Youth and Local Community Engagement in Devon in the 1960s: Voluntary Sector or State Control after the Albemarle Report?

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

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Abstract

Between the publication of the *Albemarle Report* on the Youth Service in 1960 and the findings of the *Fairbairn-Milson Report* into youth and community work in 1969, local authorities in England attempted to rationalise services for young people in line with State directives. The decade began optimistically with policies that aimed to engineer an expansion of the State's role in influencing after-school activities. However, throughout the period progress was hampered by economic constraints and doubts about how to attract an expanding section of the population that appeared to be increasingly influenced by popular culture and consumerism. By the time the Labour Party took over from the Conservative Government mid-decade, debates were already questioning where exactly the Youth Service was going and what it stood for.

The research presented in this thesis contributes to understanding the uneven progress of services for young people during the 1960s by focusing on a specific geographic space and exploring the relationship between local authorities and voluntary organisations. This will contribute to understandings of the negotiated spaces between the two sectors, and consider whether a closer working relationship developed along shared ambitions to provide a service that appealed to all young people, including those harder to engage.

This thesis uses the memories of people in Devon who were involved at the time, as well as local documentary sources, to weave together a case study that sheds light on one specific region in time. By placing small-scale experience under scrutiny it will explore the effectiveness of the State's philosophy in the 1960 directive, and its impact on the voluntary organisations that determined local strategies for engaging young people. The tensions between voluntary agencies and

their official counterparts are rarely researched at a local level and this thesis will place these key actors at the centre of the narrative to give them agency and status in this account of the development of the Youth Service in the 1960s. Studies of the development of the Youth Service in England are largely histories from above and make no claim to have traced how local and national policies became practice on the ground. This thesis attempts to address this omission but also makes no claim that Devon's response was the same as other parts of England and Wales during the 1960s. History from below has a valuable contribution to make to national studies of the Youth Service. This is enriched by the oral contributions and primary sources that help to develop an understanding of how local authorities responded to the young people in their area, the challenges they faced in improving services, and how far their relationship with the voluntary sector changed as a result of the *Albemarle Report*.

Devon

A geographically diverse county with two distinct coastlines, and the longest county road network in England and Wales.

The Blackdown Hills: an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty

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INTRODUCTION
THE FOCUS ON YOUTH: SOCIETY'S 'SEED CORN'[1]
"Our motto was 'Vigilance and Service'....we took it seriously."[2]

In 1961 a young teenager living on the north coast of Devon was recruited at his school by the police to train to save lives in the sea. Aged just fifteen Brian spent all his spare time on the local beach and knew the dangers as well as the fun to be had in the surf. He was also aware that increasing numbers of summer visitors were flocking to the area and that there had been regular drowning accidents when the force of the sea had been underestimated. Brian and his friends used their knowledge of the local conditions to help other people, and continued as surf lifesavers throughout their adolescent years. This is a unique example of how community activism gave the impetus for organising groups of young people in Devon in the 1960s. Connected by a love and an understanding of the sea, young off-duty police officers and local youths from the community joined together and established an effective response team, and a club where young people felt they had agency (Figure 1).

The launch of this surf lifesaving initiative coincided with the early implementation of the *Albemarle Report* which was published in 1960, and was the first influential attempt by the State to raise the status of a national Youth Service. The Report reasserted the responsibility of local authorities across England and Wales to use the central funding they received to give young people appropriate after-school activities. This was a turning point after previous attempts to shift the responsibility for providing after-school services from the Voluntary Sector to the

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[1] Bernard Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State: a History of the Youth Service in England 1939-1979,* (Youth Work Press, Leicester, 1999), p. 4. Davies states that the State focussed on nurturing the section of the population openly defined as 'seed corn' – or the emergent 'human capital.'

[2] Keith, interview 5 April 2013. (See Bibliography for details of interviewees).

State had failed, and the favourable political climate aided its rapid ratification. In

From Voluntaryism to Welfare State: A History of the Youth Service in England from

1939-1979, Bernard Davies claims that the impact of the *Albemarle Report* was

variable across the country, but this assumption is largely based on comparisons of

quantifiable levels of local authority spending.[3] In response to the lack of in-depth,

qualitative county-by-county research, this thesis addresses this omission by

exploring the report's impact in Devon.

Figure 1: These young teenagers helped to establish Devon's first surf lifesaving club
in the early 1960s.[4]

Davies notes that some county authorities demonstrated their commitment to the

recommendations of the *Albemarle Report* by more than doubling their expenditure

on the Youth Service.[5] But this tells us little about the broader impact and raises the

question of how this compares to counties like Devon with lower levels of central

government funding and vast rural areas. It was inevitable that the Report's

effectiveness across England and Wales would be uneven because of the range of

financial and organisational structures that existed within local authority agencies,

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[3] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 55.
[4] Photograph from the private collection of interviewee Keith. Chapter Three will explore this example
of local youth activism and its place in the development of the Youth Service in Devon.
[5] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 58.

and the variable levels of willingness to grasp the initiative and adapt quickly to change. However, in-depth research is lacking in the historiography of the Youth Service. By taking Devon as a case study this thesis explores how one county's rural, coastal, and urban communities adapted to the Albemarle recommendations. By evaluating its impact in Devon, this thesis adds a local perspective to the national story of how far responsibility for the Youth Service shifted from the Voluntary Sector to the State during the 1960s.

The focus of this research will be on ways in which the populations of a specific geographic space responded to the *Albemarle Report's* directives and how far its ethos impacted on existing voluntary organisations. Other surf lifesaving clubs evolved along the English coast during the 1960s, but the involvement of the local police force in the North Devon club was unique and raises questions about power relationships between State agency and community action. This thesis will explore this and other examples of youth service initiatives to question how far State agency after Albemarle influenced the development of youth services in Devon. It will question whether there were tensions between voluntary agencies and their local authority representatives as autonomy and power were negotiated. It will analyse whether attempts to rationalize services after Albemarle led to gradual changes in provision of a standardized Youth Service across Devon, how State agency materialized at a local level, and how effective it was in engaging young people in the county.

The notions of culture, identity, community and inclusion, gender, community and family that underpinned broad debates about the needs of young people during the 1960s were not universally experienced. For example, in the isolated coastal areas of North Devon the resourcefulness of the surf lifesavers demonstrated the

relevance of youth agency in negotiating change and challenged some of the broad

assumptions made about 'youth.'

Youth as 'Problem'

An article in the *Sunday Times* (Figure 2) was published two months before

the Albemarle Committee released its recommendations to provide young people

with a rationalized and reinvigorated Youth Service. The need for young people to

develop 'character and abilities' mentioned in the article was based on assumptions

of traditional social norms and inferred that these attributes were lacking in young

people. Without 'character and abilities' they were deemed more likely to be

detached from the guiding hand of the Youth Service and more likely to be

susceptible to delinquent behaviour.[6]

Figure 2: *Sunday Times*, 15th November 1959[7]

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[6] House of Lords debate, *The Youth Service,* 4 February 1959,
Hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1959/feb/04theyouthservices#S5LVO213PO19590204_
HOL_55, accessed 12 September 2013.

[7] *Sunday Times*, 15th November 1959, Gale Document No.FPI801970992. The age group 15-18 relates to the anticipated raising of the school leaving age from 15 to 16 and accessibility to further and higher education for all. Debates continued through the next decade and the phasing in of comprehensive education was accelerated by the Labour government from 1964. The school leaving age was finally raised to 16 in 1972.

This newspaper article heralded a new era for the existing 'youth service,' as well as proposals for the education of fifteen to eighteen year olds. Implicit in post-war rhetoric surrounding a 'youth service' for 'young people' was an established network of voluntary youth organisations that operated within each local authority area. These may or may not have received financial or other support from the Public Sector, relying on subscriptions or other self-generated funds, or a mixture of both. The relationship between the Voluntary Sector and the State via local governance was at the heart of the proposed transition of an unregulated 'youth service' into a rationalised and distinct Youth Service, led by trained youth leaders in fit-for-purpose buildings. This thesis will use the term 'Youth Service' as a signifier of the Albemarle model that was launched with the publication of the Report in 1960, and it will focus on its progress in Devon.

