuts were bright and spiky, clothes were ripped with studs and safety pins, sometimes using Nazi emblems or defacing images of the Queen. At punk gigs people would ‘pogo’ up and down to the music, spit at each other and get into fights.

Case study - The Sex Pistols and the 1977 jubilee (you need to research)

The influence of Black American music
‘Rhythm and Blues’ (R&B) was the generic name given to upbeat Black American music after the 1940s. Eventually R&B artists like Chuck Berry and Howling Wolf came to have a huge influence over British music. Bands like The Kinks and The Rolling Stones released cover versions of some of these American R&B records before they began to write songs of their own.

Soul music was a variety of R&B that came to prominence in the 1960s, especially through the Motown and Atlantic record labels. Adding brass sections to the usual band format of guitar, bass and drums, it was a lively, gospel influenced, style of dance music with catchy songs and choruses that could easily be sung along to. White British singers like Tom Jones and Dusty Springfield even built their musical careers by singing what black Americans called ‘blue-eyed’ soul.

How popular was new popular music?
The music charts of the 1960s and 1970s showed that new styles of music continued to compete with older styles of music, like soundtracks from musicals and more traditional folk-style music which continued in popularity.

What was the impact of the increasing use of television?
The BBC got its money from the annual sale of TV licences. The number of licences bought gives historians a good indication of how many televisions people owned. The figures show that by 1961 75% of the population had a TV in their house, and by 1971 this had risen to 91%.

Changes in television - improving the service
The BBC television service in the south-east of England resumed in June 1946 after being switched off during the war. Over the next two decades there were a number of important changes to the television service:

• Through the 1950s the television service was gradually spread throughout the UK
• In 1955 a second television channel began broadcasting – ITV (Independent Television) was a commercial broadcaster and relied on adverts to pay for programmes.
• Live transatlantic broadcasting became possible as more satellites, like the 1962 Telstar, were put into space, e.g. in 1967 Our World was the first live global broadcast, watched by 400 million people in 26 countries around the world, and featuring the world premiere of The Beatle’s song ‘All You Need Is Love’.
In 1964 a third channel, BBC2, began broadcasting in black and white, and started showing some programmes in colour from 1967, usually live sporting events like Wimbledon. In 1969 BBC1 and ITV started broadcasting in colour as well.

Competing for viewers - making popular programmes
The BBC had a monopoly on broadcasting television until 1955, however by 1957 76% of television programmes watched were on ITV and in 1960 ITV had all of the top 10 most popular programmes. ITV showed a lot more light-hearted programmes and popular American programmes like *I Love Lucy* (a comedy), *Dragnet* (a police drama) and *Gunsmoke* (a western). There were also British versions of American game shows like *Double Your Money* and *Take Your Pick*, and the talent show *Opportunity Knocks*. Unlike the BBC, ITV was not a public service and had no obligation to inform or educate people.

To win back the television audience the BBC appointed Hugh Greene as Director General in 1960. Creating a new channel meant that more serious programmes could be moved to BBC2, allowing BBC1 to show more popular programmes. A new Head of Drama, Sydney Newman, was recruited who had a lot of success with his popular dramas on ITV, like *The Avengers*, and went on to create programmes like *Doctor Who* for the BBC, as well as supporting more challenging new dramas like *Cathy Come Home* about homelessness. New and more challenging sit-coms like *Steptoe and Son*, about a father and son who ran a junkyard, and *Till Death Us Do Part*, about an angry old man, were commissioned. There was also a shake-up of the news service to make it more like the television news we see today, and *That Was The Week That Was* was broadcast to satirise politicians and news stories.

ITV also had to make changes. From 1960 the government insisted that ITV had more serious programming, which is why they introduced *News At Ten* and the investigative *Tonight* magazine show to rival the BBC news and the current affairs programme *Panorama*. ITV’s *Coronation Street*, a soap opera about ‘life in an ordinary street in an ordinary town’, first aired in December 1960. To begin with it was broadcast live so good scripts and acting were needed. Sometimes star performers were tempted to move from one channel to another – Morecambe and Wise being a famous example.

**Television case study - The Coronation of 1953**
Queen Elizabeth II was crowned queen at Westminster Abbey on 2 June 1953. Two million people lined the streets of London to watch the royal procession. It was the first major public event to be broadcast live on UK television. 56% of the adult population watched the coronation on the television.

**Television case study - The World Cup 1966**
BBC’s *Grandstand* started in 1958 covering every major sporting event as they had bought the rights to all major events, including the FA Cup, Wimbledon, the Grand National, Test Match cricket, the Olympics, and the football World Cup. ITV’s *World of Sport* started in 1965 and included less well-known sports such as hockey, netball,
water skiing and Gaelic football. Television made many lesser known sports seem much more compelling - snooker, bowls and darts all had good audiences on television.

Both channels were allowed to show the 1966 World Cup Final from Wembley where England beat West Germany 4-2. It was watched by 32.6 million people in the UK. It is still the most watched television programme in the UK. Many people rented televisions especially to watch the 1966 World Cup Final. It boosted the profile of football on television and coverage became much more like it is today - matches filmed from multiple angles with commentary broadcast over it. Sports coverage became very important to the BBC. It made up a fifth of the BBC’s broadcast output by 1968.

The decline in cinema attendance
Cinema had been very popular in the 1920s and 1930s and attendance peaked during the war years as people escaped the rigours of life on the Home Front. However, in 1950 cinema attendance quickly declined. Many cinemas had to close while some were turned into bingo halls, nightclubs or shops.

Why did cinema attendance decline?
- There was a rise in ticket prices because of increases in entertainment tax
- The post-war shortages meant old cinemas had become run-down.
- New houses and consumer items made homes more comfortable
- Television allowed for viewing in comfort of your own home.

Going to the cinema continued to be popular family entertainment, for example the Saturday matinee showings of Flash Gordon and Zorro for children. Increasingly the cinema was a place where young couples went for ‘dates’. The 1950s saw the arrival of teenage pictures from America e.g. Rock Around the Clock (1955). Then came films starring the popular American rock ‘n’ roll singer Elvis Presley, like Girls, Girls, Girls (1962).

The relaxation of censorship by the 1959 Obscenity Act meant that cinemas could show more violent films like Get Carter (1970) and A Clockwork Orange (1971) as well as sexual films like the Confessions series that began in 1974.

The continuing popularity of radio
The BBC had a monopoly on radio until 1973. There were falling radio audiences as a result of the rise in television viewing. However, changes in technology enabled people to listen to the radio in places they could not watch television - portable radios, long-life batteries and headphones all contributed to this, as well as the growing numbers of cars with radios in them. What radio was offering also changed and adapted. In 1967 the BBC split their Programming into Radio 1 (with music for younger listeners), and Radio 2 (music for more mature listeners). Work also began in 1967 on local radio stations which became very successful.
Conclusion: Television audiences by the end of the 1970s
By the end of the 1970s people watched an average of 16 hours of television a week in summer and 20 hours a week in winter. Royal occasions, national sporting events and blockbuster films on television could attract up to 20 million viewers!

How much did the lives of women change between 1951 and 1979?

Women's role in the home
The average age for women getting married in the 1960s was 22, and 66% of births were to women under the age of 25. The traditional role for women was to be a good wife and mother - to keep the home clean, wash clothes, and stay at home to look after children, give up her job and independence when married, and make sure the children and husband are fed. These stereotypes were reinforced through literature such as Woman's Own magazine in 1961 and the 'Janet and John' series of children's books. Advertising domestic products was still aimed entirely at women and adverts reinforced the idea that women should be good wives and mothers. This was reinforced in the growth was in women's magazines and women's radio programmes - Woman was read by 50% of women in the UK in 1957.

However, as consumerism took hold of Britain women had more spare time:
- Washing machines meant hours more free time
- Vacuum cleaners meant cleaning could be done quickly.
- Refrigerators, cars and supermarkets meant you no longer needed a daily shop.

With their new found spare time many women became bored so they would attend coffee mornings and talks organised by the housewife network the National Housewives' Register (set up by Maureen Nicol). It had 15,000 members by 1970. Women also started to go to university and get jobs.

Women and education
Even after the 1944 Education Act women's education was still biased towards domestic life (some had model flats for girls to practice in). A law was passed to limit the number of girls who could go grammar schools as girls did better than boy in the 11-plus (2/3 of grammar school places should have gone to girls). Many girls' grammar schools did not have decent science facilities. Many of the women who passed their O Levels went on to do A Levels, although many of those women who did make it as far as university married soon after getting their degrees. The number of women studying at university grew steadily as a result of improving education, and because of the availability of university grants to pay for living expenses However, students were still twice as likely to get a university place if they were a boy rather than a girl into the 1980s. In the early 1960s women made up just 25% of the university population, by 1975 women made up 41% of the total student population.

Women and work
During the Second World War women had shown that they were willing and capable of work and could balance family and working life. When men came home from the war
After 1945 many women had to give them their jobs back. Women were sent back to doing the jobs they had done before the war – domestic, clerical, nursing and shop work, *Child Care and the Growth of Love* (1953) was a very influential book by John Bowlby claimed that juvenile delinquency was the result of mothers abandoning their children and going to work. Working mothers were often portrayed as unnatural or selfish, abandoning their children to go to work. Child-minders and nurseries were very expensive and hard to find. The continuation of free school meals after the war made it easier for women to work, although the government had introduced the Family Allowance in 1946 to try and persuade women that they did not need to work to earn money to look after their children.

This ‘anti-work’ attitude did gradually change. There was a gradual increase in the number of women with jobs: In 1951 22% of married women had jobs, 30% by 1961, and 47% by 1971. Better-educated middle-class women took on jobs outside the home. There was no shortage of jobs for women because:

- There was full employment for men already
- Employers did not have to pay them as much as men until the 1970s
- Many women did not have to give up work when they got married
- Newer industries like electronics and chemicals did not need the brute strength
- Government organisations like the NHS & DVLA needed a lot of clerks and typists
- Many women only wanted part-time work so they could continue to look after the house and family, which also suited employers as it gave them more flexibility with their workforce.

Although the number of women in work increased, women were still highly concentrated in lower status lower paid jobs and there was little improvement in the range of jobs that women were doing:

- 1960s – women did 80% of all factory, shop and secretarial work
- 975 - 97% of canteen assistants, 92% of nurses, 92% of cleaners, 81% of shop keepers and 60% of teachers were women.

