RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Undisciplined Youth and a Moral Panic in Independent India, Circa 1947-1964

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Abstract

The undisciplined youth is one figure that is key to understanding the 1950s and 1960s in India. Politicians, officials, academics, youth leaders, and journalists developed and spread a discourse that imagined the collective behaviour of Indian youths as falling well below adult expectations of them in independent India. The imagery of the youth lacking in discipline was tied up with cycles of student unrest and the idea that the methods of protest used during the pre-independence period had wrongly continued into the post-independence period, but this discursive formation was often extended to include all Indian youths and it became translated into a long-term anxiety about the future of the newly established nation-state. These tropes about the undisciplined Indian youth became a symbol of the country's unresolved future. Unless the crisis of youth could be remedied, the narrative went, then the potentiality of Indian independence and its first generation of citizens could never be realised. This discourse took on a novel and distinctive shape during the initial years following Indian independence in 1947, it crystallised during the early 1950s, and there was a continued build-up of public concern that lasted throughout the 1960s.

The undisciplined youth is one figure that is key to understanding the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s in India. Politicians, officials, academics, youth leaders, and journalists developed and spread a discourse that imagined the collective behaviour of Indian youths as falling well below adult expectations of them in independent India. The imagery of the youth lacking in discipline was tied up with cycles of student unrest and the idea that the methods of protest used during the pre-independence period had wrongly continued into the post-independence period, but this discursive formation was often extended to include all Indian youths and it became translated into a long-term anxiety about

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In terms of this article's use of 'undiscipline' and 'indiscipline', both are nouns and mean a lack of discipline. This article has generally used 'indiscipline' because it was this word that was overwhelmingly used by adult actors in official and popular discourses. In terms of the adjective use, I have used the word 'undisciplined' i.e., it was the undisciplined youth, the undisciplined student, and undisciplined behaviour because undisciplined is more accepted as a conventional spelling rather than indisciplined.

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The shaping of this discourse was linked to a momentous episode in Indian history: the shift from colonial rule to independence, presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru and a generation of onetime freedom fighters, and accompanying this was the transition of tens of millions of youths from subjecthood to citizenship. Young people had previously been energetic players in the freedom struggle and the powerful association between the youth and the nation was not new, although the enormity of this demographic group, the tremendous future role assigned to them, and their supposed state of indiscipline meant that the Indian youth became the object of renewed political and cultural interest in the decades following independence.

I will draw upon Stanley Cohen's moral panic theory to grasp the depth and extent of this social phenomena. This article will begin with a discussion of the existing scholarly insights on youth and indiscipline in the Indian context. I will outline my methodological approach and offer a definition of "youth". Then, the high levels of concerns about the indiscipline of youth as expressed by contemporary officials and academics will be interrogated. This article will explore a notable example of student protest to better understand and define what precisely constituted undisciplined behavior and then the focus will shift to the alleged causes of this upsurge in student indiscipline. The active voice of the youthful subject is, however, almost entirely lacking in these adult accounts about their conduct and I will attempt to reduce their silence by bringing in the perspectives of students from the All-India Student Federation (AISF). Finally, linked to this group of statements about the indiscipline of youth was a discourse about the inadequacy of civil society, public cooperation, and the voluntary efforts of citizens in the post-colonial era.

Stanley Cohen (1972) brought the term "moral panic" into sociological and historical discussion. He argued the emergence of various forms of youth culture, such as the Mods and Rockers in the United Kingdom during the 1960s, could become marginalised in the national popular imagination because of the way the media and politicians depicted this social group. He wrote,

> Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions (Cohen, 1972, p. 1)

The student and the youth came to be understood as a problem to the present and the future of the Indian nation state following independence (see Wilkinson, 2020). Thompson (1988, p. 2) claims that moral panics have the following features: Firstly, they take the form of "crusades" which can be sustained over a short or long period. Second, they make alarming appeals about the alleged breakdown of the social order to wider society. Thirdly, politicians lead the campaign to have action taken that would remedy the problem group.

Historical sociologists have regularly focused on the role of the "mass media" in moral panics, but this author identified it was the so-called "right-thinking people" and "socially accredited experts" that principally advanced this idea about Indian youth. Therefore, this particular discourse resonates with an elite engineered theory of moral panic (Thompson, 1988, pp. 16-17). There was, indeed, a common understanding amongst elites about the indiscipline of youth and a huge variety of actors from the Indian socio-political landscape, including politicians, officials, academics, youth leaders, and journalists, expressed emotions of frustration, dismay, and disappointment in the younger generation. (see Alexander et al., 2015).

This was a top-down and national discourse and those who propagated it rarely attempted to spatially differentiate the country. The concept of moral panic has not been applied to the history of India as far as this author is aware, but it is useful for engaging critically with the sharp rise in public concern about the indiscipline of students and youths after 1947. This model provides a basis, the starting point, for this investigation into the outbreak of reports about the Indian youth's undisciplined behaviour during the early independence period. Scholars must beware the rigidity of this theoretical social model, but also recognise its continued relevance in allowing social scientists to identify the contemporary and historical significance of young people (Critcher, 2003, 2008).

The implication is not that this phenomenon is "real" nor that it did not exist, or that these concerns were irrational or not genuine, but that this is a paramount discursive "representation" essential to understanding the history of Indian youth and the social landscape of Independent India. As Zachariah (2005, p. 6) states, "whether politicians or ideologues believe what they say is often beside the point. Ideas which form the basis of the accepted political rhetoric of public arenas are ideas which define the boundaries of publicly acceptable political behaviour … This creates the basis for public debate". This study similarly takes language as the constitutive component of social reality through an exploration of the discursive meanings attached to this social body.

Language and its consequence are the topic (in addition to the archival resource) of this article. Academic articles and books, official reports and non-official reports, political speeches and newspaper articles, youth magazines and their advertisements reveal the same patterns of thinking about students and youth. The methodology I employ in this article is discourse analysis because the focus here is on the production of knowledge through discourse and how language is the constitutive component of social reality. This approach is closely related to the work of Michel Foucault for whom discourse was "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about—a way of representing—the knowledge about a particular topic at a particular historical moment" (Thompson, 1988, p. 23).