The term 'young people' generally refers to those aged between fourteen and twenty-one, which is the definition adopted for this thesis. However, this demographic over-simplification, although a reference point for policy-makers, ignored the range of social and economic factors that prevented homogenisation. Stratification of the young based merely on age was impacted during the 1960s by ongoing debates about the raising of the school leaving age from fourteen to sixteen, mentioned in the *Sunday Times* article above. Young people's right to a full education that would prepare them for the future was compromised by the economic value of the workplace contribution made by fourteen to sixteen-year-olds, the scarcity of teachers, and the inadequacy of school buildings. During the 1960s the gradual move towards better education for all and a significant extension of higher education was driven by the meritocratic ideology of social mobility and the potential

for expanding a 'pool of talent' from the post-war 'bulge' of young people.[8] Hall and Jefferson's work on youth culture, published originally in 1975 as a series of working papers, challenged the mythical aspect of the 'never had it so good' ideology. Poverty and class had not been eradicated by the growing consumerism or materialism. Colin MacInnes speculated at the beginning of the 1960s that British society may no longer be based on notions of rich or poor, but on 'teenagers on the one hand and on the other all those who have assumed the burdens of adult responsibility.' [9] The image of young people influenced by the comparative ease of consumerism often carried with it the threat of 'what could go wrong.'[10]

Stanley Cohen's study of youth cults in the 1960s pointed out that their behaviour 'touched the delicate and ambivalent nerves through which post-war social change in Britain was being experienced.'[11] Resentment was directed at the young because of their spending power and sexual freedom and their apparent flouting of traditional norms, epitomised during the Brighton brawls between the Mods and Rockers.[12] Cohen also pointed out that other factors impacted on the level of the response from the public and the media to the unrest: the seaside resorts where Mods and Rockers caused problems were becoming less popular as holiday destinations and local businesses were losing out to foreign package holidays.[13] In the case of Brighton hostility towards young people was accentuated by the growing

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[8] Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (Eds), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, (Routledge, London, 1993), p.20.
[9] Ibid., p.27.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers,* (Martin Robertson, Oxford, 1980), p. 192.
[12] Jon Savage, *Mods v Rockers: Two Tribes Go To War*, 21 October 2014. http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20140515-when-two-tribes-went-to-war, accessed 22 February 2019. In the spring of 1964 the Mods and Rockers caused disturbances in the seaside towns of Brighton, Clacton, Margate and Bournemouth. What was trumpeted as a vicious exercise in national degeneration was to some extent pre-hyped by the press. Although an estimated thousand youths were involved, only seventy-six were arrested in Brighton.
[13] Cohen, *Folk Devils,* p. 196.

number of students in the town from Sussex University: as one of the new generation of universities, students there were encouraged to challenge entrenched ideas and be politically radical, and some expressed their nonconformity in the way they dressed.[14] Studies by Dick Hebdige on fashion and style as highly visible signifiers of youth subcultures point out their value in strengthening group identity and shocking those holding dominant values, as well as the institutions they represented.[15] For example the trend for young men to wear their hair long was driven both by popular culture and as a reaction against national conscription in America. It provided a highly visible revolt against the short-back-and-sides rigour of the armed forces, and signified rebellion against cultural norms and the pursuit of self-expression and personal liberty. By growing their hair the rule makers were challenged by the implicit message 'we are men and we are not your kind of men.'[16] Similarly, the highly visible stylized fashion worn by the Mods and Rockers singled them out as belonging to and identifying with specific youth ideologies that openly challenged convention and widened generational differences. This was part of a wider trend for young people to experiment with new ways of being and belonging, using style and popular culture to express themselves and challenge social norms. Style became a signifier of the ideologies underlying distinct youth subcultures, challenging the principle of unity and cohesion, and contradicting the 'myth of consensus.'[17]

After a long debate in the House of Lords after the Mods and Rockers unrest at Clacton in 1964, the House noted with concern the continuing increase in juvenile

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[14] *Sussex University in the Sixties*, http://www.sussex.ac.uk/fiftyyears/yourmemories, accessed 14 February 2019.

[15] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: the Meaning of Style,* (Methuen, London, 1979), p. 114.

[16] Gael Graham, 'Flaunting the Freak Flag: Karr v Schmidt and the Great Hair Debate in American High Schools 1965-1975,' *The Journal of American History*, Vol.91, No.2, September 2004, p.543, https://www.jstor.org/stable/3660710, accessed 14 February 2019.

[17] Ibid.

crime and outbreaks of hooliganism among young people, and urged the

government to ensure that the courts had adequate means to deal effectively with

young offenders.[18] The influence of certain American films on the behaviour of young

people was acknowledged during the debate, but it was suggested that the demand

had been 'fed by private enterprise in the United States, catering for perverted

tastes.'[19] State rhetoric demonstrated the frustration and confusion around causes

and effect, depicting young people as both society's problem, and at the same time,

victims of popular culture and poor upbringing:

> The seeds of delinquency are sown in the home, particularly when
>
> delinquents lapse into crime. The causes of broken marriages, betting,
>
> and drunkenness are obviously well-known, but it is not appreciated
>
> that the moral standards maintained by parents have a most vital
>
> influence on their children.[20]

Although some young people during this period resisted traditional dominant

values and norms by choosing different ways of subverting notions of acceptability,

this was not universal across England and Wales, or in urban and rural areas of

counties like Devon. However, the Albemarle recommendations impelled all local

authorities to respond and ensure young people were positively influenced by

structured leisure-time activities run by fully trained youth leaders. Through the

1960s there were research projects to establish whether the Youth Service was

making a difference and engaging young people, in particular those who were

averse to joining organized groups and thus seen as outside of societal control. The

outsider, the less able, the unattached and 'unclubbable' young person was

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[18] House of Lords debate on *Delinquency and Hooliganism,* 27 April 1964,
https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=1964-04-27a.31, accessed 12 June 2018.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

regarded as vulnerable to the wrong kind of influence and open to delinquency.[21]

National statistics quoted during the 1959 House of Lords debate claimed that of the

2.5 million boys and girls in work aged fifteen to nineteen, 1.5 million were outside

any form of youth service. Of those growing up in the new towns built during the

1950s and 1960s it was estimated that sixty percent were not engaged in any youth

organizations.[22] Reports through the decade commented on the degree of alienation

felt by many young people and raised concerns regarding youth cults that offered

alternative communities with which to identify and integrate. The organized provision

of places for young people to meet and be influenced in positive ways, offered

opportunities for tackling specific problem areas of the country and for monitoring

any correlation between engagement and delinquency. The Albemarle Committee

was appointed three months after the race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill but

the 1960 Report barely referred to issues of integration.[23] Albemarle's brief

suggestion was that the solution to the integration of 'new faces' into the British way

of life was for youth leaders in those towns and cities to address local issues.[24]

Young people were also challenging the way their education was being delivered: for

example, in 1968 students at Hornsey College of Art in London occupied the college

and attempted to reconstruct the way they were being taught along more

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[21] House of Lords Debate, 4th February 1959, *The Youth Service,*
Hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1959/feb/04/theyouthservices#S5LVO213PO_
19590204_HOL_55, accessed 12 September 2013.

[22] Ibid.

[23] The House of Lords debate19 November 1958 referred to "recent outbursts of colour prejudice and violence in this country. Between August 24 and September 17, when the disturbances virtually came to an end, 51 coloured people were arrested in the Metropolitan Police District, including 34 in the Notting Hill area. For white people the corresponding figures are 126 arrested in the Metropolitan Police District, including 73 in the Notting Hill area. The white figures, therefore, are considerably higher than the coloured. I am assured that no useful figures can be given for the number of convictions up to the present, since many of the cases are still outstanding. In Nottingham there were serious disturbances on August 23 and on August 30, when 23 white people and 2 coloured people were arrested." https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/sittings/1958/nov/19, accessed 12 October 2018.