The number of women in professional jobs was rising slowly:
-1960 15% of doctors and 5% of lawyers.
-1970 only 5% of women achieved managerial positions
-1980 only 8% of lawyers, 4% of architects, and 1% of accountants
- Very few women MPs, although Thatcher was elected Prime Minister in 1979.

**Equality**

*Equal pay*

Women’s incomes were seen as inferior to men’s as they were expected to leave their job when married and their husband’s income was the main one. Women had joined trade unions during the war that would fight for equal pay. In 1951 women in teaching, the civil service and local government started to campaign for equal pay. They used marches, demonstrations and petitions. In 1955 the government agreed to raise women’s pay in these areas gradually until it was the same as men’s. In 1968 a
Royal Commission identified three reasons why women were underrepresented in science and technology jobs

- Unequal pay: women were being paid 75% of the wage that men were
- A lack of nurseries and day-care for women
- Old fashioned values that women should be mothers and housewives.

Why did things change? The main reasons were as follows:

- In 1968 forty women machinists at the Ford factory in Dagenham went on strike for three weeks demanding equal pay.
- Barbara Castle got trade unions, the government and employers (CBI) to work together on how to achieve equal pay for women.
- Women’s rights organisations like the Fawcett Society began lobbying MPs to give women equal opportunities.
- Some newspapers began to run campaigns about the equal pay issue
- In order to join the EEC Britain had to ensure equal pay for women.

The Equal Pay Act 1970, introduced by Barbara Castle, required businesses to give equal rates of pay for the same job within 5 years. Because of the vague terms of the Act some employers avoided implementing it. The Employment Protection Act 1975 stated that women could not be dismissed for being pregnant and women were entitled to 18 weeks maternity leave, paid at 90% of their normal pay. In 1970 women earned 63.1% of men’s pay, by 1980 73.5%. In 1980 63% of women still worked in traditional jobs (e.g. nursing) so there was no legal basis to challenge their low pay.

Equal opportunities
Due to stereotyped views of women there was a ‘glass ceiling’ on the jobs women were allowed to do, and how highly they could be promoted. The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 made it illegal to refuse a job to a woman on the grounds of her sex. The Equal Opportunities Commission was set up to investigate discrimination. There was an impact on schools as all subjects now had to be open to boys and girls. The Act also monitored women’s portrayal in advertisements. However, there were still important issues, like access to childcare, to be resolved.

Women and the right to choose - Abortion
There was a huge social stigma attached to being an unmarried mother in the 1950s and 1960s – they were blamed for all sorts of societal problems including youth crime. Women would give up their babies for adoption, give them to family or neighbours to rise, or end up in church run homes for support.

Why did attitudes towards abortion change?

- The Abortion Law Reform Association had campaigned since the 1930s
- In the 1950s and 1960s there were around 100,000 illegal and dangerous ‘backstreet’ abortions a year (82 women died from these illegal abortions)
- 1959-1962 Thalidomide had been given for morning sickness, resulting in physical deformities in their children when they were born
- In 1965 the Church of England said that it would consider abortion to be justified if ‘there was a threat to the mother’s life or well-being’.
In 1967 the Abortion Act, proposed by Liberal MP David Steel, was passed by Parliament. It legalised abortion within the first 28 weeks of pregnancy, providing that it was done under medical supervision and signed off by two different doctors. This could be done at private clinics or on the NHS. The Catholic Church and the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child are still campaigning against abortion today. On the other hand, some women’s rights campaigners complained that this law did not go far enough as it was not ‘abortion on demand’.

Women and the right to choose - Family planning

‘The Pill’ was an oral contraceptive that was available for free to married women on the NHS as it was a way reducing unwanted pregnancies. The controversial Family Planning Act 1967 said that local authorities had to provide contraceptives and family planning advice to anyone who wanted it, not just married couples. Catholics and other conservative groups opposed contraceptives. By 1970 only 19% of married couples under the age of 45 used it, and only 9% of single women.

Women and the right to choose - Divorce

Divorce still carried a social stigma in the 50s. The Divorce Reform Act 1969 made a ‘no fault’ divorce possible. ‘Irretrievable breakdown’ of the marriage could now grant divorce as opposed to proving adultery or cruelty; couples could now divorce if they had lived apart for two years and they both wanted it, or they had lived apart for five years and only one of them wanted it. Opponents claimed that the new law would lead to the breakup of the traditional family. In 1950 there were 31,000 divorce cases, in 1980 148,000. Marriage seemed less important. More couples cohabited before getting married or had long-term relationships and families without getting married at all. Other also improved women’s status within marriage:

- Married Women's Property Act 1964 - this allowed women to keep half the money they saved from housekeeping
- Matrimonial Homes Act 1967 - this recognised that men and women had equal rights to live in the family home
- Matrimonial Property Act 1970 - a wife's work was an equal contribution to making a home so should be taken into account when dividing up property in a divorce
- Guardianship of Children Act 1973 - gave mothers equal rights to fathers in bringing up children

Feminism and the Women’s Liberation Movement

Feminism

By the 1960s feminism was supported by women of all ages. The Women’s Liberation Movement was a collection of different feminist groups with the common theme of trying to improve the lives of women and promote a radical shift in equality. There was very public support for feminism from famous actresses like Vanessa Redgrave and politicians like Labour’s Barbara Castle. Feminist articles, books and magazines that aimed to challenge traditional views were being written; Spare Rib magazine (1972) (WHS Smith refused to sell Spare rib for being too radical)
Case Study - Germaine Greer and the Female Eunuch

The Female Eunuch (1969), written by Australian academic Germaine Greer, refers to the idea that becoming married took away women's true potential – turning them into eunuchs. This extreme feminist literature was about liberating women and getting equality. The book explained how women were oppressed by men and that women lived miserable and unfulfilled lives because the ideas of romantic love and happy families were a myth.

The Women's Liberation Movement had started in the USA in the late 1960s. It was heavily influenced by student protest and inspired by Betty Friedan, author of The Feminine Mystique and founder of NOW. In Britain the first National Women's Liberation Conference outlined four demands:

- Equal pay
- Free contraception and abortion on request
- Equal educational and job opportunities
- Free 24-hour childcare.

In November 1970, at the Miss World Contest at the Royal Albert Hall in London, feminist protesters pelted the presenter, US comedian Bob Hope, with flour and smoke bombs. This received a lot of publicity. In March 1971, on the first international Women's Day, 4000 feminists marched through London and handed a petition for more women's rights to the Prime Minister, Edward Heath.

There were successes for feminism in the 1970s - equal pay and equal opportunities legislation, guaranteed property rights, guardianship of children and protection from domestic violence. Other issues like access to childcare and sexual harassment still needed to be dealt with.

Did 1970s feminism end sexism towards women?

Although continued protests did keep the issue of women's rights in the public eye many did not understand the issues or support their methods. Lack of progress:

- There were on-going critical newspaper stories about feminists who considered words like ‘chairman’ and ‘manhole’ to be sexist
- The Sun introduced the female nude ‘Page 3’ model in 1970
- The Campaign for the Feminine Woman, an organisation originally opposed to giving women the vote, was revived in 1978 and opposed feminism.
- Women's magazines continued to focus on fashion, romance, family and dieting and advertising continued to demonstrate sexist attitudes towards women.

How far did lives change for young people in this period?

Childhood

Playing outdoors

In the early 1950s streets were safe as fewer people had cars, and there were fewer toys due to rationing and austerity so children and make their own entertainment:
• playing conkers or marbles, hopscotch, kicking cans, skipping
• role-playing cowboys and Indians, cops and robbers, pirates
• playing sports like football and cricket with improvised goal posts or stumps
• playing games like hide-and-seek, or tag

The 1960s saw more and more cars on the roads, leaving fewer opportunities for children to play outside. Increasingly children were spending their free time indoors, watching television.

Hobbies
There were some very simple hobbies that boys and girls could do to keep themselves occupied like stamp collecting and keeping scrap books. There were also new hobbies which had become popular after the war:
• ‘I-SPY’ books, in which children noted down items they spotted, which when completed were sent in for reward from the ‘spy-boss were’ very popular
• ‘ABC’ booklets, full of data about railway locomotives and equipment and Trainspotting grew in popularity

Toys
After the war, shortages and rationing meant that toys were homemade or second hand. Jigsaws printed on cheap card were the first toy to be revived after the war. Soon more creative toys followed: such as ‘fuzzy felt’ (making pictures out of pieces of felt) and ‘plasticine’ (model making). Children’s toys were stereotyped after what society thought they should do when they grew up depending on their sex:

Girls: dolls (lighter and more flexible with nylon hair and sleeping eyes), prams and cots, nurse’s outfits, toy typewriters, and tills.
Boys: toys that focused on transport, adventure, building and engineering: toy cars, model construction kit

In the 60s new toys became available as a result of new mass-production techniques. Unisex toys increased in popularity as they could be sold to twice as many children: Hula Hoop (USA, 1958), Lego (Denmark, 1955), Scalextric (UK, 1952), Sindy (UK, 1963)

Board games
Board games were often for the whole family to play together. There were old games like chess, as well as Victorian games like Snakes and Ladders. Newer games like Monopoly (a property game from 1935), Cluedo (a murder mystery game from 1949), and Scrabble (a word-based game from 1955) were popular. Technological advancements in plastics made new games possible like Mouse Trap (1963).

Comics and children’s magazines
Older comics like The Beano (1938), featuring Denis the Menace had survived the paper rationing and were still very popular in the 1950s. One of the most successful new comics was Eagle. Its first issue sold 900,000 copies and made an instant star of
'Dan Dare – Pilot of the Future'. There were also comics aimed specifically at girls e.g. Tammy (1971) which focussed on things like romance. Comics began to lose out to television in the 1960s.

**Cinema, radio and television**

There were radio programmes for children: *Listen With Mother* (story-telling), *Children's Hour*, and for older children there was *Dick Barton, Special Agent*. Although adult cinema audiences were reduced in the 50s and 60s, going to the ‘flicks' was still popular with children who went to the Saturday Matinee (early showing) that showed American series like *Flash Gordon* and films like *Treasure Island*. This continued with the two colour *Doctor Who* films and the first *Star Wars* film, both of which created a huge amount of merchandise.