Exploring this discourse at the national level, without a strict regional focus, leads to necessary questions about scale and spatiality in a country as vast and diverse as India. My methodological approach has inevitably privileged the national level, but this is nevertheless a scale which is best suited for exploring wider shifts in the conceptualisations of youth and the large processes of change that occurred within the national youth order. David Harvey holds space may be "relational" in the sense of being embedded in the many processes that converge to give meaning to any given space or time, and I would put forward that this conceptualisation of space is useful for understanding the thick web of social connections contained within this moral panic discourse (Harvey, 2006, pp. 270–294).

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE UNDISCIPLINED YOUTH

Historical understandings about the social body of the Indian youth do not exist in a vacuum and the historical research into childhood provides an appropriate scholarly arrival point for this investigation. Historians have highlighted discourses of panic, fear, anxiety and furore about the child and children in the Indian context, although the post-childhood passage to adulthood has been generally overlooked by historians. There has, for instance, been work on the orientalisation of the Indian boy-child, and the construction of the "vagrant", "orphan" and "juvenile" as a (in Rudyard Kipling's words) "half devil and half child" (Arnold, 1979; Fischer-Tine, 2009; Sen, 2004a, 2004b, 2005).

A body of literature has highlighted the sexual tone that undergirded the evolving national debates on the child-bride, child-rape, and the legal status of this social group through an exploration of the contentious colonial era child-marriage legislation in India (Kolsky, 2010; Pande, 2003, 2012, 2013, 2020; Sankar, 2000; Tambe, 2019). This scholarship on the girl-child reveals that sexual innocence, vulnerability, incapacity, and emotional underdevelopment became the key line of demarcation around those not-yet-quite woman. Moreover, scholars have used

advertisements to explore the cultural anxiety around the heuristic category of the Modern Girl in 1920s and 1930s India (Barlow et al., 2005; Ramamurthy, 2008; also see Botre & Haynes, 2017).

In contrast, the indiscipline under exploration here tended to be the domain of the young Indian man and the repository of public anxiety about him was remarkably unsexualised. These historical works bring to light the political potency of late colonial era childhood, but they generally do not trace these discourses into the post-independence period. This article, therefore, rests atop of this literature in so far as it explores the way youth-hood was imagined and discussed in the post-colonial period and it will analyse how colonial conceptions of youth indiscipline were adapted and repudiated during the early post-colonial period.

Scholars from anthropology, geography and the social sciences have offered more contemporary scholarly accounts about the social body of Indian youth. There has been a plethora of literature that has theorised about a masculinised crisis of youth in education and their political responses, from collective youth protests to micro politics, since the economic liberalisation of India in the 1990s (Chopra et al., 2004; Gooptu, 2017; Jeffery & Jeffery, 2007; Koskimaki, 2017; Lukose, 2009; Nakassis's 2016; Osella & Osella, 2006; Sanchos, 2016). Jeffrey (2010) famously identified a threatened and anxious young middle class in Meerut, Uttar Pradesh, that spent a great deal of time during and after university "just waiting", "advertising their aimlessness" and engaging in "timepass".

There has been some limited historical research into the indiscipline of youth in independent India. Chakrabarty (2007) holds the efforts to discipline young citizens in the early post-colonial period ran against what constituted the political in colonial India: that is, cycles of popular and nationalist mass-mobilisations in opposition to British rule (followed by acts of retribution by the British who sought to assert colonial sovereignty). He argues that what was considered indiscipline by the post-colonial elites in the 1950s has become accepted as normal popular politics in contemporary India. However, a sceptical student of history may legitimately question his drawing of a straight line between forms of protests by youths in the 1950s and contemporary Indian politics today.

Dipesh Chakrabarty writes, "how Nehru and his like came to lose this debate is a complex history that has not been researched yet" (2007, p. 36). This wider history of the national debates about post-colonial youths and students and their indiscipline is precisely this article's focus. I would contend, contrary to Chakrabarty, though, that those who devoted time and energy to remedying the "youth problem" did not consciously believe they were "losing the debate" as he states or being unsuccessful in their endeavours.

Rudolph (1987) charts the rise of student "unrest" and "indiscipline", using quantitative methodology, in the period after Nehru's death where this study terminates. He claims, "the incidence of student agitations and violence rose steadily throughout the 1960s, accelerated exponentially after the fourth general election in 1967 to a crescendo in 1974, the year before the emergency, receded with the emergency, rose to new heights in the late 1970s, and remained high in the early 1980s" (1987, p. 299). He found the rapid expansion of higher education without regard to adequate resources, coupled with the consequently low prospects associated with attending university, created an even more discontented body of educated youth in independent India. Rudolph claims that the rate of "student indiscipline" which he takes as an indicator of the mobilisation of this social group, was still rising at the beginning of the eighties.

Lloyd Rudolph claims that, "students, including educated unemployed youth...caught the country's attention in the mid- and late 1960s, when student 'unrest' and 'indiscipline' began to affect state and national politics" (1987, p. 291). This article will argue, in contrast, that the "problem" of youth indiscipline caught the country's attention in the early 1950s as a variety of adult actors began claiming that student unrest was unbefitting for a young nation state and increasingly took this social group as the target object of a range of youth welfare policies.

One important historical question to pursue is this, did this discourse about the indiscipline of youth emerge in the independence era or did it exist in the colonial era? This discourse at hand was not a direct continuation of one that existed in the colonial period, but it did have antecedents and nationalists expressed similar sentiments that overlapped with the ones that this article will explore.

Leading freedom fighters expressed their anxieties that youths were not sufficiently disciplined to advance the freedom struggle during the interwar years. Motilal Nehru wrote in 1929, "we are living in critical times and the youth of the country are our only hope, but that hope rests entirely on their strict sense of discipline" (Maclean, 2015, p. 157). According to Jawaharlal Nehru, during the Civil Disobedience Movement, a great many volunteers "had little discipline and there was no uniformity in their training and their organisation" (Maclean, 2015, p. 214). Roy (2019, p. 156), crucially, makes the point that the "youth" and the "volunteer" were almost entirely synonymous and interchangeable in nationalist discourses.