[24] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 49.

participatory lines.[25] The value of including young people in the design of their services was recognized by Fred Milson, co-writer of the 1969 *Fairbairn-Milson Report*, who acknowledged how out of date the *Albemarle Report* had become in a relatively short time, claiming that young people growing up in Britain had inherited a 'chaos of disordered values' and a continued 'confusion about the social role of the adolescent.'[26]

The Impact of National Socio-political Change

Although the rate of growth in the national economy grew from 2.5 percent in 1960 to 3.4 percent in 1964, in the second half of the decade this fell back to 2.5 percent, beginning a relative decline compared to other Western economies.[27] Jim Tomlinson points out that the post-war economy was an object of management, and the political impetus to speed up economic growth had to be balanced with inflation. For the incoming Labour government in 1964, 'declinism' was at first problematic because of its ideological challenge to affluence, particularly as living standards continued to rise during the 1960s, despite the relative economic decline.[28] The following credit squeeze and rising unemployment set in place the economic problems that led to labour unrest and a rapid economic downturn in the 1970s. These wider issues impacted on the levels of national and local resources that were available for the successful implementation of services, in particular those for young people. Local government experienced additional challenges in the early 1960s after the decisions of the Local Government Commission were published in 1963 and these issues will be explored in Chapter Two.

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[25] Fred Milson, *Youth in a Changing Society* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1972), p. 123
[26] Ibid, p. 35.
[27] C. P. Hill, *British Economic and Social History 1700-1982,*(Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1985), p.293.
[28] Jim Tomlinson, 'Inventing Decline: The Falling behind of the British Economy in the Postwar Years,' *The Economic History Review, New Series,* Vol. 49, No. 4, (November, 1996), p. 750.

The structure of the State and the distribution of power were subject to changes during this period, and the evolution of 'emancipatory politics' through the 1960s and 1970s can be seen as a breaking away from the fixed practices of the past, and the changes gradually percolated across communities in England and Wales.[29] This was evident in the growth of participatory policy-making that encouraged people who used public services to have a voice, and also strengthened the voluntary organisations that lobbied the State on behalf of the people they represented. The pragmatic relationship between the two sectors was at the root of the politics of health and welfare services in this period. Anthony Giddens sees this reflexive nature of organisations as key in the regularised control of social relations.[30] This was particularly evident in the way the State tried to address new issues as society changed and communities became less connected through the situated-ness of place.

The effect of the pervading shadow of international conflict during the post-war years was addressed by Jeff Nuttall in his 1968 book, *Bomb Culture.* Nuttall pointed out that for young people 'it was impossible to live with the bomb and the cold war and retain the sympathetic faculties.'[31] The action of the Mods and Rockers, Nuttall claimed, were the only way a growing mind could deal with the constant probability of unprecedented pain and horror which the 'squares' took such trouble to preserve.[32] Commentators like Nuttall saw that underlying much of the behaviour deemed delinquent and subversive was a reaction to the hypocrisy of those upholding traditional norms. The hegemonic nature of popular culture aimed at

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[29] Giddens defines emancipatory politics as 'a generic outlook concerned above all with liberating individuals and groups from constraints which adversely affect their life chances.' Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity, Self and Society in the Late Modern* Age, (Polity Press, Cambridge, 1991), p. 210.
[30] Giddens, *Modernity*, p. 211.
[31] Jeff Nuttall, *Bomb Culture*, (1968, reprinted by Strange Attractor Press, London, 2018), p. 33.
[32] Ibid.

young people was both reflecting and reinforcing the tensions between notions of a pre-war idyll and the current social and political uncertainties.

Figure 3: *Sunday Times,* 2nd October 1960[33]

This unease was acknowledged in a statement made by the Minister of Education at the Manchester Youth Conference in October 1960 (Figure 3) that acknowledged the global insecurity and uncertainty being experienced by young people. For the two million who were not attached to a youth organisation, 'the possibility of a nuclear war must profoundly alter the texture of their thinking.'[34] As social policy, the *Albemarle Report* attempted to address issues that the State saw as troublesome and a threat to the future of the country. Young people were the future of both economic and social stability, but incidents of civil unrest headlined in the media meant that the trope of youth as trouble became a familiar one. Their role models appeared to be founded in popular culture and their ideology seemed to be one of rebellion rather than compliance. Anthony Giddens raises the notion of authority versus uncertainty.[35]Albemarle can be seen as an attempt by the State to

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[33] *Sunday Times*, 2nd October 1960, Gale Document No.FP1801970992.

[34] Youth's Needs in Atom Age', *Sunday Times, London*, *2nd October 1960*, Sunday Times Digital Archive, Gale Document No. FP1802507665.

[35] Giddens, *Modernity*, p. 194.

introduce some aspect of certainty into the lives of young people at a time when, according to Arthur Marwick, a 'vast number of innovative activities were taking place simultaneously by unprecedented interaction and acceleration.'[36] Other periods in history are regarded as significant decades of change, but the uniqueness of the 1960s can perhaps be linked to the pace and universal aspect of cultural developments that appeared to impact so deeply on British public life. Added to this were the shifts in local communities and kinship groups, and a dwindling interest in religion or other sources of binding doctrines.[37]

Historiography often stereotypes the 1960s as a period of permissiveness and innovation, but change is never simultaneous or uniform.[38] Attempts to untangle the complicated paradoxes of the 1960s have meant that, as Marcus Collins points out, 'polemicism and romanticism continue unabated.'[39] Arthur Marwick points out that the decade has been subject to 'downright misrepresentation.'[40] He offers a reminder that although the decade produced significant changes and innovations, the 1960s were part of a continuum of social and economic expansion that began in the 1950s. Equally, in the case of the Youth Service many developments during the 1970s had their roots in the decade earlier. Historians such as Marwick have been criticised by more recent writers such as Dominic Sandbrook for taking a rather utopian view of the changes attributed to the 1960s. Sandbrook claims that entrenched post-war attitudes were in fact strengthened by the affluence induced by the new technological possibilities of the decade, rather than dislodged by cultural changes.

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[36] Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties* (OUP, Oxford, 1998)*, p. 7.
[37] Giddens, *Modernity*, p. 195.
[38] Elizabeth Wilson, *Only Halfway to Paradise: Women in Postwar Britain 1945-1968*, (Tavistock, London, 1980), p. 7.
[39] Marcus Collins (Ed), *The Permissive Society and its Enemies: Sixties British Culture* (Rivers Oram, London, 2007) p. 33.
[40] Marwick, *The Sixties*, p. 3.

He points out that at the time most commentators were keener to celebrate change than to acknowledge continuity, not least because change made for a better story.[41]

To understand more fully the socio-political environment in which the 1960 *Albemarle Report* was published, the following section will explore key themes that impacted on young people's lives during the 1960s. These are: gender and family, youth and culture, class, identity and community, and the relationship between the Voluntary Sector and the power of the State.

Gender and Family

Between 1960 and 1970 divorce rates more than doubled and shifting gendered roles were seen as undermining traditional notions of marriage and family.[42] Marriage in the post-war years increasingly relied on enduring voluntary commitment rather than economic survival, and changes to the traditional patriarchal model enabled the reconstruction of new forms of kinship groups.[43] In his study of the family published in 1962, Ronald Fletcher saw free choice and personal responsibility as a positive aspect of marriage, potentially more rewarding as the working out of relationships depended on continual individual effort.[44]The negative assumptions made in the *Royal Commission Report of 1956* on divorce were criticised in an article written by Oscar Kahn-Freund, Professor of Law at the University of Oxford, for the *Modern Law Review*:[45]

> The plain fact is that we know next to nothing about the true
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> relationship between the divorce rate on the one side and the

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[41] Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat: a History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties* (Little, Brown, London, 2006), p. 53.
[42] Office of National Statistics, www.divorce-rates-marriage-ons#data, accessed 16 October 2018.
[43] Giddens, *Modernity*, p. 179.
[44] Ronald Fletcher, *Britain in the Sixties: the Family and Marriage*, (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1962), p.130.
[45] O. Kahn-Freund, 'Divorce Law Reform?' *Modern Law Review,* Vol. 19, No. 6 (November, 1956), pp.573-600.

incidence of marriage failures on the other, and what the Commission

says about it is largely based on intelligent guesswork and no more.[46]

Recent oral research on post-war depression in housewives by Ali Haggett found

that two prominent themes emerged that were the underlying causes: marital discord

and early traumatic experience, which included wartime bombing. Haggett concludes

that, although the interviewees were arguably drawing upon the discourse of

domesticity that was dominant at the time, their pragmatic approach to the ups and

downs of domestic life were 'regarded as commonplace' and not all housewives

experienced their role simply as 'exhausting and stultifying.' [47]