Watching television became an increasingly popular activity for children. In the late afternoon there was a wide variety of programmes through the week e.g. *Andy Pandy* and *Bill and Ben the flowerpot men*. In the 1960s and 1970s there were further developments in children’s television:

- *Play School* (BBC, 1964) and *Rainbow72* (ITV, 1972) for toddlers
- for the older children there was futuristic *Thunderbirds* (1965) and time-travelling *Doctor Who* (1963) on the BBC
- the children's version of the news, *Newsround* from 1972

**Youth organisations and awards**

As membership in traditional groups like Sunday school and The Boys' and Girl's Brigade dropped, membership rose in the Scouts increased during the 40s-50s, the group aimed to encourage an adventurous outdoor life with its motto 'be prepared'. Membership of the girls' branch of the Scouts, (the Guides) also rose. Changes in the lives of teenagers saw the number of Scouts and Guides decline slightly in the 1960s, but increased with younger age groups, the Cubs and Brownies in the 1970s.

There were also the more openly militaristic youth organisations. There had been Army Cadet Corps and Sea Cadets since the nineteenth century. An Air Training Corps was set up in 1941. The Duke of Edinburgh's Award scheme started in 1956 for boys aged 15 to 18. There was no organisation to join and no uniform to wear. In 1958 it was extended to girls. The programme for girls was not the same as that for boys. A single unisex programme for young people aged 14 to 21 was launched in 1969.

**Teenagers and the ‘generation gap’**

**The teenager**

Before the 50s people thought that you went from childhood to adulthood, without a teenage phase. Children were smaller versions of adults, expected to wear the same clothes, have the same haircuts, and have the same interests. However, young people and teenagers were becoming a more important as by 1960 40% of the UK population was under the age of 25. Teenagers were growing up in a much more prosperous world
that their parents. They were healthier and wealthier due to the welfare state and employment.

It was not just due to their parents that young people were becoming more affluent:
- they found it easier to get part-time or weekend jobs
- Wages increased when they left school due to the affluence of the 1950s
- Increased demand for unskilled labour meant less low-paying apprenticeships
- working-class teenagers kept their own money rather than sharing with the family
- teenagers lived at home and didn’t pay rent

1959-1961 young people earned £8 a week to spend, which meant that they accounted for 10% of the UK’s total national income. They spent half of this on entertainment.

**The generation gap**
Shorter skirts for girls and longer hair styles for boys were superficial identifiers of the new generation gap, but changes in attitudes were more important:
- pop music and idols which changed with every new generation of young people
- changing attitudes towards sex before marriage and use of contraception
- taking drugs, with cannabis and LSD popularised by bands like The Beatles
- political views like equality for women, sympathy for immigrants, and anti-Vietnam
- less trust for the Establishment because of political scandals.

Young people were independence, better educated and more financially secure, so they felt confident to make their own minds about important issues and their identity. More and more middle-class went to university which was now paid for by state grants, as education was more important they felt less need to focus on work and earning money. Coffee bars with jukeboxes, like the Kardomah in Liverpool, and Wimpy burger bars became meeting places for teenagers. The ideas of respectability and obeying orders seemed less important to young people who had not fought in a war or done National Service. In the 1960s these opposite views began being described as a counter-culture. (Listen to My Generation’ (1965) - The Who.)

**Teenage delinquency**
Young people growing up in the 1950s and 1960s had more leisure time because:
- housework was less time-consuming because of labour-saving devices
- from 1960 young men did not have to do National Service
- trade unions had made sure jobs had reasonable working hours
- school leaving age was raised and there were school holidays

However, more leisure time and more money did not necessarily make young people happy. It could mean time with nothing constructive to do and more boredom.

In the early 1950s the teddy boys were banned from dance halls and pubs, accused of rival gang fights and of attacking youth clubs that would not let them in. Teddy Boys vandalised cinemas where their favourite films, like rock around the clock were shown, getting them banned.
The impact of American culture

One of the fears that adults had about the changing lives of British teenagers was the increasing influence of American culture which began with US armed forces stationed in the UK during the war. British people knew a lot about the USA already through Hollywood films. Influence was evident in:

- Teddy boys' sideburns and neckties which resembled gamblers in Westerns
- American jukeboxes with rock 'n' roll music
- The rockers who were influenced by like film stars like biker Marlon Brando in The Wild One.
- Music styles were influenced by America (see music section)

Ironically by 1964 Americans were starting to worry about the impact of a 'British Invasion' on their teenagers. Not all influences came from American culture, the mods were more influenced by European style and fashion, hanging out in Italian coffee bars, although they did listen to soul music and modern jazz.

Some counter-culture groups came to be seen by older people as hooligans and delinquents. The 1950s and 1960s did see a rise in reported crimes, and many of these were blamed on young people although crime was still very low. The Albermarle Report 1960 concluded that most young people were not cynical or disrespectful and that young people were far more likely to smoke tobacco, and drink coffee and alcohol than they were to be taking LSD. However, media hysteria over issues like the 'Bank Holiday Riots' (between mods and rockers') turned public opinion against these youth groups even though much of what was reported was exaggerated or made up.

Political youths

The Representation of the People Act 1969 reduced the voting age to 18 from 21. Many young people did become increasingly disenchanted in the 1970s. As the UK economy began to struggle at the start of the 1970s, unemployment began to rise. By 1979, four out of ten young people under the age of 25 were out of work. Some of these bored unemployed youths were attracted to the violent and outspoken punk movement which criticized the government and royal family.

Teenage subcultures

There were a number of distinct teenage subcultures between 1951 and 1979, although youth did not see themselves as belonging to them.
**TEDDY BOYS**
The Teddy Boys were gangs of youths who were associated with rock n' roll music and a rebellious lifestyle. They became known for their 'Edwardian' style clothes, such as long colourful jackets, bowties, and greased-quiffed hair. They were influenced and American movies like 'Rock Around the Clock'.

**ROCKERS**
The rockers would ride motorbikes while wearing leather and travelling around in gangs to meet up at roadside cafes. Compared to the 'teds' the rockers were much more scruffy with their leather jackets, dirty jeans, t-shirts, vests and boots.

**MODS**
Originating in the early 1960s the 'mods' were named after their preference for 'modern' rather than 'traditional' jazz. Mods had a much smarter sense of style than other groups like the rockers (Italian jackets, parkas, drainpipe trousers, polo shirts or turtle neck sweaters with suede shoes). They had well-groomed hairstyle. The mods also liked new rock bands like The Who as well as having an interest in black American R&B and soul music. Mods would also be seen riding scooters, especially Italian makes like Vespa.

**HIPPIES**
The idea of Hippies had come from the USA. They wore more natural clothing like Afghan coats and often had long unwashed hair. They dropped out of society and believed in helping the environment and 'free love'. They took drugs like LSD and Cannabis to try to find spiritual enlightenment. They listened to psychedelic music to replicate drug trips. Bands like Pink Floyd were traditionally loved by the Hippies.

**SKINHEADS**
Beginning in the later 1960s skinheads were a working-class version of the mods. They had closely cropped hairstyles and wore braces, Ben Sherman shirts, rolled-up jeans and Dr Marten boots. For many skinheads it was a very macho response to the more effeminate hippy movement. They listened to ska music which was influenced by the West Indian reggae and Ska from bands like The Specials. By the 1970s some skinheads fought at football matches and some would go on to become involved in racially-motivated violence.

**PUNKS**
These 1970s youths were very aggressive. They dressed in ways to upset people on purpose wearing dog collars, Nazi symbols, zips and leather. Their hairstyles were usually brightly coloured and girls had very short cropped hair while boys usually had spikes or Mohicans. They gave the sense that they were disgusted with everything and had a very aggressive dancing style called "pogo-ing" which was jumping up and down to live music, spitting and fighting.
How did attitudes to authority change in the 1950s and 1960s?

The permissive society

The 1960s is seen as a time in which the British people gained a lot more personal freedom and when there was a relaxation on controls on people’s lives; this has been labelled the ‘permissive society’. Attitudes towards marriage, the family and sex started to change government laws supported this (the pill, abortions, divorce acts all made sex and relationships before marriage possible and acceptable).

Homosexuality

Homosexual acts between men had been illegal since 1885. The 1950s saw a number of public figures convicted, such as the prominent computer scientist Alan Turing and the actor John Gielgud. Some 6,600 men were prosecuted for homosexuality in 1954 alone. Men taken part in homosexual acts would face two years in prison, although the law said nothing about women. In 1967 the Sexual Offences Act was passed and Homosexuality was made legal but the age of consent for homosexuals was 21 (as opposed to 16) and was still forbidden in the armed forces. It was passed to prevent it being used to blackmail homosexual men. The law only applied to men. ‘Coming out’ was not something men would do until much later.

The Profumo Scandal

There were a number of government scandals in the 1950s and 1960s that weakened faith in the government, the most famous of which involved John Profumo, the Minister for War in Macmillan’s Conservative Government. John Profumo had lied to Parliament about having an affair with nightclub dancer Christine Keeler who also had a relationship with Captain Eugene Ivanov, a Soviet naval diplomat and spy (therefore anything he may have told her could have been directly passed on to the Russian spy). After stating to parliament and the PM that nothing sexual had happened, it was revealed that he had written an affectionate note to her on Ministry of Defence note-paper. He then had to make another statement to the Commons apologising for misleading them. Profumo resigned from the Cabinet and from Parliament. The Profumo scandal gave Labour’s new leader Harold Wilson a 20% boost in the opinion polls. Harold Macmillan resigned as Prime Minister not long after the scandal was made public.

Increasing drug use

Drug use had increased faster in the UK than any other country in the 60s, especially amongst young people. Mods took ‘purple heart’ amphetamines, and people influenced by West Indian music began to smoke cannabis. Hippies used psychedelic drugs like LSD, popularised by bands like The Beatles. Cocaine and heroin addiction rose ten times in the first half of the 1960s.

The Drugs (Prevention of Misuse) Act of 1964 banned the recreational use of amphetamines and the Dangerous Drugs Act of 1967 made it illegal to possess drugs
like heroin, cocaine and cannabis. In 1970 the maximum sentence for convicted drug dealers was increased to 14 years in prison.

The Satire boom
Satire is when you make fun of people but in an intelligent way. During this time it became popular for satirists to mock politicians, such as on television programmes like *That Was The Week That Was*. It was so popular that pubs would empty on a Saturday night when it was on.

The death penalty
There was increasing opposition to the death penalty. 1950s averaged about 15 hangings every year. The possibility that innocent people in other cases could also be executed turned many people against the idea of the death penalty. Three notorious cases that showed how attitudes towards capital punishment were changing:

1. **DEREK BENTLEY** - During a warehouse robbery in 1952, London, Bentley, a 19 year old with learning difficulties, had told his 16 year old partner to 'let him have it' during a gun fight. The 16 year old shot a policeman dead. The prosecution claimed that Bentley had told his partner to shot, so he was executed. However, 200 MPs and other campaigners claimed that he had meant for his partner to hand the weapon over – heavily publicised debates about clearing his name ensued.