Roy (2019), indeed, highlights that the principal objective of the interwar youth volunteer paramilitary movements was to inculcate discipline into youths, and brings to light the disciplinary features of these movements, such as physical drill and uniforms. Furthermore, Mahatma Gandhi's conceptualisation of brahmacharya and his imbuement of life-giving power to semen amounted to a uniquely Gandhian social construction of sexual discipline that rose to some prominence during the colonial era (Alter, 2000, pp. 3-28). The final point to make is that "discipline" was used in other contexts by government officials and nationalist politicians, such as in relation to the army and wider society, but the point is it was most associated in public discourse with the younger generation and the youth was at the centre of these disciplinary projects.

There are three key differences between the colonial and post-colonial usages of this categorisation. Firstly, underlying the alleged indiscipline of youth during the colonial era was the idea and feeling that youths would not and could not adequately follow the political instructions and methods of revolt set out by the leadership of the mainstream nationalist movement. Following 1947, however, the employment of the methods of political struggle (a great many of which had previously been legitimate) generally came to constitute undisciplined behaviour. Secondly, there was a greater preoccupation and proliferation of writings and speeches in official circles about the indiscipline of youth and the "youth problem" began to feature more prominently in policy planning. Thirdly, there was a greater academicization of this idea following independence and increased scholarly efforts to understand this indiscipline as a social phenomenon with causes and remedies.

DEFINING YOUTH

There is a tendency amongst historians and sociologists to divide human life into a series of stages rather than seeing it as a single trajectory. However, the precise boundaries of what constitutes youthhood are rightly a question of academic curiosity.[1] *Emile, Or Treatise on Education* by Rousseau (1762) was one of the earliest works to present this life stage as a period of experimentation and training. The image of a bohemian, suicidal and sentimental modern European adolescent was further popularized by the *bildungsroman* of Van Goethe during the turn of the 19th century (Koops & Zuckerman, 2005, 2013). In the Indian context, this resonates with the "awakening" felt by the Young Bengalis following modernity's "arrival" in the ports of Calcutta in the early 19th century. Their beef-eating parties that ridiculed Hinduism, adoration of Shakespearean couplets and enlightenment thinking at once capture the caricature of *enfant terrible* taking up intergenerational rebellion (Chaudhuri, 2002; Raychaudhuri, 1999).

It was Stanley Hall (1904), the founder of the American Psychological Association, who first popularized the term "adolescence" and foregrounded this period as an object of academic study.

This early psychologist, reconstructing the ideas of Rousseau, held youth to be a period of "storm" to imply the adolescents' reduction in self-control and "stress" to imply their heightened sensitivity. Adolescence was a period of "normative turmoil" that involved conflict with parents, emotional disruption, and dangerous behavior. Fundamental to Hall's thinking was the notion that this transition to adulthood corresponded to the beginning of a modern civilization. He broadly equated adolescence with an inferior race, with adulthood being equated to a superior race, and the human life cycle to be a recapitulation of a social Darwinist racial history (Koops & Zuckerman, 2013).[2]

The Rousseau-Hall "storm and stress" understanding of adolescence is rife across the significant body of scholarship produced by academic circles throughout the late colonial and early post-colonial period in India. These contemporary conceptualisations of youth and adolescence fed into the emergent notion that this group was somehow preinclined and predisposed to undisciplined behaviour. One scholar of social work, Katayun Cama, wrote in (1941, p. 335) that this life stage in the Indian context was distinguished by a "lack of harmony", "disturbances" and the "greatest lack of imbalance". The academic added, though, "it seems probable that the 'storm and stress' period can be handled carefully and wisely in their infancy and childhood".

Another academic in this field, Kumarappa (1944, p. 44), was of the opinion that "adolescence is a whirlpool, a maelstrom of shifting, swirling impulses". While Kaikobad (1951, p. 53) similarly defined youthhood as "the period of storm and stress" and added "it is the time when drives for independence and self-determination are most intense". These scholarly articulations of adolescence in Indian academia tended to be gendered. That is, the process of growing up for men was articulated as fiery and rebellious, and for women it was articulated as fanciful, romantic, and sexualised. Lalita Kumarappa wrote that young women would "build up idealistic dreams about sex, love, marriage, and dream about [a] 'Prince Charming' who will one day come and claim her" (1944, p. 53). Katayun Cama claimed, "the problem particularly of the adolescent girl has acquired a new complexion because of the ease with which sex knowledge is available" (1941, p. 335).

Despite the Indian academy increasingly recognising the importance of society in the shaping of this life stage and advocating a gentler and more sympathetic approach to adolescence throughout the decades following independence, influential educationalists endorsed the "storm and stress" approach to the social body of the Indian youth. The Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Saiyidains (1961, p. 2), shared his understanding of this life stage in the Indian context: "in dealing with modern youth, with their emotional and psychological stresses and strains and their lack of adjustment to a rapidly changing and challenging world in which many of them have lost their moorings, we are, as it were, playing with dynamite".

These historical conceptualisations are a useful starting point for understanding the moral panic about the indiscipline of Indian youth in early post-colonial India. It is now widely accepted across disciplines that there are multiple pathways and timings of entry into and out of youthhood, many of which are not tumultuous as Rousseau and Hall once claimed, and they are dependent on societal and historical constraints (Koops & Zuckerman, 2013).

I want to foreground two insightful definitions put forward by leading historians of youth that capture a flexible, intuitive, and broad approach to conceptualising this social group. Ivan Jobs and Pomfret (2015, p. 15) make the point that youth is no "mere staging ground for adulthood" or a "preliminary phase," but a "definitive category of experience in its own right". They insist on the "the instability of the very category" because "the production of youth as a concept and social body was fraught with tensions and contradictions between ideology and practical exigencies, between state and non-state actors, local and central government, indigenous resistance and colonial indigenization". Alexander and Sleight (2023, p. 9) contend,

> To wit, as well as representing a life-stage, a shared experience, and a positive attribute or a failing, 'youth' has also been deployed across the twentieth century and up to the present day to denote the relative age of an individual, a quality of being, an aspiration, a catchall term for anyone not considered adult, an ideology of difference, and a gendered norm often equated with male activities.

There are several points to make to outline the conceptual parameters of "youth" in the Indian context. Firstly, youth exist across a wide range of ages (including both pre-and post-adolescence). Secondly, youth bear some relation to puberty and biological measures. It is, however, best to avoid the term "adolescent" because the focus here is largely on the social and political conceptualisation of youth rather than on biological developments. Adolescence is too broad (because universalised) or too narrow (because psychologised). Thirdly, gender, caste, class, race, and religion shape the pathways of Indian youthhood. Fourthly, the concept of youth in the Indian context has a relationship to processes of modernity that diffused novel norms (see Alexander et al., 2010). That is,

the colonial connection and nationalist project produced critical sites for the interpretation and negotiation of this life stage. Roy (2019, p. 155) maintains that, "youth as a relevant category entered the Indian arena around the same time as it did in the colonial metropole—an entangled development that became successively more important from just after the turn of the twentieth century".