The State entered the private realm in an attempt to coalesce the interests of

individuals and society, and these diametrically opposed valuations are considered

by Norbert Elias to be at the core of any ideological struggle between parties and

states and permeated with emotive content.[48] The tensions between the self-interest

of individualism and the interests of society as a whole were based on traditional

notions. This was made clear in the Royal Commission's rhetoric, which was 'easily

influenced by emotional preconceptions instead of factual proof' and based on

assumptions that an enduring marriage was a happy one.[49] During this period social

policy aimed at young people and families was conflicted: if disconnected juveniles

were victims of broken homes, was it right that the State made it easier for parents to

divorce? The work undertaken by Elizabeth Bott on the structure of families and the

complex process of internalising social norms across class boundaries was research

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[46] Ibid., p. 577.
[47] Ali Haggett, 'Desperate Housewives and the Domestic Environment in Post-War Britain: Individual Perspectives,' *Oral History,* Vol.37, No.1, (Spring, 2009), p.60.
[48] Norbert Elias, *The Society of Individuals,* (Continuum, London, 1991), p. 84.
[49] Kahn-Freund, 'Divorce Law Reform*?'*.

that Kahn-Freund felt was lacking in the *Royal Commission Report*.[50] Bott

interviewed twenty families in London and made several visits over time to reach her

conclusions. She found that there was 'a considerable variation in the way in which

spouses acted in domestic life' and related these to the wider themes of norms,

reference groups, and ideologies.[51] The work was an attempt to assess what a

'normal' English family was like, and the way that male and female networks

operated individually, and where they crossed. This revealed a complex picture that

challenged broad social policy makers' assumptions about the break-up of

communities and families. The lack of understanding of the connectedness between

personality structures and social structures is highlighted by Kahn-Freund, but the

difficulties of extricating the factual core from the desires and fears of those involved

in the struggles were also apparent in the *Albemarle Report.*

Placing the family within a wider community that was benefiting from better

material welfare, Fletcher reminded readers of the poverty and squalor that until very

recently was typical of many deprived families. Drawing on recent studies he held

that the key functions of families - attachment, education, faith, loyalty and support –

endured. The family had 'simply changed in such ways as to become adjusted to

the demands of a highly complex industrial and urban society;' the wider welfare

provision which had been made had not denuded the family of its importance but

was 'the manifestation of a continually increasing recognition of its importance.'[52]

Fletcher claimed that the family in contemporary Britain had not declined in nature or

importance, and that 'its characteristics do not warrant at all the charge of moral

decline and that no good end will be served by any falsely conceived and backward-

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[50] Elizabeth Bott, *Family and Social Network: Roles, Norms and External Relationships in Ordinary Families*, (Free Press, London, 1971), p. 224.
[51] Ibid., p. xv.
[52] Ibid., p. 198.

looking judgments and policies.'[53] Fletcher saw the functions of the family shifting

over time but retaining its crucial role in the development, education, and health of

the young and the subsequent care of the older generation.

Young women gained a great deal of autonomy as a result of social changes

in the 1960s, but issues of sexual liberation are contested by writers such as Carol

Dyhouse who question whether young women were the casualties of permissiveness

or its beneficiaries.[54] Although far from universally available, new methods of

contraception empowered women to postpone marriage and make other choices

about careers and independence. However, Bill Osgerby points out that the image

of the teenage girl as a 'signifier of social change' often proved more aspirational

than real.[55] The 1960s is sometimes seen as a critical period when gendered

spaces were re-negotiated but notions of how men and women should and could

relate to each other have been regularly disturbed and challenged over time.[56]

The ways in which activities for young people were designed and

programmed during the 1960s reveals much about traditional frameworks of gender,

and were prescribed along settled principles that were rooted in assumptions of what

young girls and boys needed in order to take their rightful place within the

community. Changing gendered and familial roles in the 1960s impacted on the

decisions young people made about the groups they joined, their motivation to form

new communities of shared identity, and the kinds of activities that engaged them.

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[53] Ibid., p. 209.
[54] Carol Dyhouse, *Girl Trouble: Panic and Progress in the History of Young Women*, (Zed Books, London, 2013), p. 166.
[55] Bill Osgerby, *Youth in Britain Since 1945,* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1997), p. 54.
[56] Dyhouse, *Girl Trouble,* p. 7.

Youth and Culture

The 1960s have come to signify the collapse of automatic deference to adult authority: 'youth' as metaphor for 'problem' was cited in much of the popular press at the time. (Figure 4)

Figure 4: Mods on scooters flock to meet Rockers on motorbikes in Hastings, 16th May 1964
(Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)

On Easter Monday 1964, the press went big with the story: 'Day of Terror by Scooter Groups' (*Daily Telegraph*), 'Youngsters Beat Up Town - 97 Leather Jacket Arrests' (*Daily Express*), and 'Wild Ones Invade Seaside - 97 Arrests' (*Daily Mirror*). Citing "fighting, drinking, roaring, rampaging teenagers on scooters and motorcycles", the *Mirror* referenced the notorious 1953 Marlon Brando film, *The Wild One*, which in mid-sixties Britain was still banned by the British Board of Film Censors, as likely to incite juvenile delinquency.[57] After unrest at seaside resorts or at political demonstrations various campaigns in the media centred on the emerging 'youth problem' and delinquency. The term 'teenager' originated in the US and became embedded in post-war rhetoric and synonymous with 'trouble.' Generational exigency is implicit in our reading of the 1960s, but John Springhall makes the point that before the 1950s Teddy Boys and the rise of the 'teenager,' young people had

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[57] John Savage, '*Mods and Rockers: Two Tribes Go To War*,' BBC Culture, 21 October 2013, http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20140515-when-two-tribes-went-to-war,accessed, 22 February 2019.

been difficult to distinguish from their parents: not only did they conform to adult values but they even dressed like them.[58] However, Springhall's metaphor for continuity rather than change, ignores the pockets of generational rebellion through style that had gone before. Female fashion in particular was influenced by class and economic dependency, and the vulnerability of being labelled an 'outsider.'

The study by Carol Dyhouse of representations of girlhood shows how ideas about femininity and respectability have 'proved a battleground' over time.[59] Although seventy percent of young people were in full time employment between 1950 and 1970 and experiencing a greater sense of independence and control over their lives, young women were impacted by notions of respectability and marriageability, both of which represented financial and emotional security.   However, traditional gendered notions of how men and women should relate to each other were being challenged and young women in particular gained autonomy as a result of social changes. Dyhouse points out that the widening of their horizons through financial independence opened up choices for young women to work, and live or travel the world independently. As contraception became more reliable through the 1960s, 'the idea of falling in love and committing for life became seen as questionable.'[60] In the inter-war years 'anxiety about working-class girls' sexual precocity and their ability to disguise their social origins had agitated journalists and politicians alike.'[61] Although these developments were far from universally experienced, popular culture and technology democratized the trends signifying the new freedoms for young people and made them increasingly accessible as the 1960s progressed. The impact of

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[58] John Springhall, *Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain 1860-1960* (Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 1986), p. 222.
[59] Dyhouse, *Girl Trouble,* p.8.
[60] Ibid., p. 173.
[61] Selina Todd and Hilary Young, '*Baby Boomers to Beanstalks: Making the Modern Teenager in Post-War Britain*', *Cultural and Social History*, 9:3, (2012), p.456.

implicit gendered notions on the way that services for young people were delivered will be explored in this thesis to establish how far understandings of the needs of girls and young women had adapted to this changing social landscape.

During the 1960s the work of Stuart Hall, at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, to map, record, and comment on critical social change in the twentieth century produced a study with Tony Jefferson which contributed an understanding of the relationship between young people and cultural change. According to their study of youth subcultures, culture was 'the way through which social relations of a group are structured and shaped; but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted.'[62] Crucial cultural signifiers such as hairstyles and fashion offered a way through which to become a social being and form identity and alliance with others. Culture 'embodies the trajectory of group life through history,'[63] claimed Hall and Jefferson who also made an important point about accessibility to the raw materials needed to develop culture; it was here that they placed the emergent teenage consumer. However, the 'dominant culture of a complex society is never a homogenous structure, but a layered one...containing different traces from the past as well as emergent elements in the present.'[64]

Young people in the 1960s were as diverse a group as in any other decade in history, but this is not always reflected in historiography of the period. In his 1969 book, Christopher Booker placed the beginning of a growing consciousness of a new age in the mid-1950s. He suggested one way to put youth rebellion into context was that in 1954 there were 745 convictions of young people for crimes of violence, but

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[62] Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (Eds), *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Postwar Britain,* (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 1975), p. 10.
[63] Ibid., p. 11.
[64] Ibid., p. 13.

this shot up to 2,051 in 1958.[65] Booker concluded that the behaviour of young

people manifested the revolt against outdated notions of social acceptability, and

was driven by the vitality and originality of the new that challenged generational

norms. However, during the 1960s assumptions that were made about young people

being indifferent to the plight of others in their communities were based largely on

media sensationalism. They were often presented as uninterested, uninvolved and

self-centred, but few studies were undertaken to establish their actual involvement in

altruistic activities; campaigning and political activities were not considered.[66] The

demonization of post-war youth that started with the Teds in the 1950s and went on

to the Mods and Rockers in the 1960s should be seen against an inherent unease

about Britain's position in the world and the role of young people in the future.