2. **RUTH ELLIS** - mother of a three year old child, Ellis had suffered years of domestic abuse from her partner, but was found guilty of killing him with multiple gunshots. There was widespread public opinion against the judge's death sentence.

3. **TIMOTHY EVANS** - Evans was convicted of the murder of his baby daughter in 1950 and executed. He was pardoned in 1960 after evidence showed the murderer was probably another man who lived in the same house and had committed other murders.

The 1957 Homicide Act said that the 'only' crimes that carried the death penalty were murders of police or prison officers, murders caused by shooting or bombing and murders committed while being arrested. In 1965 an Act of Parliament was passed that abolished the death penalty by hanging. Life imprisonment became the alternative to hanging. This became permanent in 1969.

Censorship
Censorship is the government limiting what can be read, seen, heard or done. Until the 1960s it was considered important that the government should control the opinions and morals of the British people. The 1959 Obscene Publications Act changed this situation by ruling that adult literature which was important for science, literature, art or learning should not be censored. This was tested when publishers Penguin were taken to court in 1960 for printing an uncut edition of D. H. Lawrence’s book *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* (a novel about adultery) and cleared.
Summary – how permissive was the permissive society?
The 'permissive society' was not without its problems or opponents:

- There were increases in the rates of sexually transmitted infections and a five-times increase in the number of rape cases
- However, Most young people were not promiscuous but were virgins or married to their first and only sexual partner

Protest movements - The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
Both the USA, who had bombed Japan at the end of WWII, and Russia were in possession of Nuclear weapons - the arms race became known as the cold war. Many people in the UK were scared by the prospect of a nuclear war. Against many peoples popular opinion the UK had become a nuclear power as well. The politicians argued that it was necessary to maintain the UK’s status in the world. Some people believed that nuclear weapons would actually make the UK a target for a nuclear attack.

Labour did not openly support disarmament, so peace campaigners began an anti-war movement. Writers like J. B. Priestley, philosophers like Bertrand Russell, actresses like Vanessa Redgrave and historians like A. J. P., formed the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) which aimed to persuade the GB gov. to give up nuclear weapons in hope of inspiring other countries to do the same. CND particularly appealed to young, middle-class people. By 1960 there were 400 branches and CND’s monthly magazine Sanity had 45,000 regular readers. At Easter in 1958 CND organised a four-day 80km march from central London to the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston in Berkshire. The police usually tolerated these protests and CND got little publicity from them.

Support for CND declined quickly in the 1960s because:

- The UK nuclear weapons were tied up with the USA’s so could not be ended easily.
- The 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis showed how little influence the UK had
- The 1963 Test Ban Treaty reduced the threat of the ‘arms race’, already

Protest movements - The Vietnam War
Opposition to the war in Vietnam united the older pacifists and CND protesters with younger political radicals and hippies. The British Council for Peace was formed in 1965. This new anti-war movement was not very well organised and did not get support from most people as Vietnam was not seen as a British issue.

CND arranged the first demonstration against the USA’s war in Vietnam in 1965, outside the US Embassy in Grosvenor Square in London. The more extreme Vietnam Solidarity Campaign (largely students) quickly became much more popular than CND. The Radical Students Alliance was founded in 1966 and campaigned for both student rights and anti-war issues.
In 1968 there was a violent anti-war protest outside the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square in London, followed by the even more violent 'Battle of Grosvenor Square' on the 28 March. However, the UK police did not resort to tear gas or bullets as the police did in other countries. After a divided protest later in the year, there were no more mass protests against the war. The anti-war movement was never widespread with the general public.

**Why did different groups migrate to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s?**

Before the Second World War there were very few non-white people living permanently in the UK, but there were 2 million by 1971. Two thirds of them had come from the Commonwealth countries of the West Indies, India, Pakistan and Hong Kong. The Commonwealth was the name given to the countries of the British Empire, which were granted independence.

By the 1940s there were already black communities and groups of Chinese in some areas. Black West Indians had come to the UK to fight in the Second World War (30,000 non-white people in the UK by the end of the war). The British people had also been very welcoming to the 130,000 African-American troops of the US Army stationed in the UK during the war.

**The 1948 Nationality Act**

In 1948 the British Nationality Act was passed, which agreed to common citizenship rights for everyone living in the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. This meant that every Commonwealth citizen, and their dependant family members, had the right to settle anywhere in the Commonwealth. Labour’s plan was to prevent other countries in the Empire from becoming independent, like India (1947), assuming that travel across the Commonwealth was so slow and expensive meaning that few would travel trip to Britain.

**The SS Empire Windrush**

The Jamaican government did not like the idea of losing people so discouraged people leaving without definite offers of work. *The Windrush* (1948) brought Jamaicans to England. The UK government ordered a navy ship to escort the *Windrush* as they expected trouble on board. A total of 49, each who paid £28, got off in London they were fed and housed then taken to Brixton Labour Exchange to find work. The London *Evening Standard* newspaper welcomed the *Windrush* with the headline ‘Welcome Home’.

**West Indian Immigration**

There are a number of reasons why West Indians wanted to move to the UK:
- West Indian WWII soldiers had seen what life was like in the UK
- The hurricanes of 1944 and 1950 had destroyed a lot of houses and crops
- 40% unemployment due to no tourism and low sugar prices sugar in Jamaica
There was poor healthcare and education
The 1952 McCarran–Walter Act had tightened restrictions on immigration into the USA – Britain was an alternative.
By the 1950s money sent back from migrants in the UK was the second largest source of income on the island of Jamaica.

Asian Immigration
Most immigrants from India and Pakistan in the 1960s were encouraged to leave their countries by population pressures and the desire for a better life. There was Asian migration to the UK before 1951 because of the violence and confusion after Indian independence. Many came from different religious backgrounds and cultures. Some were highly educated professionals, like doctors who went on to work in NHS hospitals. Others were rural labourers who took jobs that local white people no longer wanted to do in textile factories and steel mills.

Chinese immigration
There was increased immigration from China as many fled to Hong Kong, a part of the Empire, during the 1949 Communist revolution. Hong Kong got so overcrowded that immigrants used their British passports to come to the UK. Some 96,000 Chinese immigrants had come to the UK by 1971. British people were more accepting as Chinese immigrants were less geographically concentrated and were mostly working in the catering trade and not in direct competition for jobs.

Labour shortages
Post-war economic revival needs and the government’s policy of full employment led to severe shortages of workers. In 1949 the Royal Commission on Population found that the UK needed 140,000 immigrants a year to meet demand from employers – these immigrants exercised their legal right and settled in the UK. Various companies who needed employees like transport and hotels made deals with West Indian countries where workers would be given loans to pay for their move to the UK, they repaid their debt through wages.

How did the people of the UK react to Commonwealth immigration?
To keep the UK’s economic recovery going, businesses needed immigrant workers, but most voters were against immigration, and in particular non-white immigration. White immigrants (Poland, Italy, Ireland) greatly outnumbered non-white immigrants coming to the UK after the Second World War. Many politicians in the 1950s worried that increasing immigration would put too much strain on the UK. Increasingly Parliament was put under pressure to restrict immigration – it became a heated and race-based debate.

The 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act
1962 was a year of rising unemployment and increasing support for right-wing anti-immigration groups. Macmillan’s Conservative government decided to restrict
immigration, even though there were more emigrants leaving the UK. The government would issue limited work vouchers - 8,500 a year from 1963. To get a voucher an immigrant had to prove that they:

- Already had a job offer
- Had specialist skills
- Had appropriate education and qualifications
- Had close relatives already in the UK.

The restrictions imposed did favour white immigrants. The year before the Act came into force there was a final rush of Asian immigrations.

**The 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act**
The last minute surge of immigrants meant the problem was unsolved. There were also large numbers of dependants (500,000 by 1965) who were still entitled to come to the UK. Labour had criticised the 1962 Act as being too tough but were now being much tougher:

- Only 15% of vouchers were available to be used by any single country
- Only children under the age of 16 were classed as 'dependants'
- Priority was given to skilled workers like doctors and engineers
- More was done to ensure that illegal immigrants were deported
- A quota of 8,500 vouchers a year was set in 1965 and was later reduced to 1,500

However, some immigrants ended up staying longer or permanently for fear of not being allowed back. Immigrants would also invite their families to join them while they still could. Immigration became an important political issue again in 1967 as 200,000 Kenyan Asians tried to come to the UK to escape persecution in newly independent Kenya.

Both Labour and the Conservatives agreed to a new Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1968, which restricted automatic entry to the UK to people who had been born in the UK, or had one parent or grandparent who had been born in the UK. Although it did not specifically say this in the Act this clearly favoured white people.

**The 1971 Immigration Act**
Conservative PM Edward Heath introduced work permits that were limited to 12 months only. The 1971 Act introduced the idea of 'patrials'; that automatic entry would only be granted if an immigrant’s parents had been born in the UK.

Opinion polls in 1956 showed that two thirds of the British population still supported the idea of unrestricted Commonwealth immigration, however not all immigration. Despite this, opinion polls continued to show that the British people thought there were too many immigrants.

**Right-wing groups and opposition to immigration**
Political groups who believe in maintaining social inequality (wealth, gender and/or race) are called right-wing. The British Union of Fascists (BUF) were an extreme right-wing group who believed in the supremacy of the white British race. After the
Nationality Act of 1948 was passed many of these groups focussed their attention on opposing West Indian/Asian immigration.

The most successful of these Right-wing groups was the National Front which was founded in 1967 by merging the British National Party with others. They campaigned to have West Indian and Asian immigrants sent back to where they had come from, and for white emigrants to return to the UK. Although membership had increased to 20,000 members with 30 local branches, they never got more than 3.3% of the votes. By 1977 the National Front was the fourth largest political party in the UK.

There were a number of high profile incidents involving clashes between the National Front and other groups who opposed them. For example:
- In June 1974 there was a clash between National Front supporters and anti-fascist students during a march in London.
- 1977 some Socialist Workers Party members attacked people on a National Front march against mugging. This became known as the 'Battle of Lewisham': 134 people needed hospital treatment and 214 people were arrested.