This final point concerns the translatability of youth, as a concept, in the Indian context. Non-indigenous words can be inscribed with new meanings in the writing of history, but youth was a word used widely in the colonial and national public discourse in India. The articulation of this concept in English underscores that youth was a (albeit differentiated and diverse) widely accepted cultural category and social body. Youth has a lexiconic overlap, and imparts interrelated understanding, with the Hindi word *jawan*, which historically means "youngster", "youth", and "soldier".

THE INDISCIPLINE OF YOUTH

I will begin by charting the nature and extent of this moral panic by exploring the writings and speeches of leading officials and politicians in early post-colonial India. The best starting point is with the Government of India's appointed tsar on student indiscipline. Humayun Kabir, a renown poet, novelist, educationist, and politician, became the Minister for Education with analysing and making recommendations on the alleged indiscipline of students and youths in the early 1950s, and wrote prolifically on the matter. He sent a series of ten letters to the provincial-level Ministers of Education in addition to printing public pamphlets and writing a variety of newspaper articles to rouse public opinion on the subject.[3] The Prime Minister directed Kabir to send each provincial government detailed proposals on remedying this crisis of youth As such, he was at the forefront of framing the national debate on "youth" in Indian public life and his writings are insightful for understanding the broader renegotiation of the political meanings attached to this life stage that occurred during the initial decades following independence. Demonstrating the acceptability of his views amongst the officialdom, his pamphlet was unanimously endorsed by the Central Advisory Board of Education. Summing up the problem, he wrote in 1953,

> "There have recently been some instances of grave indiscipline among students that have attracted the attention of national leaders as well as educationists at all levels. In some cases, things have gone so far that the teachers in schools or invigilators have been attacked. In others, there have been clashes with the police or sections of the public. *Apart from such extreme examples of indiscipline, there has been a spirit of general turbulence and rebellion among large sections of the younger generation*"[4]

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru endorsed the analysis offered by Humayun Kabir in a letter to his chief ministers.[5] In August 1954, Nehru wrote,

> ...you are aware of the unrest and turbulence that has characterized student activities in different parts of the country in recent years. Sometime there have been ugly manifestations of indiscipline as in the clash at Lucknow last year or at Indore only a few weeks ago...the indiscipline amongst students, the fall in standards and the general deterioration in universities is largely due to party factions and political intrigues which disfigure academic life."[6]

The following year he told a group of students in Patna, following an episode of university protest, "I cannot tolerate this at all. Is India a nation of immature, childish people? ... We must behave like an adult, mature, independent nation."[7] This statement represents the way politicians connected the life stage of youthhood and their negative behaviour with the future of the nation state. The undisciplined youth became a metaphor to evoke the ways this young nation state was misstepping out into the post-colonial world and coming of age in a way that was

unbefitting. If the nation-state was to realise its "maturity", as Nehru called it, or to correctly progress into the subsequent life-stage, then the alleged indiscipline of this social group had to be dealt with. Sherman (2022) stresses it is important to understand Nehru's role as a national patron who lent prestige to institutions, ideas, and programmes instead of directly overseeing them. Nehru had a far-reaching understanding of the problem of youth indiscipline but, rather than formulating his own set of assumptions about the causes, extents, and remedies of the problem, it is evident from his writings that his ideas were heavily informed by those of his long-term political friend whose official capacity it was to analyse and remedy the problem of youth indiscipline, Humayan Kabir.

In the same year of 1954, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a leader of the Indian independence movement and India's first Minister of Education, communicated his concerns about the Indian youth in a letter to his Education Ministers and outlined the rationale behind a state-sponsored programme of recreational activities that he intended to introduce to remedy this crisis.

> *We have all been seriously exercised about the progressive deterioration of the standards of discipline and good behaviour amongst a considerable section of the youth population.* If we are to develop the present generation of youth into disciplined and responsible citizens of democracy, it is essential that we should view this problem imaginatively and take all necessary steps to win their confidence and cooperation and organise a varied programme of social, creative, and recreational activities which will fill their leisure time profitably and give them suitable opportunities of self-expression[8]

The Indian Planning Commission approved such a scheme in the following year of 1955, and it was called the National Youth Welfare Movement (NYWM). Its objective was to resolve youth indiscipline and to negotiate the next generation of Indian citizens through grants-in-aid and financial support for recreational and leisure activities for youths. Funded with one hundred lakh rupees, ambitious schemes including a national youth hostel association, annual intercollegiate festivals for students, and summer labour camps became available to Indians in their teens and twenties across the entire country throughout the subsequent Five-Year Plan. The NYWM reflected the Government of India's anxiety about the need to organise a mass youth movement and the idea that the newly independent state must accept overall responsibility for it. This logic held the volunteer movements of the colonial-era could not deal with this scale of youth indiscipline, and as a report on the NYWM noted that, "The Bharat Scouts and Guides, Balkan-Ji-Bari and the NCC have only touched the fringe of the [youth] problem".[9]

It was because of this moral panic about Indian youth that the varied apparatus of the Government of India established and expanded novel state-sponsored youth movements, and these movements laid emphasis on the widespread indiscipline of youth. In addition to the NYWM that is discussed above, the National Cadet Corps (NCC), the Labour and Social Service Camps, The Bharat Scouts and Guides and the Interuniversity Youth Festival similarly advanced a discursive critique that imagined the collective behaviour of this social group as falling well below what was expected of them and propagated widespread anxieties about the indiscipline of youth in their magazines and pamphlets.