Contrary to the notion that the commodification of popular youth culture was

exploitative, it could be seen that growing affluence in the country offered young

people new spaces to shape their identities and redefine established models of

community. For example, this thesis will show that young people in rural areas

formed such kinships around single issue interests, bonding together through pride

in their communities and traveling to towns to work and to meet friends and

colleagues. It will explore how young people did this by taking Devon as a case

study and considering the fluidity of collective identities at a local level that involved

young volunteers risking their lives, helping others to develop, and supporting their

community's economy.

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[65] Christopher Booker, *The Neophiliacs: Revolution in English Life in the Fifties and Sixties*, (Pimlico, London, 1992), p. 39.
[66] Debi Roker, Katie Player and John Coleman, 'Exploring Adolescent Altruism: British Young People's Involvement in Voluntary Work and Campaigning' in Miranda Yates and James Youniss (Eds), *Roots of Civic Identity: International Perspectives on Community Service and Activism in Youth*, (CUP, 1999), p. 58.

Ray Gosling, one of the commentators on young people in the 1960s, regretted that a clean break from the past and a dynamic approach to the provision of youth services had failed to materialise in the 1960 *Albemarle Report*. In an article in 1961, Gosling pointed out that in Britain there were five million young people - those between education, apprenticeship and emotional adjustment, and settling down as young married people. Claiming that 'today's youth is not only starting younger but finishing later....the glories of being a teenager are not easily given up,'[67] he set out a plea in his article:

> What is required however above all on the part of the general public is
>
> an imaginative appreciation of the changed outlook of young people
>
> today...moral indignation is best kept for what is really morally
>
> reprehensible, and even then will be ineffective unless it is deeply
>
> informed by sympathetic understanding.[68]

Gosling attacked the way that decisions about what young people needed were being taken by 'top brass', asking why 'are all these military personnel engaged in the service of youth in such very large numbers?':

> Youth of today are just sick and tired of the vicar-type youth club which
>
> we have now. People think that we haven't any minds of our own and
>
> that we need some older and more intelligent man to look after us.[69]

Gosling was writing from an urban perspective having run his own agency at the age of twenty, organising rock and roll dances and going on to direct a local youth club in Leeds. He caught the mood of the time at the start of a new decade and pleaded a case for the average young person who needed a dynamic service that offered 'dignity, independence and power; that will have a socialising influence' on the young

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[67] Ray Gosling, *Lady Albemarle's Boys* (Young Fabian Publication, London, January 1961), p.9.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid*.,* p. 16.

who were capable of organising themselves democratically and creating clubs they felt were their own, giving them a communal sense of responsibility within the wider world.[70]

In his study of youth culture, David Fowler found that historical and sociological analyses of youth culture during the 1960s has been based on a false premise: that pop culture was an expression of youth culture. This is an oversimplification, Fowler claims, and points out that social historians such as Richard Hoggart (who was a member of the Albemarle Committee) failed to explore the effects of compulsory military service on 1960s youth or the realities of working-class life for many young people.[71] The *Albemarle Report* voiced concerns regarding civil stability once National Service ended, since call-up had been seen as a route to discipline and education for young men. The demise of conscription was mourned by those who regarded its rigours as a useful rite of passage for the generation born post-war, but a recent study by Richard Vinen claims that the withdrawal of thousands of fit young men from the economy had hampered British post-war reconstruction. He points out that conscription had not only harmed the British economy, but had engendered resentment at a time of full employment for the working classes.[72]

Hall and Jefferson warned of the dangers in over-using the term 'mass' as in 'mass culture,' which has led to misplaced assumptions that there was a uniform cultural process across the country.[73] They also criticised commentators like Hoggart for implying that young people were passive consumers of popular culture

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[70] Ibid, p. 26.
[71] David Fowler, *Youth Culture in Modern Britain c1920-1970,* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2008), p. 197.
[72] Richard Vinen, *National Service: Conscription in Britain 1945-1963* (Allen Lane, London, 2014) reviewed in the *Guardian* 23 August 2014 by Richard Davenport-Hines, and in the *Observer* 23 August 2014 by Ian Thomson.
[73] Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, p. 18.

on a national scale.[74] Institutional struggles to keep up with the gathering pace of change, both technical and cultural, appeared to be at the root of problems with the sustainability of services for young people. At the National Union of Teachers Annual Conference in 1960, the tension between the 'values inculcated in the classroom and those encountered by young people in the world outside' led to a conference resolution to call together key agents in education and the media to resolve the issue.[75] The demand for censorship and control was mourned by Stuart Hall as a 'divorce between art and life,' which inherently implied a clearly defined and unchanging traditional culture.[76] Institutional rigidity in the face of rapid change will be a theme that will be returned to in this study through giving voice to people who lived in the urban, rural, and coastal areas of Devon in the 1960s. Hegemonic cultures, Hall and Jefferson argued, are 'never free to reproduce and amend themselves without contradiction and resistance,'[77] and the passage from old to new across such a county was inevitably uneven and incomplete. It is the tensions between established institutions and emergent practices which is interesting to this study, and these will become apparent as it traces the structural changes that were attempted by local authorities, educationists, and youth services during the 1960s. With the ending of conscription in 1960 (the last recruits were released from the service in 1963),[78] and concern growing about the behaviour of young people, the *Albemarle Report* attempted to address the lack of structured services that would help mould them into responsible citizens. Mindful of the demographic implications of a youth population 'bulge,' the Report's recommendations focused largely on

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[74] Ibid,, p. 19.
[75] Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel, *The Popular Arts* (Hutchinson, London, 1964), p. 23.
[76] Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals,* p. 66.
[77] Ibid.
[78] National Army Museum, https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/what-was-national-service, accessed 26 August 2018.

quantifiable and functional developments such as funded building projects and the recruitment and training of paid professional workers for the Youth Service.

Class

Hall and Jefferson point out that by making a general assumption that young people in the 1960s all behaved in a similar way fails to understand the impact of class. [79] In spite of rising affluence in the UK, the reality of an underclass remained. As Jeremy Seabrook suggests, working-class communalism declined when it was no longer necessary for survival, but poverty during the period meant many still struggled.[80] In the early 1960s, it was estimated that three million families lived in slums, or near slums in grossly overcrowded conditions (Figure 5). A 1965 housing survey of England and Wales by Brian Abel-Smith and Peter Townsend found that almost twelve percent of all dwellings were unfit and challenged assumptions that post-war poverty had been eliminated.[81] In response to the Able-Smith and Townsend survey, the Child Poverty Action Group was immediately set up by a Quaker social affairs committee. The committee presented a letter to the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, on 23rd December 1965, which urged the Government to take action as soon as possible 'to achieve a radical improvement in the standard of living of families in poverty.'[82] Nostalgic notions of backstreet communities fail to recall that life in those conditions had a 'devitalizing effect, and did not allow any departure from a rigidly fixed pattern of behaviour and relationships.'[83] The plight of those in poverty was highlighted by Ken Loach's drama '*Cathy Come Home'* which

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[79] Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals,* p.66.
[80] Jeremy Seabrook, *Unprivileged: a Hundred Years of Family Life and Tradition in a Working Class Street,* (Longmans, London, 1967), p. 146.
[81] Brian Abel-Smith and Peter Townsend, *The Poor and the Poorest: A New Analysis of the Ministry of Labour's Family Expenditure Surveys of 1953-54 and 1960*, (London, Bell, 1965).
[82] The Child Poverty Action Group, http://www.cpag.org.uk/content/history, accessed 30 October 2018.
[83] Seabrook, *Unprivileged*, p. 159.