By the end of the 1970s National Front support was decreasing because:
- A 1974 ITV documentary series *This Week* had highlighted the neo-Nazi views of many of the National Front’s leaders
- In 1978 Margaret Thatcher, Conservative leader, had won back many National Front supporters by discussing immigration
- In 1979 the party was almost bankrupt.

**British Politicians and Immigration**
- In the West Midlands town of Smethwick, where 10% of the population were recent immigrants, Conservative Peter Griffiths won the seat from its Labour MP in the 1964 general election with a strongly anti-immigrant campaign which included the slogan ‘If you want a nigger for a neighbour, vote Liberal or Labour.’
- There were no black MPs until the 1987 general election when Bernie Grant, Paul Boetang and Diane Abbott were all elected for Labour, and Keith Vaz was the first Asian MP elected for Labour in the same election.

**Enoch Powell and the 'rivers of blood' speech**
Enoch Powell was the Conservative MP for Wolverhampton North West. In the 1950s well-paid UK workers had moved out of the town so local businesses had to employ immigrants from the West Indies, India and Pakistan. At the time Powell, who was Minister for Health in the Conservative government, resisted pressure from local residents who wanted him to speak out against immigration. Immigrant doctors and nurses were helping him to solve staffing problems in the NHS, so he was encouraging immigration.
After 1964 Powell became very frustrated with the new Conservative leader, Edward Heath, who would not listen to his ideas. From 1965 Powell started to argue against immigration. When people challenged him about this he said he was just reflecting the views of his constituents. By the mid-1960s Wolverhampton's industry was in decline and unemployment in the town was rising. By 1966 Wolverhampton had a greater concentration of immigrants than anywhere outside of London. The birth rate amongst the immigrant community was eight times higher than amongst non-immigrants. On Saturday 20 April 1968, Powell gave a speech about immigration. The climax of the speech used the image that gave the speech the name it would be referred to afterwards: “As I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding. Like the Roman, I seem to see ‘the River Tiber foaming with much blood’.... Only resolute and urgent action will avert it even now.” The Conservative leadership acted quickly and Powell was sacked from the Shadow Cabinet. There were pro-Powell demonstrations in Birmingham, Coventry, London and other cities. 300 out of 412 local Conservative associations agreed with Powell’s views. Powell received thousands of letters of support and a Gallup poll in the spring of 1969 showed that he was the most admired man in the UK and he was still the most popular politician in the country in 1972.

The Police
In 1970 there were only ten non-white policemen in the Metropolitan Police in London. By 1976 this had only increased to 70 out of 22,000 officers. It was an even worse situation in Nottingham which had 22,000 immigrants but no non-white officers at all. Those immigrants who did try to join the police faced prejudice and abuse from their fellow officers. In one survey it was found that in 1971 most police officers believed that black people were much more likely to be criminals than white people even though the crime statistics showed that this was not the case. Young black people were also very suspicious of the police because they would often use the suspect clause of the 1824 Vagrancy Act to justify searching and arresting black youths over the age of 11 just because they suspected they might be about to commit a crime. Many immigrants complained that the police had little interest in racist attacks and that sometimes the police themselves would attack immigrants.

The British people and Immigration
Resentment towards immigrants in many communities did not go away. In a Gallup poll from February 1978, some 49% of people said that Caribbean and Asian immigrants should be offered financial aid to return home, even though by then many had been born in the UK.

Opposition to Racial Discrimination
Not everyone was racist towards black people. The Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) was set up in 1965. It was inspired by a visit from American civil rights leader Martin Luther King. The main focus of CARD was to build a case by case exposure of discrimination, so that the Press and Parliament cannot pretend that it does not exist. Other anti-racist groups soon followed, like the Black People’s Alliance formed in 1968.
By 1978 Rock Against Racism was able to organise a demonstration in London, starting in Trafalgar Square, finishing with a concert headlined by The Clash and the Buzzcocks. Some 20,000 people were expected, but 80,000 turned up on the day. It made holding racist opinions deeply unfashionable amongst young people with its very clear slogan – 'The National Front is a Nazi Front'.

Was the UK a multicultural society by 1979?

Employment
By 1970 many Commonwealth immigrants had done really well getting technical, clerical and professional jobs. However the places where immigrants had got jobs were commonly the areas affected by the economic problems of the 1970s. By 1975 unemployment amongst immigrant workers was twice the national average, with young black school leavers four times less likely than their white counterparts to get work.

When immigrants did have jobs they faced discrimination:
- They were the first to be laid off if a business needed to lose workers (as many did as the recession of the 1970s started to kick in)
- White workers were paid more for doing the same job
- Some businesses refused to employ black people
- Many immigrants were stuck in low-paid low-skill jobs even though they were very well qualified; a 1958 study estimated that 55% of recent immigrants had downgraded their jobs on coming to the UK.

Housing
Housing was hard for black people to obtain. Many people would not rent or sell their houses to black people. Adverts often said, 'No blacks, No Irish, No dogs'. The government was fully aware of this situation. Many people who did find rooms ended up being overcharged or sharing a room with a lot of other people. Similar problems affected immigrants who tried to buy houses when 'colour premiums' were added to the price or building societies refused to give them mortgages. They ended up stuck in poorer quality accommodation. Despite being made illegal by the Race Relations laws, discrimination continued into the 1970s. Immigrants had to be resident in the UK for 5 years before they qualified for council housing. By the late 1970s many immigrant communities were centred around sink estates that white families avoided or had abandoned, e.g. the Holly Street estate in Dalston.

Racial violence
Some examples of racial violence:
- May 1959 – an Antiguan carpenter was stabbed to death by six white youths in Notting Hill
- May 1963 – a white customer was killed in a fight that started when a group of white men tried to avoid paying their bill at a Chinese restaurant; Chinese properties across town were attacked and burned
The 1958 Notting Hill Race Riot

The Notting Hill area of London had been a slum for the poorest white workers even before West Indian immigration in the 1950s. Houses were very overcrowded. There was a lot of crime in the community, which was very poorly policed, and its attraction to immigrants was that it was cheap. Notorious crooked property owner Peter Rachman was happy to use the 1957 Rent Act to evict low-paying white families from unfurnished properties to bring in higher rent from black lodgers. This made the white residents of Notting Hill very resentful towards the West Indian immigrants. In the summer of 1958 there had already been violent attacks by Teddy Boys on West Indians in Nottingham. On 30 August, the summer bank holiday weekend, large gangs of white youths started to attack houses where West Indians lived. They used milk bottles, iron bars and later petrol bombs, while shouting slogans like, “Let’s lynch the niggers! Let’s burn their homes!” These ‘nigger hunters’, as they were called, were cheered on by the white community. The violence had disappeared by September. There were 140 arrests, mostly of white teenagers, and fortunately no deaths.

There were a number of important consequences of this race riot:

- 1959 saw the rate of West Indians returning home increase from 150 to 4,500
- From 1959 the Notting Hill Carnival, launched by journalist Claudia Jones – an immigrant from Trinidad – became an increasingly popular annual black cultural celebration which is still enjoyed today by large crowds.

According to official statistics, attacks on ethnic minorities increased from 2,700 a year in 1975 to 7,000 in 1981 but the real figures are probably a lot higher as many immigrant groups had lost faith in the police and did not report many attacks. Increasing violence against immigrants was more to do with the increasingly gloomy and uncertain economic situation and the threat of unemployment. Racist violence in the 1970s was part of a wider problem with young people and hooliganism.

Race Relations Acts

All immigrants faced a considerable amount of racism as white people refused to serve immigrants in pubs and restaurants, and made it difficult for them to get jobs and houses. There was also the issue of prejudice from the police as well. Politicians were mostly sympathetic to the problems faced by immigrants and saw the need to both protect immigrants and prevent racist incidents. While the Immigration Acts tried to restrict the numbers of new immigrants to the UK, Race Relations Acts tried to help those already here to integrate into UK society.

The 1965 Race Relations Act

The 1965 Race Relations Act made racism in public places illegal and created a new offence, ‘incitement to racial hatred’. To enforce this the Labour government set up the Race Relations Board to investigate unfair treatment. The Board investigated
2,967 complaints of unfair treatment between 1966 and 1972, but there were only five court cases, and only three were won. On the other hand, 143 complaints against racial stereotypes in adverts were upheld in 1966 alone. There were some serious limitations to this Act:

- It ignored problems in housing and employment
- The Board could only bring disputing parties together to solve a dispute, it could not prosecute them
- ‘incitement to racial hatred’ was more often used against black people than white people
- To get a successful prosecution the person who had suffered racism had to prove the racist person had intended to be racist, which was very difficult

The 1968 Race Relations Act
The 1968 Race Relations Act prohibited discrimination in housing, employment and financial services. This law set up the Community Relations Commission, as well as Community Relations Councils in local areas. These groups were set up to monitor what was happening in mixed race areas. Prosecutions were now extended to discrimination in jobs and housing and they could result in offenders being taken to court but only after all other means of settling the dispute had been used. The Act was criticised as government services, like the police, were still not covered by laws. Like the 1965 Act, discrimination was not clearly defined, which continued to make it difficult to prosecute.

The 1976 Race Relations Act
The 1976 Race Relations Act made racial discrimination illegal in employment, housing and education, as well as in providing services, goods and facilities. It was also illegal to use threatening or abusive language to incite racial violence. The Act clearly defined both direct and indirect racism and emphasised that it was the effect of what was said or done, rather than the intent behind it. It also established the Commission for Racial Equality to ensure that the Act was enforced. It was a big improvement on the previous Race Relations Acts but there were still important limitations:

- Government services, like the police and prisons were still not covered
- No money was made available for the poorest victims to take legal action

Immigrant contributions to the life and culture of the UK
Workers and families from Commonwealth countries in the West Indies and Asia changed the appearance of British towns, the beat of British music and even British cooking. The UK was no longer a country of white people – it was a multicultural society.

Food
In 1951 the first Good Food guide showed that only 11 out of 484 restaurants in the UK outside London served 'foreign' food. The first modern Chinese restaurant was
The Lotus House which opened in London in 1958; Chinese restaurants and takeaways spread through the rest of the country. Veeraswamy’s Indian restaurant opened on Regent Street in London in 1926. It was the first Indian restaurant aimed at a UK audience. By 1974 there were 2,000 Indian restaurants in the UK. Indian influences could also be seen in other areas of British food:

- 'Coronation Chicken' was created to celebrate the 1953 coronation of Elizabeth II and consisted of chicken and sultanas in a curried mayonnaise
- One of the first ready meals was the Vesta range of curries which were produced in the UK by Batchelors’ from 1961.