The Constituent Assembly passed the National Cadet Core Act in April 1948 and it allowed for the raising of a junior, senior, and girls' division that would together constitute a youth wing of the Indian Armed Forces. Underlying the expansion of the NCC programme of physical training was a discourse about the indiscipline and inadequacy of the Indian youth and the interrelated idea that the Government of India must remedy this. The Director of the NCC commented in 1954, "students in schools and colleges lack discipline, character and leadership and their general physique is poor […] The urgent necessity for providing proper outdoor training to the youth cannot be neglected any longer".[10] The desire to make this social group the target-object of this training was that, as the Director of the NCC stated, "youth is the most impressionable and formative period of a man's life".[11]

The state-sponsored student camp movement, which organised ten thousand physical labour-cum-training camps for the purposes of village development between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960s, was undergirded by a widespread idea that Indian youths and students had become undisciplined in the initial years following 1947.

One leading camp organiser and educationalist, Behari Sahai, claimed the aim of the camps was "to take away the inhibitions of the educated ones".[12] The principal of the University of Travancore, Dr C.S Venkateswaram, held the features of camp life could effectively remedy any undisciplined behaviour. He recorded, "the youths caused some problem of discipline in the early stages; but within a week of common living, dining, and work they ceased to be a problem".[13] In her chairperson's address at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mehta (1962, p. 354) claimed this form of camp social service had become especially necessary in India "in the face of the rising tide of indiscipline amongst students".[14] This critique about the indiscipline of youth similarly reverberated throughout the Bharat Scouts and Guides. One article from 1961 noted, capturing this narrative, "governors, ministers and other political leaders tell us that students are lacking in discipline and periodically announce plans to inculcate the discipline in [to] the students [sic]".[15]

The Interuniversity Youth Festival, a national extracurricular competition for India's finest students, was understood became an annual occasion for national leaders to issue a political message to the competitors and invariably lament the rise of student indiscipline. At the Youth Festival in October 1955, Maulana Azad devoted his entire written address to student indiscipline, and he advised them to not let political parties influence their minds.[16] Jawaharlal Nehru gave expression to a feeling of being isolated from the student community. A wall, he said, seemed to have appeared between him and the students with the result that he was finding it increasingly difficult to communicate with them.[17] One newspaper columnist noted Nehru's deliberate decision in his 1955 speech to omit any explicit reference to the student agitations that had taken place that year in Allahabad and Patna to strike a conciliatory note with the festival participants.[18]

This imagery of the youth lacking in discipline was related to student unrest and the Youth Festival in Mysore 1959 itself became the site for far-reaching student agitations. The Times of India stated, the "lawlessness that prevailed in the State capital of Mysore for four days from Dec 7 had no parallel in the State in post-freedom years". This unrest nominally arose because, according to a newspaper report, firstly, the students believed they should be given a holiday to attend the 10-day festival and, secondly, admission for students should be free. The reporter said, "the immediate cause for the sudden outbreak of rowdyism was the feeling, rightly or wrongly, developed in large sections of students that they were being kept out of the festival".[19]

In some cases, the language to describe the behaviour of Indian youths could be hugely derogatory. The well-known nationalist historian, Professor Dutt (1966), gave his academic diagnosis of the behaviour of youths, "Nothing is wrong with our students except that they have become a race of idlers, a race of killers of their own precious life and times, a race of foolish apes that know to imitate and copy the shams of dress and manners, the vices of human habits, and not any of the sterling qualities of human habits". This racialised language resonates with that used by colonial officials about "the native" who was the object of a range of negative cultural constructions that oscillated from unmannerly to uncivilised during the Raj-era (Fischer-Tine, 2009).

India's national bidaily six-hour youth radio service, *Yuv Yani*, also sought to promote discipline to youths. A survey of young people by All India Radios Listener Research Unit revealed that "film music" attracted the largest radio audience amongst Indian youths. The survey revealed that "plays" and "news" ranked in second and third. "Western music", "discussion" and "talks" followed suit in terms of the preferences given by Indian youths. Demonstrating the patriarchal nature of the Indian bureaucracy, despite the results of the survey, the programme administrators determined, "discipline should be taught to the young people and the stress should be on current affairs".[20]

Linked to this group of speeches and writings by adults and students was a widespread consumerist discourse about the alleged inadequacy and indiscipline of Indian youths.

Advertisements offer a unique keyhole into the construction of this undisciplined figure who was central to the youth cultural order of consumption. I have argued elsewhere that colonial and post-colonial era advertisements relating to education, skills, and employment reveal media depictions of an aspiring and enterprising, but generally inadequate, Indian student. They reveal the way capitalist actors sought to exploit his (and the figure was far more frequently a male than a female) employment insecurities and stoked anxieties about failure in the workplace (Wilkinson, 2023).

A public health and safety advert series ran by the Indian railway companies during the late 1950s and early 1960s, and placed in student and youth magazines, reveals the fear of the student's indiscipline extended to the train carriage The advert asked youthful readers to avoid throwing burning cigarette-ends inside carriages, using stoves inside compartments, carrying inflammable articles, travelling without a ticket, and manhandling ticket conductors.[21] Figure 1 notes,

> helping a fellow student in trouble is indeed healthy fellowship – healthier still will be leading him away from foolishness to discretion, from impropriety to what is right and proper. If you find a fellow student travelling without a ticket, convince him that his act is morally wrong and persuade him to pay his fare

This advert gives insights into what the Indian railway companies considered to be indiscipline behaviour (see Haynes, 2015). On the basis that these youthful figures constructed are not plucked from thin air, the meanings behind this advert are rooted in a fear of youth foolishness and impropriety of youths on trains – because a great

help your fellow student

Helping a fellow student in trouble is indeed healthy fellowship— healthier still will be leading him away from foolishness to discretion, from impropriety to what is right and proper. If you find a fellow student travelling without a ticket, convince him that his act is morally wrong and persuade him to pay his fare.

Manhandling the ticket checker is not the way to help your friend; it only helps cover one wrong by another.

EASTERN RAILWAY

FIGURE 1 Bharat Scouts and Guides. April 1962.

many Indian youths did not know, as the advert in figure one notes, "what is right and proper". As Haynes (2010, p. 186), notes, "modern consumer-oriented capitalism involve efforts to shape new needs and shape old ones...advertisers draw in some part upon existing understandings and values to be successful". Even if the specificities of the decision-making processes are often lost to the historian, these magazines reveal that capitalist actors placed advertisements that sought to coach this group in their own indiscipline.