was televised in November 1966,[84] and its stark reality reflected the darker side of the so-called 'swinging' decade.[85]

Figure 5: Photograph by Nick Hedges taken in Birmingham in 1969
(Featured at an exhibition on 1960s poverty at the
Science Museum, London in January 2015)

As John Welshman has pointed out, the design of social policy in the post-war years was rooted in the interchange of terms that signified notions of 'problem:' for example, social problem, problem families, hard to reach/unattached youth, and feckless mothers. The familial stereotypes of wayward child and feckless mother began to be propagated, and became 'stock characters in the popular novels of the time.'[86] Pat Starkey argues that 'problem families' became synonymous with 'problem mothers,' emphasising the failure of maternal care, but ignoring other socio-economic considerations. The claim that children were in a bad condition because of 'the heedlessness, the shiftlessness, the carelessness and ignorance of their

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[84] '*Cathy Come Home*' was a landmark television play about a young couple and their children who are cruelly overtaken by events which lead them into an unrelenting trap of debt, homelessness and poverty. Written by Jeremy Sandford and directed by Ken Loach, an estimated twelve million viewers watched it. The programme led to public outrage, a surge in donations to the charity Shelter and the founding of the charity Crisis the following year.
https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jul/31/cathy-come-home-50-years-homelessness-mental-health-problems, accessed 30 August 2018.
[85] According to Collings English Dictionary, the term 'swinging sixties' refers to the 1960s as a decade when social and sexual freedom increased. The phrase has not been attributed to any one source and its usage increased from 1971 onwards.
https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/swinging-sixties, accessed 26 August 2018.
[86] John Welshman, *Underclass: a History of the Excluded 1880-2000*, (Hambledon Continuum, London, 2006), p. 33.

mother,' blaming the mother for the lack of understanding about welfare provision rather than the inadequacy or inappropriateness of local services.[87]

Those in work were able to buy some of the new products on sale such as televisions and kitchen appliances, but many people's lives remained difficult, made vulnerable by the decline in blue collar sector employment. Hall and Jefferson claim that much of the teenage consumption was related to working-class young people, as many middle and upper-class teenagers remained in full-time education far longer and therefore did not have the same disposable income. Young working-class people used material goods to 'attempt to infuse into this bleak world excitement and colour during the short respite between school and settling down into marriage and adulthood.'[88] Termed the 'Beanstalk' generation by Keith Waterhouse in an article in the *Daily Mirror* newspaper in 1958,[89] young working-class people were spending their wages on new products targeted at their age group. These aspirations were also shared by young married women wanting outside work in order to be able to buy some non-essentials: in a 1956 study, sixty-one percent of girls aged fifteen hoped to continue in paid work after marriage.[90] These aspirations may have appeared to be generational but growing up during the 1950s had meant exposure to the palpable evidence of war and need; the rise in consumerism in the 1960s was more about a future permeated with hope. The implicit belief that working-class youth was being corrupted by material things, evident in the Albemarle rhetoric,

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[87] Pat Starkey, 'The Feckless Mother: Women, Poverty and Social Workers in Wartime and Post-War England' in *Women's History Review,* Vol 9, 3, 2000, p. 544.
[88] Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, p. 29.
[89] This article formed part of a running series on the way young people were revolting against their parents and is quoted in Todd and Young 'Baby-Boomers to Beanstalkers' p. 451.
[90] J. Joseph, 'A Research Note on Attitudes to Work and Marriage of Six Hundred Adolescent Girls', (British Journal of Sociology, Vol.12, 1961), quoted in Sue Sharpe, *Just Like a Girl: How Girls Learn to be Woman*, (Penguin, 1976), p. 197.

failed to understand the nature of human empowerment.[91] Powerful though commodifying influences may have been, young people were hardly passive in their reactions: clothes, music and other signifiers of style reflected the experience of breaks and contradictions in the process of forming new cultural spaces and communities, thus making these objects of subcultural style meaningful, Dick Hebdige claims.[92]

In 1959 Harold Macmillan observed that 'Mr Atlee had three Old Etonians in his Cabinet, I have six. Things are twice as good under the Conservatives.'[93] State ideology was criticised by contemporaries such as Anthony Crossland who complained in 1960 that a 'dogged resistance to change now blankets every segment of our national life' and that Britain clung to 'every outmoded scrap of national sovereignty,' continuing to play the obsolete role of an imperial power, and failing to adjust.[94]   But by the mid-1960s, traditional elitist notions of the political profile of key agents of government were changing as Reginald Bevins, Macmillan's Postmaster-General wrote in 1965:

A party that cannot gain power without a big share of the working and

lower middle classes' vote cannot afford to be led predominantly by a

group of Old Etonians…the notion that some people are born to rule, or

even know how to rule, must be destroyed.[95]

Kennedy-ism was strong in the 'classless' US society, but any chance of a

dynamic leadership in Britain continued to be hampered by Heath's 'new'

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[91] Liz Heron (Ed), *Truth, Dare or Promise: Girls Growing up in the 50s,* (Virago, London, 1985), p.156.
[92] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture*, p. 127.
[93] Quoted in David Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: A Shake of the Dice, 1959-62*, (Bloomsbury, London, 2014), p. 175.
[94] Anthony Crossland, Article 'Encounter' October 1960, quoted in Booker, *The Neophiliacs*, p. 153.
[95] Quoted in David Childs, *Britain Since 1945: a Political History*, (Routledge, 1992), p. 146.

conservatism at the end of the decade.[96] The literary 'angry young men' were writing

books, film scripts and plays about the hypocrisy of the upper classes and the

ineptitude of the establishment.[97] This term can be traced back to Leslie Paul,

founder of the Woodcraft Folk whose autobiography was entitled, *An Angry Young*

Man. Paul was a socialist with a keen enthusiasm for the development of young

people, and was a member of the 1958 Albemarle Committee, eventually writing up

the findings of the committee with Richard Hoggart.[98]

David Farber offers another perspective on class which, although based on

the American experience, nevertheless offers insights into aspects of this period that

are relevant to this study. He makes the point that the young radical left (largely lead

by the university educated upper and middle-classes) and the media (which was

funded by large corporate interests) represented the same class – thus 'the

establishment and anti-establishment forces were really just two sides to the same

coin', and neither camp gained much support from anyone who felt excluded.[99] For

example, by 1969, eighty-four percent of white Americans believed that college

demonstrators were treated too leniently.[100] Similar sentiments are revealed in

Sheila Rowbotham's autobiography where she described taking part in the 1968

anti-Vietnam war demonstration in London that ended in police violence in

Grosvenor Square outside the American embassy. When later discussing the

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[96] David Childs, *Britain Since 1945: A Political History,* (Routledge, London, 1992), p. 219
Edward Heath, Conservative Prime Minister led the country from 1970-1974, and represented an attempted shift from the upper-class emphasis of previous post-war Tory governments.
[97] The term 'angry young men' was applied to a group of middle- and working-class playwrights and adopted by the press officer of the Royal Court theatre in London at the launch of John Osborne's play 'Look Back in Anger'. It was later used by the media to describe young writers who were disillusioned with traditional British society during the late 1950s and into the 1960s, and taken to mean protest against an established socio-political system and the hypocrisy of the upper classes. https://www.merriamwebster.com/dictionary/angryyoungman, accessed 22 October 2018.
[98] David Fowler, 'From Juke Box Boys to Revolting Students' in Sue Owen (Ed), *Richard Hoggart and Cultural Studies*, (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2008), p. 112.
[99] David Farber (Ed), *The Sixties: From Memory to History* (University of North Carolina, 1994), p. 296.
[100] Ibid., p. 298.

aftermath with a police detective she found that rank and file police felt that harsher treatment of the demonstrators should have been made: 'This antagonism, as in the United States and France, was class-based: we were spoilt rich kids to many police officers....the hierarchical police mind was distressed by the unpredictable behaviour of youthful rebellion.'[101]At the heart was a perceived rejection of the values of the previous generation who worked to make ends meet instead of studying, joined the armed forces when called upon, and obeyed orders.