Markets in West Indian areas like Notting Hill or Tottenham started selling exotic produce like pineapples, bananas, mangoes and chillies which have become sights in modern British supermarkets and cooking.

**Sport**

There have been a number of black people who contributed to British sport, during this period of time:

- Clive Sullivan was a Welsh rugby player from Cardiff who captained Britain’s Rugby League side in the 1972 World Cup
- Forest’s Viv Anderson became the first black senior England player in 1978; it took a long time for black players to qualify for a national football team as they had to be born in the country or have a father who had been born in the country.

As in other areas of life, black sportsmen had to face discrimination and abuse. Black players often had to face racist chants from the terraces and spectators threw bananas at them. By the end of the 1970s fifty out of a total of two thousand professional football players were black.

**Music**

There have been a wide range of musical influences on the music of the UK from immigrant communities. For example, Indian music could be clearly heard in many of the songs of the psychedelic rock movement of the 1960s, e.g. ‘the Beatles’ ‘Tomorrow Never Knows’. There was an even wider range of musical influences from the West Indies:

- The 1951 Festival of Britain brought us the music of the steel band
- Reggae came to the UK in the 1970s with Bob Marley’s album *Catch a Fire* in 1973; this became important to the children of West Indian immigrants as it gave them a sense of pride in their heritage; it also encouraged these young black men to be more vocal about the problems they faced, as inspired by Bob Marley’s ‘Get Up, Stand Up’.
- Jamaican-born Errol Brown had a lot of hit records in the 1970s with his band Hot Chocolate, including the single ‘You Sexy Thing’

Some successful white British artists were also heavily influenced by West Indian music. Popular 1970s band 10CC released a number of reggae-influenced singles, including ‘Dreadlock Holiday’. By the end of the 1970s the Police’s first reggae single was ‘Roxanne’.
The Race Issue in the Media
There were a number of attempts at addressing racial issues on British TV:

- *Til Death Us Do Part* (1965-1975) - the main character, Alf Garnett, was an old man living in London, who blamed black people and communists for all the things that were wrong in Britain. It quickly became very popular and by 1967 it regularly had 17 million viewers. The show was supposed to make fun of people who had racist and old-fashioned views, but many thought that the reason why people watched the show was because they agreed with what Alf was saying.

- *The Black and White Minstrel Show* ran from 1958 to 1978 on the BBC. White performers were made up with black faces and exaggerated facial features to perform song and dance routines in an exaggerated West Indian accent. It was prime-time television for two decades even though many people saw it as racist. It was still regularly getting audiences of 12 million in the early 1970s, but was finally cancelled in 1978.

There were a number of positive contributions made by black people in the media as well:

- Lenny Henry began a long and successful comedy and acting career when he won ITV’s talent show *New Faces* in 1976 with his impressions of white celebrities.

- Daytime soap opera *Crossroads* introduced the first black soap opera character, Melanie Harper, in 1970 and the first black family in 1974

- Trevor Macdonald became the first black newsreader in 1973 on ITN.

Conclusion
Commonwealth immigrants had come to the UK after the Second World War seeking a better life in the ‘mother country’. As the UK economy boomed in the 1950s, there was full employment and immigrants were needed to do the jobs that there were not enough people from the UK to do. They stayed despite the discrimination and violence they continued to face. They made contributions to life in the UK from new styles of music to changing what people ate. Eventually the government passed laws to ensure that they were treated equally to other UK citizens, however racist attitudes took longer to change.

What were the main political and economic issues to emerge in the 1970s?
Economic Difficulties
The UK had been in a very strong economic position at the beginning of the 1950s, but by the 1970s the UK was struggling to keep up with other countries around the world. The 1970s a difficult decade for many people to live through.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UK’s share of world trade</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1970</th>
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<td></td>
<td>25.5%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
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PROBLEM 1: The UK’s share of world trade quickly declined because:

- Most UK companies had expected to go on making their money from the British Empire and the Commonwealth. They were badly affected by the rapid process of decolonisation that began in the 1950s and lost many commonwealth countries as trade partners.
- West Germany in Europe and Japan in the Far East were increasing their industrial production and share of world trade. Membership of the EEC had given a big boost to EEC countries from the beginning as it was then much cheaper to trade with each other.
- There were higher production costs in the UK because industries were not modernising and becoming more efficient which meant that goods from other countries were cheaper to buy even in the UK.
- Few UK companies were able to quickly adapt to these changing circumstances so by the 1970s even a world-famous UK company like Rolls Royce needed government help to survive.

PROBLEM 2: UK productivity began to fall behind other countries. Between the 1950s and the 1970s the UK went from being one of the most productive countries in the world, to being one of the least productive countries in Europe. Britain’s economy was growing but not as fast as other countries such as Japan and France. There are a number of possible reasons for this:

- High government spending on defence and welfare rather than modernising industry
- Workers kept in jobs that were not really needed to avoid rising unemployment and to please trade unions

PROBLEM 3: Inflation was making prices rise faster than wages because the UK was importing more and producing less. People saw the spending power they had enjoyed in the 1950s and 1960s starting to disappear. Between 1975 and 1976 average earnings fell by 18%. At the same time the number of people who were unemployed passed one million. Many workers tried to get their bosses to increase their pay to help solve their problems. This brought many workers into conflict with the government which was trying to keep wages down to help lower inflation.

Industrial unrest

Six million working days were lost to strikes in the first six months of 1970. The 1971 Industrial Relations Act was brought in by the newly elected Conservative government, to control the trade unions that represented workers. It tried to make sure that unions only went on strike after attempts to discuss problems had been made. It did not work. Many trade union members opposed this, and many shop stewards ignored their union leaders when they insisted members should follow the new rules. When the government did try to use the Act to prevent a dock strike, and a rail strike in 1972 the unions ignored them completely. The general public supported some strikes for higher wages as rising inflation meant that prices were rapidly rising in the early 1970s - prices rose 8.6% between 1970 and 1973, and were rising by 29% by 1975.
Prices were rising because:
- The falling value of the American dollar had damaged the value of the pound, making UK imports to the USA very expensive
- The price of oil quadrupled in 1973 after OPEC, the group of Middle Eastern countries who produced most of the world’s oil, restricted supplies in protest at the USA and the UK’s support for Israel in the Yom Kippur War
- The rising number of strikes by different groups of workers were usually ended by awarding pay increases.

Case study - the 1972 miners’ strike
Coal miners were very poorly paid for doing this dangerous job. The coal industry had been nationalised in the 1940s, so it was run by the National Coal Board, on behalf of the government. The miners put in a pay claim for a 47% pay rise – their employers had offered them 8%. Some 280,000 miners went on strike. It caused a national power crisis and the government quickly gave the miners a large pay increase.

The 3 day week – winter 1973
Starting in November 1973, first the miners, then electricity power engineers, then train drivers all began overtime bans. As a result it became increasingly difficult to maintain the normal electricity supply and some areas suffered from power blackouts. Attempts to try and get the unions back to normal working conditions failed. Oil supplies were restricted by OPEC and power stations ran short of coal. Prime Minister Heath had no choice but to declare a State of Emergency. Heath imposed a Three-Day Week on the UK from 31 December 1973. This meant that electricity would only be provided to businesses for three specific days each week. Any businesses which broke these rules would be fined and their owners could face imprisonment. Restrictions did not apply to shops that sold food. Ironically UK businesses produced as much on a three-day week as they had on a five-day week. There were also power cuts to people’s houses, with different regions facing cuts at different times of the day on a rolling programme. Television broadcasts were ordered to end at 10.30 at night. Floodlights were not allowed to be used at sporting events and street lights were turned off. The unions still refused to co-operate and the miners called a full strike in February 1974.

Heath called an immediate general election on the issue of ‘Who governs Britain?’ in the hope of being able to show that he had more public support than the unions. He did not get the decisive result he wanted. He was forced to resign as the Conservatives won more votes but fewer seats than Labour. There was another election in October 1974 which gave Labour a very small majority and Heath was soon replaced by Margaret Thatcher as leader of the Conservatives.

The situation was calmed when the new Labour government settled the pay disputes – the miners got a 29% increase. Labour made a ‘social contract’ with the unions and got rid of the 1972 law restricting union activity, in return for a promise of pay claims for increases of 5% or less.
Strikes continued; in the Autumn of 1978 Ford car workers went on strike and got a 15% pay increase. In December 1978 the House of Commons voted against a government plan to punish employers who broke the agreed 5% limit on pay deals. This encouraged people to go on strike for pay rises. As prices rose higher and higher with inflation in the late 1970s, the amount of money workers were bringing home was getting less and less all of the time. The National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) which represented the lowest-paid local government workers demanded a 40% pay increase which resulted in school dinners not being served, rubbish piling up in the streets and in some extreme cases bodies going unburied. They were joined by the Confederation of Health Service Employees (COHSE), the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and the General and Municipal Workers Union (GMWU) in a more general strike for improved pay for public sector workers, having seen groups like the miners and Ford car workers get big pay increases.

The Winter of Discontent
This series of strikes which affected the daily lives of nearly everyone in the UK came to be known as the Winter of Discontent. Between November 1978 and March 1979 a total of 30 million working days were lost. It was the largest strike since the Great Strike of 1926 and there has not been one of similar size since. On 22 January 1979, 1.5 million public sector workers refused to work – the most number of strikers in a day during that winter. There was no pattern and no planning to these strikes and most of them were unofficial. The government wanted 5% pay deals, prices were rising at 10%, but workers were asking for rises that were much higher than that. The Conservatives took advantage of this situation and ran election campaigns blaming the Labour government for lack of control of the unions and rising unemployment, which was at 1.3 million people out of work, having risen by 60% through the 1970s.

Appearing on the television news programme Weekend World in January 1979, Conservative leader Margaret Thatcher suggested that workers in essential services should not be allowed to strike and that benefits could be reduced or taken away from striking workers. Public opinion began to turn towards the Conservatives.

Margaret Thatcher
In 1979 the Conservatives won the election with a clear majority. Conservative leader Margaret Thatcher became the first female Prime Minister. When she arrived at Downing Street she made a speech outside Number 10 in which she said that her mission was to end the discontent that had made life so difficult in the UK in the 1970s.

Britain and Europe
The UK's position as a world power began to change after the end of the WW2. Independence was given to more and more countries in the British Empire, starting with India in 1947 then spreading to Africa in the 1950s and 1960s. The
Commonwealth was supposed to provide cheap raw materials for the UK, and guaranteed markets for UK exported products. As more and more countries started to become independent these benefits began to disappear.