UNDERSTANDING STUDENT UNDISCIPLINE

This moral panic about the indiscipline of youth was fundamentally tied up with cycles of student unrest. The accounts offered by officials and politicians were rarely backed up by evidence and the post-colonial elites were vague, unspecific, and ambiguous in their descriptions of student indiscipline. As Di Bona (1966, p. 306), a US scholar studying this phenomenon in the Indian context during the first half of the 1960s noted, on the matter of student unrest, "with rare exceptions, evaluations do not deal with specific cases, concrete in time and place, but attempt to relate the phenomenon to a general understanding of Indian society". He added, revealing the scope of this discourse, "In India no subject has been of more compelling public concern than indiscipline among college and university students" (1966, p. 306).[22] He explored instances of indiscipline at the University of Allahabad, and these provide a useful insight into the types of student indiscipline politicians referred to. He categorised student indiscipline and unrest into the following five categories: "a) Breaches of minor university rules ... b) Student efforts to promote their interests as students ... c) Conflicts with townspeople usually over some real or imagined disregard of student status d) Instances when national politics have inspired students to action, (this was true at the time of the freedom struggle as well as when the Chinese invaded India) e) Student action as an extension of teacher or political factional conflicts on campus" (1966, p. 310).[23]

Theorists and approaches from the western social sciences influenced the discourse on Indian students and youth. Philip G. Altbach, for example, began his distinguished career as one of the United States' leading educationalists with his work *Student Politics in Bombay* (1968) and lent further legitimacy to the alleged crisis of youth indiscipline being a legacy of the freedom struggle. The academisation of this discourse in the Indian context can be contextualised against the backdrop of prominent political scientists, such as Kennan (1968) and Lipset (1972), who were grappling with the "student problem" in the United States.[24] Educationalists in India explained the rise in youth delinquency in western European countries where no similar freedom struggle had occurred, and youth unemployment was relatively low with the concept of "luxury delinquency". Despite their disposable income and their countries affluence, the youths failed to understand "the educative experience of hard work in the service of the community" or "develop a social conscience" (Saiyidains, 1961, p. 24). A distinguished Danish educationist, Rosenkjoer, summed up this perspective, "we have given the youth enough to live by but not enough to live for" (Saiyidains, 1961, p. 29).

Let us take one of the examples that Nehru used as a case-in-point of student indiscipline in his letter to his chief ministers to better understand and define what precisely constituted indiscipline behavior. "The clash at Lucknow", as he referred to it, began and quickly escalated in late August 1953, quietened throughout September and October, probably due to the university holidays, peaked again in early November and had been settled by mid-November except for a few incidences in early 1954. These agitations nominally rose over the attempt to implement a new constitution of the University General Council without reference to the general body of the University Union. On 26th August, four students began a hunger strike and warned if the authorities did not concede to their demands, then new batches of students would join.[25] On 29th August, the Lucknow University authorities closed the University indefinitely "following the students' agitation", and expelled fourteen student leaders on charges of "gross indiscipline and misbehaviour".[26]

After two months, where there was an impasse between the students and the university authorities, the student protests intensified and took a violent turn during the first week of November 1953. On 1st November, The

Times of India reported, "hooligans resorted to arson and paralysed the city's telephone and electricity systems. They burned down two sub-post offices, 21 telephone junction boxes and the files and furniture of Ganesh Ganj Congress Office…All shops remained closed".[27] The authorities placed Lucknow under a sixty-hour curfew for two days. The police open fired on the crowd. They killed one person and wounded twenty-nine. Six of them had bullet injuries. Demonstrating the unacceptability of the police violence, the following month, during an Uttar Pradesh Assembly Debate on the protests, the opposition leader, Mr Raj Narain, demanded a judicial inquiry into these police firings in Lucknow. He listed a series of incidents which, he asserted, proved charges of "police oppression".[28]

It was following this crescendo of student protest-police violence that, on 5th November, it was reported, "the students of Lucknow suspended their agitations to attempt to reach a settlement". The Uttar Pradesh chief minister lifted the curfew and ordered the release of students from the district jail who had been arrested during the agitations on the condition they expressed regret for their conduct.[29]

On 8th November, the Lucknow students "Action Committee" called off their planned strike following twelve hours of negotiation. The university authorities gave assurances that the student expulsion orders would be cancelled, and the student union constitution would be amended in line with their demands.[30] The U.P Government released 438 persons of the 600 people, only around half of which were students, arrested in connection with the disturbances.[31] The following day, however, on November 9th a breakaway group of students "booed and mobbed", pulled down the National Flag from his bonnet and stoned the car of the U.P Health Minister and Treasurer of Lucknow University following the end of a student's meeting which he addressed. The convenor of the Students Action Committee rebuked them, asked them to leave, and dubbed them "a few people who want to disrupt our movement."[32]

On 10th November, the Lucknow University Students, by an overwhelming majority at a general body meeting, withdrew their agitations and assured the University authorities they would remain peaceful and endeavour to, "restore normal conditions in the University".[33] Thereafter, the student unrest came to an end but for the reports of recurring attacks on railway stations, trains, passengers, telegraphs, and telephones throughout mid-November that were allegedly linked to the student protests.[34]

This episode brings to light two important features of student indiscipline. Firstly, the student protests escalated in a dialectical way: that is, the university's attempt to resist demands and the police's attempt to exact reprisals were quickly met with increased student protest that could incorporate a great number of students and that regularly descended into violence. Secondly, networks across the Indian student movements meant that these protests could quickly spread to other cities and campuses. For instance, the police firings in Lucknow during early November 1953 triggered two thousand students from Allahabad University to parade through the streets of their city in a procession on the same day.[35] The processionists carried effigies of the Chancellor and the treasurer of Lucknow University. The Allahabad students announced a general strike in their university and a hartal in the city market in solidarity for the following day.

This is one example of student indiscipline that Nehru found worthy to highlight, and it offers a prime example of the kind of protest that the politicians and officials spoke about. The police-student clashes, generally instigated by elements that were condemned by the mainstream student union, outlasted the mainstream protest, and shaped the news reporting of the student protest. It reveals the way that a small coterie of students bent on violence, who went beyond the scope of the mainstream student movement, could come to be the primary subject of the newspaper reports. In turn, they went on to symbolise the entire student movement and this was extrapolated to all Indian youths across the entire country.