Hall and Jefferson claim that young people reproduce the position of the 'parent' classes to which they belong. Middle-class youth, they point out, remain longer than their working-class peers in the transitional stage before adulthood, being afforded the space to 'drop out' of circulation, exploring alternative and new patterns of living. Working-class youth tend to appropriate their existing environment, often within collective structures that articulate opposition to dominant values that is often repressed by the control culture and labelled delinquency or hooliganism.[102] According to Jon Lawrence, working-class youth agency 'broke with the norms that had long constrained expectations and behaviour in an old, class-bound hierarchical country.'[103] But although the young blue collar worker may have bought records and clothes, many of their longer term aspirations would not have been very different from previous generations. The rise of the young, 'classless' urban elite has been taken to signify a broader movement towards the break-up of a traditional class-based society, but beyond the London-centric rhetoric life for many young people seemed not to be so very different from that of their parents.

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[101] Sheila Robotham, *Promise of a Dream: Remembering the Sixties* (Verso, New York, 2001), p. 204.
[102] Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, pp.60-61
[103] Jon Lawrence, 'Class, Affluence and the Study of Everyday Life in Britain, c. 1930–64,' *Cultural and Social History,* 10:2, 2013, p.289.

The narratives provided by the interviewees for this research did not overtly reveal evidence that class played a significant role in their early lives; direct questions around class were not used but through the process of meaning-making, such interpretations can evolve through both implicit and explicit elements.[104] This is one of the challenges of qualitative research, as Wendy Hollway and Tony Jefferson point out.[105] The personal motivations for the choices of organisations they joined largely depended on what was available to them in their local areas within a distance that they were able to travel. Communities of shared interest and ideology bound them together, despite the wider social links between class, education and power. For example in rural Devon, the Young Farmers Federation (YFF) originated in Hemyock after the United Dairies factory organised a sponsored competition in 1926 for the children aged ten or over of families involved in milk production at any level. The YFF still provides activities for members aged between ten and twenty-six years old who have an interest in farming and rural issues.[106] The clubs in Devon during the 1960s were subsidised by the county local authority and provided a valuable service to rural youth, as will be explored further in Chapter Four.

Identity and Community

Central to the thesis is the notion of community and how young people related to this concept in the 1960s. State discourse on the fate of communities was highlighted in the 1959 *Crowther Report* on the education of fifteen to eighteen-year-olds, which demonstrated concern for the break-up of communities and the increasing transience of the population:

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[104] Jane Elliott, *Using Narrative in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitive Approaches*, (Sage, London, 2005), p.9.
[105] Wendy Hollway & Tony Jefferson, *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: a Psychological Approach,* (Sage, London, 2013), pp.3-6.
[106] National Federation of Young Farmers Clubs, http://www.nfyfc.org.uk/history, accessed 23 February 2020.

In 1901, out of England's forty counties, in only three were the natives

less than sixty per cent of the population….by 1951 the number had

risen to twenty. How many people today are born and die in the same

district, let alone the same street?….Often a move to a new home

has broken an old connection, which had come to rest more on

custom or sentiment than on conviction.[107]

Communities based on geographical situated-ness were being reconfigured and the

population was becoming younger: in 1955 it was expected that the population would

remain stable for a decade but in fact it rose by thirty percent and by 1970 there

were twenty-five percent more children than had been predicted fifteen years

earlier.[108] The implications of population drift will be explored through the lens of

rural and coastal communities that were challenged during the 1960s by the

movement of young people to urban employment areas. The loss of old loyalties and

connections mentioned in Crowther was an idyllic notion and the Report failed to

consider new social arrangements that were necessary for individuals to be able to

use opportunities for fruitful co-operation. Adrian Little points out that 'community is a

key ingredient in the complex matrix of social organisation and individual self-identity

that characterises modern life'- community is the space where individuals place

themselves in order to reorganise and regenerate social networks and groups.[109]

The notion of common purpose is the catalyst for developing new communities

whether through the intricacies of local politics, or other shared interests such as

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[107] *The Crowther Report 1959, 15 to 18: Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England)*, p. 42. www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/crowther/crowther1959_1.html, accessed 21 July 2014.
[108] Ray Flude and Allen Parrott, *Education and the Challenge of Change* (Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1979), p. 51.
[109] Adrian Little, *The Politics of Community: Theory and Practice* (Edinburgh University Press, 2002), p. 7.

sport, religious affiliations, reading groups, and associations of parenthood.[110] The way community is perceived and acted upon and within is of relevance to this study of young people in the 1960s. This thesis challenges Robert Putnam's claim that this was a pivotal time that marked the beginning of social disconnection by exploring how far young people involved in their communities were motivated by a sense of belonging. Putnam recognized that debates about the waxing and waning of community have been endemic for at least two centuries, and that we seem 'perennially tempted to contrast our tawdry todays with past golden ages.'[111] As sociologist Barry Wellman observes, it is likely that concern about the impact of social change on communities has existed ever since human beings ventured beyond their caves. Wellman's article on 'The Community Question' written in 1979 put forward the 'community liberated' argument which affirms the prevalence and importance of primary ties but maintains that most ties were not organised into densely knit, tightly bounded solidarities.[112] Although his research was based on large urban conurbations in North America, it offers a lens through which to consider notions of community and belonging in rural and urban areas of Devon in the 1960s. Amy Gutman has recently attempted to unravel the complexities of voluntary association within a society of free individuals who are allowed to express their identity in part through the groups they choose to join.[113] Making a connection between collectivity and individualism, Gutnam also makes the point that between 1960 and 1990, when more Americans were 'bowling alone,' they were also becoming 'more tolerant by virtually all available measures, attitudinal and

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[110] Ibid, p. 11.
[111] Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community* (Simon & Schuster, 2000), p. 21.
[112] Robert Wellman, 'The Community Question: The Intimate Networks of East Yorkers,' *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 84, No. 5, March, 1979, (University of Chicago Press), p. 1206.
[113] Amy Gutman, *Identity in Democracy,* (Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 92.

behavioural.'[114]

The Voluntary Sector and the Power of the State

The collaborative relationship between the State and the Voluntary Sector is explored in this thesis to see how effective it was in opening up opportunities in Devon for young people to engage with their communities. In their 1980s assessment of the relationship between State and the Voluntary Sector, Diana Leat, Gerry Smolka and Judith Unell point out that by the beginning of the 1960s any optimistic view that the Welfare State could provide for the full health and social care needs of the population had waned, and that throughout the decade 'evidence, and therefore questions, grew about the ameliorative effects of an increasingly professionalised and expensive statutory system.'[115] In the 1960s, community self-help groups grew and larger organisations such as Shelter and the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) became both sources of community support and means of exerting pressure for change. For example, the CPAG presented a letter and Memorandum to the Prime Minister at No.10 Downing Street at 2pm on Thursday 23rd December 1965, and followed this with a press conference. The organisation was run by a small group of social workers and sociologists who had become aware of the problem of family poverty in the course of their work and who met together periodically to see what action might be taken to alleviate it. They hoped that 'many distinguished men and women with a professional understanding of the matter' would join them to bring the problem to the notice of the Prime Minister and urge that action be taken to alleviate it as soon as possible.[116]

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[114] Ibid, p. 115.
[115] Diana Leat, Gerry Smolka, Judith Unell, *Voluntary and Statutory Collaboration,* (Bedford Square Press, London, 1981), p. 2.
[116] The Child Poverty Action Group, http://www.cpag.org.uk/content/first-press-release, accessed 5 March 2019.

Other organisations rationalised and professionalised to become more effective. For example, MIND grew out of this transitional phase, from community and voluntary association to a national body working to effect change. Its previous incarnation as the National Association for Mental Health had taken on the role of promoting community care which was finally acknowledged in the 1959 *Mental Health Bill*, and the association continued to lobby for patients' rights throughout the 1960s.[117] As medical and therapeutic approaches to mental health developed during the 1960s, issues around the impact of modern life on families and children and their relationship to generational conflict and juvenile behaviour were reflected in debates and policy making. As government spending cuts slowed down the growth of State welfare provision, the Voluntary Sector's link between community need and public resources strengthened. As well as direct funding, local authority funds also became available as reliance on the voluntary sector became embedded in shared community networks of health and social care provision. Virginia Berridge and Alex Mold have studied this relationship between the State and the Voluntary Sector and point out that a new style of politics and activism developed during the 1960s and into the 1970s. This operated outside of traditional political institutions as a 'politics that dealt with new struggles based on identity, culture and lifestyle' and in particular those based on public health activism.[118]

As state and civil society developed linked processes of transformation during the post-war years, closer collaboration between the State and Voluntary Sector evolved. The Labour government's reluctance to encourage this relationship after the Second World War was based on the challenges of regulating a merged welfare

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[117] Jonathan Toms, *Mental Hygiene and Psychiatry in Modern Britain,* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2013), p. 173.