The European Economic Community, also known as the Common Market, was created by the Treaty of Rome in March 1957. France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands agreed to have common social policies like equality legislation, free movement of people within the EEC. They would also remove taxes on goods traded between members. The UK was initially against the idea of the EEC as the government still saw the UK as a world power with a Commonwealth who did not need to rely on Europe. The UK's hostility persuaded French President De Gaulle that the UK should never be allowed to join. He believed that the UK would cause problems with its imports from the Commonwealth and its links with the USA.

The UK government quickly changed its mind about joining the EEC because of its immediate success. Secondly, the weakening of Commonwealth links made joining the EEC attractive as more countries became independent and traded less with the UK. Thirdly withdrawal of military troops from the empire meant that the UK was less able to help the USA in conflicts and the 1956 Suez Crisis showed the UK that they could no longer rely on support from the USA. Fourthly US President Kennedy told Britain in 1961 that he wanted the UK in the EEC to balance out the influence of France and the growing economy of West Germany. Finally the EEC was making closer links between its members, the longer the UK stayed out the more difficult it would be to join.

The UK finally applied to join the EEC in July 1961. Edward Heath was the government minister in charge of negotiations. One of the issues was the continuation of low-priced goods from outside the EEC being imported into the UK, like New Zealand lamb. The Conservatives were prepared to accept the EEC tax system but Labour worried about the loss of UK independence and abandoning the Commonwealth. Negotiations were ended in January 1963 by French President De Gaulle who vetoed [said 'no' to] UK membership. He was worried that the UK would give the USA more influence over the EEC, as well as threatening French leadership of the Common Market. The other five member states wanted the UK to join, but the decision had to be agreed by everyone.

Labour realised that the Commonwealth had become much less important to the UK in the 1960s, and so had the USA. The UK's economic position in the world was increasingly weak as its gold reserves were running low. The government had to ask for a humiliating International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan and a devaluation of the pound. The EEC was a potential market of 250 million people that the UK could trade with if it was a member of the Common Market, so a second application to join was made in August 1967. There was a lot of public support in the UK for EEC membership. However, De Gaulle opposed UK membership again because he believed the UK's economic weakness would damage economies of the other EEC members. De Gaulle resigned in 1969. New UK Prime Minister Edward Heath got on well with the new French president Pompidou.
Both Labour and the Conservatives were split on whether or not membership of the EEC was a good idea. Many Labour MPs voted for the EEC even though their party officially opposed membership, and many Conservatives voted against the EEC even though their party officially supported membership. This shows how this had become an issue above normal party politics. Outside Parliament the Confederation of British Industry (CBI), trades unions and the National Farmers Union (NFU) were all in support.

The UK gained entry into the EEC by the 1972 Treaty of Accession, from 1 January 1973. The UK agreed to accept the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) within six years. Commonwealth countries would be cushioned against the effects of EEC taxes (Britain could still trade relatively cheaply with the commonwealth). A complex formula established the UK’s financial contribution to the EEC. As the UK was classed as an advanced industrial country it had to pay out more than it received. The Republic of Ireland joined at the same time but was classed as an agricultural country so it received more from the EEC than it paid in.

The Conservative government agreed to conditions that would cost the UK a lot of money. The UK’s contributions to the EEC budget would increase over five years until it was paying 21.5% of the total EEC budget, more than France and second only to West Germany. In 1974 the new Labour government renegotiated the terms of the UK’s entry into the EEC. The UK could not afford to meet the current cost as prices were rising by 27% and the government was borrowing £11 billion a year. The EEC offered the UK a rebate – paying money back to the UK from the EEC budget to make up for money that was lost due to poor economic circumstances.

Once the Labour government was satisfied with the new EEC deal it held a referendum about membership in June 1975. The people were asked to vote either ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ to the question ‘Do you think the UK should stay in the European Community Common Market?’ It was unusual because it was the first time there had been a referendum in the UK. The Labour Prime Minister had decided on a referendum as a way to resolve the differences within the Labour Party by letting the public decide. The result of the referendum showed that two thirds of voters supported the UK’s membership of the EEC. The ‘Yes’ campaign had been supported by most Conservative and Liberal MPs, as well as some from Labour. It had ten times the funding of the ‘No’ campaign.

Nationalism in Scotland
The Scottish National Party (SNP) had been formed in 1934. It was a nationalist party that aimed to make Scotland an independent country. A 1951 Royal Commission said that Scotland should have more control over its own affairs. This suggestion was not taken very seriously. Frustrated nationalists set Royal Mail post-boxes in Scotland on fire as they were renamed in honour of the new Queen with the symbol ‘EIIR’ for Elizabeth II. Elizabeth I had never been Queen of Scotland so technically the new Queen was only Queen Elizabeth I in Scotland. As a result Prime Minister Winston Churchill had ‘ER’ put on the post-boxes in Scotland.
The government in Westminster tried hard to build up the economy of Scotland after the war. For the nationalist party the nationalisation of industry was wrong because it increased the power of the government in London, but it was popular with most Scottish workers as it guaranteed jobs and investment. In the 1940s and 1950s, industry in Scotland was developed by building hydro-electric power stations, a nuclear power station at Dounreay, a car plant at Bathgate and a steelworks at Ravenscraig. The Scottish Tourist Board was set up in 1946. These economic successes undermined the argument that Scotland needed a separate parliament and even the Labour Party had stopped supporting the idea by 1956. The SNP didn't get much support.

The SNP's share of the vote increased from 0.1% to 30.4% between 1959 and 1974. Nationalist support was increasing because of the following factors:

- Rising unemployment: this was worse in Scotland than the rest of the UK as heavy industries had failed to modernise and were in decline by the end of the 1950s - Scotland made 12% of the world's ships in 1954 but this had decreased to 1% by 1968. Unemployment doubled in 1958 alone.
- US Polaris missile nuclear submarines being stationed in Holy Loch - this made Scotland a major target in a nuclear war without having any say in this decision.
- The discovery of North Sea Oil which was being pumped ashore into Scotland. The SNP argued that it belonged to the people of Scotland, but the profits went to US companies and UK tax revenues which were spent across the UK. The value of North Sea Oil was boosted by rising prices during the international oil crisis of 1973 - according to the 1974 McCrone Report, with oil revenues an independent Scotland would have one of the strongest currencies in Europe, but this was kept secret by the new Labour government.

In 1967 Winifred Ewing won the Hamilton by-election for the SNP, overturning a Labour majority of 16,500. The SNP also took control of Glasgow, Dundee and other local councils. Membership of the SNP rose rapidly. It had more members than any other political party in Scotland by 1968 and drew its members from a wide range of social backgrounds.

Politicians in Westminster started to take the nationalists more seriously. In 1968 Conservative leader Edward Heath's Declaration of Perth set up a committee to investigate establishing a Scottish assembly. In the same year the Labour government set up the Kilbrandon Commission to draw up plans for Welsh and Scottish devolution. The Commission reported in 1973 and recommended regional assemblies for Scotland and Wales.

The October 1974 election was very successful for the SNP which won 11 seats and had 30% of the vote in Scotland. The Labour government in Westminster was increasingly in need of support from nationalist MPs as it only had a majority of 3 and desperately needed the support of the 13 Liberal, 11 SNP and 3 Plaid Cymru MPs. Liberal Leader David Steel made devolution part of the deal in the Lib-Lab Pact, a deal made to ensure that Liberal MPs would support Labour in Parliament.
The Queen toured all regions of the UK extensively during her 1977 Silver Jubilee celebrations. In Scotland she was greeted by enthusiastic crowds, despite the fact that the royal touring car had the English and not the Scottish coat of arms on it, which led to a number of objections from nationalists.

In December 1978 the Scotland Act was passed, which allowed a Scottish Assembly to be set up. This would only come into being after the people of Scotland had approved it through a referendum to be held in March 1979. To gain the support of Conservative MPs for this Act a clause was put in that 40% of the electorate, rather than 40% of those who did vote, would have to vote 'Yes' for the Assembly to be set up.

There was not an enthusiastic response to this proposed devolution in Scotland because:

- The SNP wanted tax and full economic powers over industry and farming, but the UK government in London was opposed to this.
- The Secretary of State for Scotland would be able to veto any laws passed in the new assembly and could overrule or sack the leader of the Scottish Assembly government.
- There was the possibility that there would be a reduction in the number of Scottish MPs in the Westminster Parliament.

In the March 1979 referendum only 33% of the electorate voted in favour of devolution, even though 51.6% of the people who voted supported it. 36% of the electorate had not vote at all. The Scotland Act was repealed in 1979 because it had not been supported by 40% of the electorate in the referendum. Using the slogan 'Scotland said Yes' the SNP withdrew from supporting the Labour government in March 1979 forcing a general election to be held in May 1979. As a result of the failure of the devolution campaign the SNP won only two seats in the May 1979 general election.

**Nationalism in Wales**

There were a number of economic boosts for Wales after the Second World War, which created lots of jobs. The Welsh Tourist Board set up in 1948 put more and more emphasis on Welsh heritage. Two nuclear power stations were built providing electricity and jobs at Wylfa on Anglesey and Trawsfynydd in Snowdonia. There was also the new car plants for Rover and Ford. The UK government also moved the DVLA, which ran the system of driving licences and vehicle registrations, to Swansea.

Economic growth meant that there was little support for Plaid Cymru which had nine candidates in the 1959 general election. They all failed to win at least 5% of the vote. In 1959 a campaign for a Welsh Parliament handed in a petition with 250,000 signatures. It achieved little as the agreement between its many supporters broke down after the petition was handed in.
The Royal Family played a role in recognising the identity of Wales as a nation. Wales had never been a kingdom in its own right so it was not included in the Union Jack. The Stuarts had replaced the Tudor dragon in the royal flag with a unicorn which represented the Scottish monarchy. After a lot of debate and rejection of several flags, the Queen officially recognised Henry Tudor’s flag, white and green with the red dragon, as the Welsh flag in 1960. It quickly sprang up on buildings around Wales.