THE CAUSES OF YOUTH INDISCIPLINE

The focus will now turn to the alleged causes of youth and student indiscipline in post-colonial India. The best place to start is again with the Education Advisor to the Government of India designated with remedying this crisis. Kabir (1955, pp. 1–25) outlined four contextual reasons for India's surge in student and youth indiscipline in 1955 that

will be the basis for this discussion: The loss of leadership by teachers, the growth of economic difficulties, defects in the existing system and a general loss of Idealism that has its roots in the freedom struggle.

Firstly, Humanyan Kabir made a link between the indiscipline of youth and the inadequacy of teachers. He held, "the first and foremost cause of the present state of unrest among the students is to be found in the role the teachers play. Where there is effective leadership by teachers, there can be no problem of indiscipline among students" (1955, p. 1). Kabir claimed the sweeping criticism of the education system over the past thirty years had created a loss of respect for universities, colleges and schools and their teachers in India. Moreover, the initial years of the 1950s were distinguished by a trope that, in the words of Kabir, that teachers were "often frustrated and bitter men". Economically poor, with low salaries and often forced into private tuition, he claimed, "teachers do not command the respect and affection of their pupils to the extent they did in the past" (1955, p. 2).

Secondly, the growth of economic difficulties for students reportedly caused their indiscipline. Humayan Kabir wrote, "as the number of pupils has increased and they are drawn from all levels of society, they have started feeling the stress of economic struggle even during student life. In many cases, pupils have to support themselves partially or wholly throughout their school and college days" (1955, p. 3). The severity of their economic difficulties and the lack of employment opportunities for large numbers of educated and semi-educated persons, the top official held, prompted, "in the minds of the younger generation a sense of frustration which threatens to corrode their character and destroy the very basis of society".

Thirdly, Kabir argued the defects in the existing system of Indian education caused the rise of indiscipline among youth was. He argued, "the present system of education is overwhelmingly literary and academic […] it does not offer enough scope to children and adolescents whose tastes and aptitudes point towards an aesthetic technical or practical training". He argued that this had created an aversion to physicality among the educated who are "often lacking in simple manual skills" (1955, p. 4). He highlighted the authoritarian character of intergenerational relations where difference of opinions with an elder is often regarded as disrespect for them and it stifled free-thinking and political discussion, and students responded to this with undiscipline behaviour (1955, p. 4).

Fourthly, Humayun Kabir claimed the indiscipline of youth was a consequence of the freedom struggle. He propagated the political methods of protest of the pre-independence period had wrongly continued into the post-independence period. Kabir wrote,

> In the case of student's and other young persons, this spirit of revolt was aggravated by the atmosphere of defiance engendered by the struggle for independence. Civil Disobedience called upon the people to disobey unjust law, but it was sometimes difficult to draw the line between just law and unjust. Much of the student indiscipline of today is an aftermath of the part they have played during the days of the national struggle (1955, p. 5)

The Indian Journal of Social Work, as one of India's leading social science journals, provides another useful academic perspective for understanding the alleged causes of indiscipline. Dr G.P. Krishna Rao (1955, p. 181), a scholar of Indian adolescence, contended, "the problem of student discipline has to be viewed from different angles: political, economic, social, academic and psychological." He similarly endorsed the widespread belief that student politics had wrongly continued into the post-independence period. He wrote (1955, p. 181),

> In the years of the struggle for freedom, students were freely advised to leave their institutions and join political movements. Organisations and students became adjuncts of the leading political parties in the country, and colleges and universities were active centres of activities of our national leaders [sic] … *This tendency has continued to be, even after independence in 1947, and even after the leaders have advised that the days of freedom struggle are over. The present indiscipline among the students can be attributed to a large extent to this satyagraha-mentality*

Dr G.P. Krishna Rao went on to outline six additional factors to explain the supposed rise in student indiscipline during the early independence period: firstly, the poor relations between students and college or university teachers and the lack of social contact between the two groups. Secondly, students felt grievances in the absence of proper guidance from university teachers and administrators and these grievances broke out, often over a minor issue, into violent demonstrations (1955, p. 182). Thirdly, the examination system was "extremely faulty, and may be partly credited with responsibility for the prevailing indiscipline in the student ranks". Fourthly, a large majority of students confessed that they had too much leisure time and they did not know what to do with it (1955, p. 185). Fifthly, the student's university union had become "the storm-centres of trouble [for] universities and colleges" (1955, p. 186). Sixthly, universities did not provide adequate opportunities to promote students to undertake social work and nation-building activities (1955, p. 187). In sum, a unique feature of the post-colonial period usage of this categorisation was a greater academicization of this idea in addition to increased scholarly efforts to understand this indiscipline as a social phenomenon with causes and remedies. Scholars, policymakers, and politicians use social scientific theoretical ideas to explain the supposed causes of youth and student indiscipline in post-colonial India.

The Student Perspective on their "Undisciplined" Behaviour

The active voice of the youthful subject is almost entirely lacking in these adult's accounts about this social group's behaviour, and here I will attempt to reduce their silence by bringing in student perspectives. The All-India Student Federation (AISF) magazines and pamphlets, written by their student leaders, address the charges of indiscipline levelled at Indian youths. This left-wing student movement with a close association with the Communist Party of India is certainly not representative of all young people yet it is one set of student voices that challenged the discourse. Moreover, the public image of the undisciplined student was especially tied up with the upsurge in the number of cases of left-wing student unrest and violence (and then extrapolated to include all students) and for this reason their opinions and attitudes are important to for this discoursal examination. The argument here is that youths and students did not simply accept this charge and these AISF students understood their alleged indiscipline fundamentally differently. The AISF claimed in 1949,

> The rapid growth of the militant student movement of India, the ever-developing student struggles and the growing unity of the student movement with the toiling masses has struck panic in[to] the hearts of the Government. *The entire bourgeois gentry and the paid 'nationalist' press shrieks about 'indiscipline' among students.* But neither bayonets and bullets of the Government nor its hypocritical propaganda have succeeded in crushing the student movement [...] The glorious student movement of India led by the AISF has irrevocably gone 'astray'. It is irrevocably turning its face away from the capitalist class and has ranged itself in direct opposition to the Government of this class[36]

This quote reveals that from the initial years following independence the students recognised the emergence of this discourse, it's widespreadness, and the role of the mass media in perpetuating it. These student writers embraced this negative representation by claiming they had indeed "irrevocably" set off on a different political path to the post-colonial nationalist elite.