More controversial was the Queen’s decision to officially invest [crown] her eldest son Charles as Prince of Wales at Caernarfon castle in 1969. The title ‘Prince of Wales’ had been granted to the heir to the English throne since 1301 by King Edward I as a symbol of English control of Wales, but the title had never really been formally used. Working with Prime Minister Harold Wilson, the Queen had decided that giving Prince Charles this title would strengthen support for the United Kingdom and reduce the appeal of nationalism. Some extremists tried to disrupt the ceremony but most people gave the Royals a very warm welcome. The royal family tried to appease the Welsh nationalists; Prince Charles had spent a term at Aberystwyth University learning Welsh from a tutor who supported Plaid Cymru. The investiture ceremony was televised and broadcast around the world – it was an international celebration of Welsh culture in a way that had not happened before. The warm public response towards the Royal Family could still be seen around Wales during the Queen’s 1977 Silver Jubilee tour.

The Labour Party was losing support across the United Kingdom in the 1960s. This benefited Plaid Cymru (the Welsh National Party). Plaid Cymru also began to get more votes because:

- Welsh industry was uncompetitive and in need of modernising and unemployment doubled in 1958 alone. There were 164 coal mines in 1960 but only 52 remained open in 1970 and more mines continued to be closed.
- Several English city councils bought up land in Welsh valleys to put a dam across them and turn them into reservoirs to provide water. One of the most controversial of these was Liverpool’s plan to turn the Tryweryn valley in north-west Wales into a reservoir, which would drown a village. In 1957 Parliament voted to give Tryweryn valley to Liverpool - Plaid Cymru’s leader, Gwynfor Evans, organised protests against this - they failed, but Plaid Cymru gained a lot of publicity and support.
- Plaid Cymru founder Saunders Lewis made an impassioned radio speech, ‘Tynged yr Iaith’ (The Fate of the Language) in 1962 to protect Welsh language and culture from the English dominated government in London. The speech was in response to the 1961 census, which showed a decrease in the percentage of Welsh speakers in Wales from 36% in 1931 to 26% in 1961. This led to the formation of the Welsh Language Society (Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg) and a campaign of civil disobedience, writing Welsh names on English road signs, damaging television masts and disrupting studios which broadcast English language rather than Welsh language programmes.
As a result of the campaign, the 1967 Welsh Language Act gave the language equal status to English and said that it should not be assumed that all laws that only named England would automatically apply to Wales as they had done since 1746. Welsh could now be used in government business and increasing numbers of television programmes were broadcast in Welsh.

The Kilbrandon Commission was set up in 1968 to investigate giving regional assemblies to Wales and Scotland. In response to this the UK government drew up plans in 1976 for an 80 member elected assembly for Wales to help run education, health and social services, as well as industry and local government. By the mid-1970s the Labour government needed the support of Welsh and Scottish nationalists to stay in power. As a result of the 1977 Lib-Lab Pact [Liberal and Labour MPs working together] the people of Wales and Scotland were given a chance to vote on whether or not they wanted their own Assembly in a referendum [vote on a particular issue]. The 1978 Wales Act said that the proposed Welsh Assembly would have fewer powers than the one being proposed for Scotland.

The March 1979 referendum was a disaster for the nationalists in Wales. More than 40% of the people who could have voted did not vote at all, even in the majority Welsh-speaking area of Gwynedd which had two Plaid Cymru MPs. Only one fifth of voters, 12% of the electorate in Wales had voted ‘Yes’. Parliament withdrew the Wales Act.

There were a number of reasons why more people did not vote ‘Yes’ in the referendum in Wales:
- many nationalists thought the proposals did not go far enough – Parliament in Westminster would still have the power to block any decisions made by this assembly
- only Plaid Cymru had supported the ‘Yes’ campaign in Wales, while Welsh Labour MPs, Conservatives and most local councils and trades unions supported the ‘No’ campaign
- people were more concerned with economic problems and threats to their jobs than they were with nationalism.

Problems in Ireland

Long term tensions in Northern Ireland

There had been conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland for hundreds of years. By the twentieth century many Catholics were nationalists (wanted to be independent from English rule), while most Protestants were unionists (wanted to remain under English rule). After a civil war between extremists on both sides Ireland was partitioned in 1922. Most of Ulster, where the Protestants lived, would continue to be part of the UK, while the rest of Ireland would become an independent country within the British Empire.
Problems with politics and the RUC
Unionists took control by gerrymandering (stealing constituency votes) the voting system in their favour, making sure that very few Catholic or Nationalist candidates were elected in national or local elections. Electoral rules made it more difficult for Catholic votes to count, as businessmen - who were mostly Protestants - could vote at home and where they did business. Only householder were allowed to vote and many Catholics were not allowed to vote as they did not earn enough to own their own houses.

Protestants also had control over the police. The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) had six Protestant policemen to every Catholic one. The part-time Special Constabulary were an armed response unit and made up almost entirely of Protestants. They dealt with demonstrations and public disorder, which often meant going out to beat up Catholics. The RUC was also backed up by the 1922 Special Powers Act which meant that during an emergency they could keep people in prison without a trial, ban marches, censor the press and search houses without a warrant. It made them the most powerful police force in the UK.

Captain Terence O'Neill
By the 1960s it looked as if this situation might be about to change. In 1963 Captain Terence O'Neill, a Protestant and Unionist, was elected as Prime Minister of Northern Ireland. He wanted to modernise the economy and improve relations between Catholics and Protestants. New towns were built, foreign companies were encouraged to build factories, and cities were linked by motorways. He made links with the Irish Republic to help improve trade and supported cooperation between Protestant and Catholic churches.

Extreme Protestants were worried that this would result in Catholics being given equality with Protestants. The Reverend Ian Paisley had already formed the Ulster Protestant Action (UPA) group in 1959 who later violently voiced their opposition to the cooperation between the churches. While Protestants thought O’Neill was going too far, many Catholics thought he had not gone far enough. He did not do anything to address the inequalities between Protestants and Catholics. In 1964 the Campaign for Social Justice and Republican Clubs were formed to campaign for equal civil rights for Catholics, these groups joined together in 1967 to form the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA).

Protest, Marches and Riots in the 60s
In August 1968 NICRA organised a march protesting about housing policy in Dungannon, which received a lot of media coverage. In October 1968 a planned march through the Protestant area of Londonderry was banned by the government. People marched anyway and were attacked by the police using batons and water cannons. This led to the formation of a more extreme civil rights group called People’s
Democracy. Ian Paisley’s UPA held large public meetings and started their own newspaper, the Protestant Telegraph, to spread their anti-Catholic propaganda. In 1966 their anti-government protest marches turned into riots and some of the UPA’s supporters started an armed terrorist group called the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) who shot at and petrol bombed Catholic buildings.

The violence in Northern Ireland that started in 1969 is often referred to as ‘The Troubles’. In January 1969 People’s Democracy marched from Belfast to Londonderry. Along the route they were ambushed by a Protestant mob but were received in Londonderry by cheering Catholic crowds. The police entered the Catholic Bogside area of the city, smashing houses and abusing residents. Riots started and people built barricades to keep the police out. In August 1969 the police and Catholics fought for control again in the ‘Battle of the Bogside’ with petrol bombs and barricades used to keep the police out, and there were riots on the streets of Belfast. Elections had destroyed O’Neill’s government and the extremists on both sides were elected instead. The British government decided that it could no longer trust the RUC and sent the British Army instead.

**IRA vs UVF**
Initially Catholics welcomed the British troops as their protectors from the RUC. They also welcomed the promise of changes to the voting system and reforms of policing. However, extremist groups on both sides responded more violently to the new situation:

- The Irish Republican Army (IRA) had fought in the civil war in the 1920s but after their attacks on the RUC in the 1950s they had given up violence and turned to political means. After the events of 1969 the IRA split into two groups – those who continued to support political methods and those who wanted to use weapons to defend Catholic communities. A combination of IRA propaganda and the violent methods used to search Catholic properties for weapons and arrest IRA suspects turned Catholic opinion against the army. From April 1970 the IRA changed their tactics and targeted government buildings like police stations and post offices, and then army and RUC patrols.

- The Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), formed from amongst Ian Paisley’s supporters in the 1960s, began to attack Catholic areas from June 1970; they also became involved in shootouts with the IRA; new loyalist groups like the UVF were created and joined together in August 1971 to form the Ulster Defence Association (UDA).

**Internment and Direct Rule**
To stop this violence from spreading the government began the policy of internment...
(imprisonment of people often without trial) after hundreds of suspects were arrested in dawn raids on 9 August 1971. It did not stop the violence. No loyalists were arrested as part of this campaign and most of the members of the IRA managed to escape. It just seemed to confirm that the army was there to protect Protestant rule. As civil war seemed to be breaking out in Northern Ireland the government in London decided to take direct control. In 1972 alone there were 474 civilian deaths in Northern Ireland.

Direct rule was only intended to be a temporary measure. The government in Westminster wanted a new kind of government for Northern Ireland, where power was shared equally between Protestants and Catholics. Power-sharing failed because extreme Unionists had won seats in the UK Parliament in the 1974 election and had voiced their opposition to it and Protestant trade unions, under the name the Ulster Workers Council, organised a series of strikes against it. Discussions about the end of direct rule and the return of a devolved assembly for Northern Ireland continued through the 1980s.

**Bloody Sunday**

On Sunday 30 January 1972 the Civil Rights Association planned an illegal march through Londonderry to protest against internment. As they approached barriers put up by the army to prevent them leaving the Bogside, stones and insults were thrown at the soldiers. Soldiers went into the crowd to make arrests and began shooting. The Army claimed that the IRA had started shooting at them first. Thirteen unarmed civilians were killed, some of them shot in the back, and thirteen more were wounded. Widespread rioting in Londonderry and Belfast as a result of Bloody Sunday created no-go areas for the army in Northern Ireland. The British Embassy in Dublin was bombed, as was the Parachute Regiment’s barracks in Aldershot in mainland UK.

**IRA’s increased presence**

There were a number of IRA bomb attacks on targets on the mainland of the UK throughout the 1970s. They targeted:

- Crowded public places e.g. London's King’s Cross and Euston Station in September 1973 injuring 21 people; Bristol shopping centre in 1974 during the pre-Christmas rush injuring 17 people
- Crowded pubs e.g. Guildford in October 1974 killing 4 off-duty soldiers and 1 civilian, and injuring 44
- Tourist attractions e.g. Madame Tussauds waxworks museum January 1974; the Tower of London in July 1974 killing 1 person and injuring 41.
- The Army e.g. 8 soldiers and 4 civilians were killed in February 1974 when a coach exploded on the M62 motorway.
- Politicians e.g. Houses of Parliament in June 1974 injuring 11 people
- Prominent public figures e.g. in August 1979 Lord Mountbatten, cousin of the Queen, was killed on his boat in Ireland.