It is important to note that this adult-led and top-down discourse about the inadequacy of the Indian youth failed to distinguish between the different politics of students and their political movements. The National Congress Student Organization (NCSO), for example, contra to the AISF, had a reputation during the early post-colonial-period for generally eschewing protest in favor of development activity that promoted the national and regional Indian National Congress governments. They proposed the establishment of a National Union of Students to achieve unity in 1949 which was purportedly "imperative to save the active students from going astray".[37] Framing the behaviour of their fellow students as having "gone astray" reveals the way congress student leaders

endorsed the narrative about their own social group's indiscipline. For their purported subservience to the Government of India, the AISF designated the NCSO as a part of the "machinery of suppression".[38]

Dr Humayan Kabir, India's top pedagogue concerned with indiscipline, who has featured throughout this article, brought together students for a symposium on indiscipline at the Inter-university Youth Festival in 1955. Kabir expressed his disappointment that nine out of the twenty-five participating universities could not put-up speakers on the theme.[39] One newspaper report claimed this, "suggests how difficult it is for students to enter on the self-criticism that such an inquiry requires". The failure to report on the details of the speeches given by the fourteen who spoke on the issue of indiscipline reveals how little importance was given to the voice of youths themselves by the media. The adult actors who propagated this idea reproduce their silence and reduced the complexities of the youthful subject and their social action to the singularity discursive object-categorisation of the undisciplined youth.

The student leaders of the AISF stressed they protested because of the deterioration in the labour market and the economic difficulties felt by students. The steep rise in the cost of living meant, one leader claimed, "the price of textbooks, paper and other articles of stationery are available only at a fantastic price".[40] The Amrita Bazar Patrika noted that a great many university books were only available at "black-market prices".[41] Student leaders stressed they mobilised protest in response to the sharp rise in school and college fees in every province following independence. It noted, "lakhs of students have to think of abandoning their studies due to their inability to pay the exorbitant fees".[42]

The AISF held the effects of unemployment and inflation on young Indians and rising tuition fees, or what they deemed to be the failure of the economic settlement that followed independence, prompted the unrest that elites dubbed as undisciplined. They reprinted information from *The Nation*, a Calcutta-based newspaper, to bring to light the burden of the post-1947 unemployment crisis on Indian youths. On the 3rd May 1949, for instance, fifty thousand young men, including thousands of graduates, applied for three hundred and fourteen conductors and drivers positions in the Transport Directorate of the West Bengal Government within ten days of the notification.[43,44] The lack of jobs prompted widespread underemployment – for example, another daily newspaper noted one out of every three Poona newsboys was a university student in June 1949.[45]

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this article has not been to endorse the idea that the indiscipline of the Indian youth was great in scale or dangerous but to highlight the emergence of a widespread, top down and nuance-flattening discourse that became culturally constructed as a national allegory for the Indian nation-state. Adult actors propagated the idea that the political methods of the colonial era were no longer acceptable in the post-colonial period, this behaviour was construed as indiscipline, and they held it arose due to the myriad ways the education system and societal structures were failing students and youths.

It was a corollary of the tremendous future role assigned to them and their supposed state of indiscipline that the Indian youth became the object of increased cultural interest in the early post-colonial period. Indeed, the response to this behaviour of students was the establishment of a broad range of youth mobilisations and movements that sought to socially regulate this social body. These included the National Cadet Corps, the Labour and Social Service Camps, the Bharat Sevak Samaj, the National Social Service Scheme, the Youth Hostel Association, the National Book Trust, and the University Film Club (Wilkinson, 2022)

Underpinning all these youth movements and mobilisations was a discursive critique that imagined the collective behaviour of this social group as falling well below what was expected of them. The realisation of a post-colonial state gave Indians the levers of power to organise a novel, top-down and state-organised youth order. The need to organise a mass movement for the country's future citizenry became understood throughout the layers of the Government of India, and the varied apparatus of the Government of India sought to coordinate and direct the

post-colonial youth order. This logic held that the volunteer movements of the colonial era could now only touch the fringes of India's "youth problem" and it was accepted that the newly independent state must accept overall responsibility for the organisation of the national youth movement.

The undisciplined youth was not, however, the only idealisation of youth. The social body of Indian youth could be simultaneously held to be educated and uneducated, governable and ungovernable, undisciplined and disciplinable, strong and physically weak, hard at work for the development of India or in need of being developed. This article has argued, though, that the moral panic about the undisciplined youth was the dominant political discourse, at the national level, about the next generation of citizens. It took on a novel and distinctive shape during the initial years following 1947 and intensified throughout the fifties.

The term "moral panic" is useful here because there was an all-pervasive and far-reaching quality to this societal reaction about the overdramatised condition of youth. This is the first-time moral panic theory has been applied to the history of South Asia as far as this author is aware. Moreover, to borrow the words of Cohen (1972, p. 2), "right-thinking people" and "socially accredited experts" advanced this top-down and national discourse that amounted to an episode of marginalisation in the public debate. This indiscipline of youth, arising from cycles of student protest, can be understood alongside more well-known moral panics about, for instance, youthful cultures of jazz and then rock 'n' roll in the United States or the mods and rockers in Britain. Thompson (1988, p. 2) holds these emergent cultures of the young were similarly all said to be expressions of young people pursuing unacceptable behaviour, as was the case of with the trope about the undisciplined youth in post-colonial India.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

This author does not declare a conflict of interest.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that supports the findings of this study are available in the supplementary material of this article.

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ENDNOTES

[1] For a history of the concept of youth, see Kristine Alexander and Simon Sleight. 2023. *A Cultural History of Youth in the Modern Age*. London: Bloomsbury.

[2] There have been a plethora of studies from the social sciences and natural sciences over the last century that have made a vital contribution to understandings of youthhood in India and across the world. Bronisław Malinowski's *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia* (1922) and Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) established as a cultural topic of investigation. A sociology of youth emerged from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham during the 1970s and 1980s that explored young people's cultural practises and working-class subcultures. See: Willis, Paul. 1977. *Learning to Labour*. Farnborough: Saxon House; Gilroy, Paul. 1987. *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*. London: Hutchinson This British tradition can be juxtaposed with the American school, that emanated from the University of Chicago, which foregrounded youth crime, deviancy, and its consequences. See: Becker, Howard. 1963. *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.

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[22] Ibid. p. 306.

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