[118] Virginia Berridge and Alex Mold, 'Professionalism, New Social Movements and Voluntary Action in the 1960s and 1970s,' in Matthew Hilton and James McKay (Eds), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the Big Society,* (OUP, Milton Keynes, 2011), p. 115.

service. In practice a fluid and dynamic approach evolved that avoided any fixed concept of a boundary between State and Voluntary processes. Geoffrey Finlayson uses the term 'moving frontier' to describe the way that spaces of need were negotiated between voluntarism and the State during the post-war years.[119] In the 1960s the reflexivity of this partnership enabled the State to influence the day-to-day lives of civil society to bring about the changes associated with the development of post-war modernity.[120] This reflexive relationship eventually resulted in a series of measures in the 1970s that formalised the partnership after a 1969 review reported on the role of volunteers in social services. The *Aves Report* was published on the culmination of work by the *Committee of Enquiry and the Working Party on Preparation and Training*, chaired by Geraldine Aves, a retired social worker and former UN advisor on welfare. Known officially as the *Commission on the Role of the Voluntary Worker in the Social Services*, its findings included the need for raising the status of voluntary workers and ensuring they were properly trained and supported. It also highlighted the need for clarification of the relationship between volunteers and paid social workers, and led both to the establishment of a national network of volunteer bureaux to match volunteers with new roles in the community and to the development of training and support.[121] The *Aves Report* acknowledged the ability of voluntary organisations to complement, supplement, extend and influence statutory provision.[122] By the mid-1970s the role of the voluntary sector was deemed to be indispensable in tackling social problems and 'creating a better society.'[123]

Local authorities made good use of volunteers in health and welfare services,

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[119] Geoffrey Finlayson,' A Moving Frontier: Voluntarism and the State in British Social Welfare 1911-49,' *Twentieth Century British History,* 1(2), 1990, p.185.
[120] Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, p. 151.
[121] *Exeter Council for Social Service, Annual Report 1969-1970.*
[122] Berridge and Mold, 'Professionalism,' p. 122.
[123] Harold Wilson, *Social Services Quarterly, Winter 1975,* quoted in Hilton & McKay, p. 88.

and other social areas of need. In Exeter the Council for Social Service that

represented the voluntary organisations in the city (later to be called Exeter Council

for Voluntary Service)[124] acknowledged this relationship in their fifteenth annual

report for the years 1961-1962:

> Voluntary Service in the Welfare State: 'Community Care' is a term
>
> which has passed into common usage during the past few years. It is
>
> the acknowledgement that the help of the community at large is
>
> needed in order to build a Welfare State around the scaffolding of
>
> social legislation. Statutory Social Services are planned for 'people'
>
> and administered with great understanding by statutory officers, but the
>
> assistance of the community through voluntary channels is needed to
>
> make these services fully beneficial to all individuals…. voluntary
>
> organisations still have a very important part to play in the Welfare
>
> State.[125]

The partnership between the two sectors aimed to help people within their local

community to identify social needs and to consider the most effective ways of

meeting these. Exeter Council for Social Service saw its role as an intermediary one

that offered a means of consultation between the voluntary organisations in the city

and the local authority departments.

In July 1968, a Bill was brought before the House of Commons that aimed to

provide opportunities for young people to become involved in their local voluntary

service. The student riots in Paris were acknowledged in the debate and it was

mooted that the over-centralisation of power and decision-making was a major factor

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[124] The author of this thesis has worked for Exeter CVS for almost twenty years, running a number of local projects that support a range of social needs. Funding has ebbed and flowed according to current State agenda.

[125] *Exeter Council for Social Service, Annual Report 1961-1962*, Forward, (Exeter CVS Archives, Exeter).

in alienating the individual from society. It was therefore vitally important to enable young people to make some contribution to the development of their community.[126] Growing links between politics and local community activism meant that new social movements, particularly around race, gender and social inclusion, challenged and lobbied the State. Within this climate of democratisation, the heightened status of voluntarism placed the agency of the community volunteer as key to realizing the potential development of grassroots services. This study explores how the dynamics of power were negotiated between local State agencies and voluntary organisations in Devon's communities, and the effectiveness of youth agency in active participation.

Methodology and Sources

The use of interviews alongside local authority records provides balanced evidence to answer the question: "Did something happen or not?"[127] Oral narratives are subject to the reliability or unreliability of memory - the interviewees for this research were recalling their youthful years and in this context their remembering could be considered as less trustworthy over time. An interview can reveal or reinforce an official record, or it may represent a different standpoint which enriches the evidence. Any discrepancies between written and oral evidence may not mean that one account is necessarily more reliable than another.[128] The approach taken in this research is to explore specific historical events, but the subjective emotions and

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[126] House of Commons debate, '*The Voluntary Service,*' 10th July 1968, https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1968-07-10/debates/614d5f84-29ee-4ee1-95e9-3be94170f853/VoluntaryService, accessed 4 September 2018.
[127] Alison Winter, *Memory: Fragments of a Modern History,* (University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 190.
[128] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 240.

feelings of the interviewees contribute to any understanding of those events. Lynn Abrams points out the value of this active process of telling stories.[129]

This study bases its research on interviews with a range of people who were teenagers in Devon during the 1960s or were youth leaders and group organizers, or worked for local authorities.[130] Because Devon is a diverse county, oral evidence has been gathered to reflect experiences in the rural, urban, and coastal areas during the 1960s. The urban area of Exeter has been chosen rather than Plymouth because of its relatively high delinquency rate at that time which became of interest to researchers both nationally and at the University of Exeter. This provided a rich seam through which to develop insights into how the city approached its local 'youth problem' in response to the recommendations of the Albemarle Report. It also opened up a new perspective on the local authority's motivation for appointing its first Exeter Borough Youth Leader in 1965, who had prior experience of working with 'unattached' young people and who was interviewed for this study. The researcher has drawn on her own familiarity with the city, as well as the completion of a Master of Arts on her home town in the post-war period that opened up another set of questions that needed to be explored. A further link was made possible through interviewee Derek's prior experience in Surrey, which provided a pivotal opportunity to compare this county authority's approach to its Youth Service with that in Devon.

The coastal area in the north of the county was chosen because of the unique role of young people there in responding to a community crisis, and the rural east provides a perspective on the impact of rural isolation on young people and the resourcefulness of community. This is also illustrated in the comprehensive records kept by the Dartington Estate on the youth service within its community in the South

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129 Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (Routledge, London, 2010), p. 35.
130 A table showing details of interviewees is included in the Bibliography.

Hams area where the population drift of young people was well documented in John Saville's *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951,* published in 1957.

The interviews were carried out early in the development of the research for this thesis because of the age and declining health of some of the interviewees. Their memories and experiences helped to shape the narrative of the study through the collaborative process of reconstructing the story of the Youth Service.   Lynn Abrams' work influenced this approach through her analysis of the value of memory in the creation of meanings and the validity of oral research in constructing the historiography of a period. Abrams holds that all evidence is socially constructed and is a 'product of a purpose', often deliberately shaped to present a particular interpretation.[131] This is at the core of the methodology presented here, where oral evidence provides a 'frankness of observation missing from the contrived neutrality' of local authority records.[132] For example, the retired Exeter Borough Youth Officer was unable to recall the date he was appointed (the local authority records revealed this), but he vividly remembered his surprise when he arrived from Surrey and discovered the lack of comparative funding available in Devon. This triggered a new line of research to find out why the two counties were resourced so differently and opened up a fresh perspective on local authority response to the *Albemarle Report.*

The interview process was not based on predetermined questions but on contextualised prompts constructed through prior preparation in order to gain insight into existing empirical evidence. A range of strategies was used to source interviewees. For example, attending a local history event in a church hall in the Blackdown Hills provided an opportunity to explore the rural perspective in an area that was particularly isolated in the 1960s. By talking and networking with members

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[131] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p.80.
[132] Ibid.

of the local community attending the event, the existence of the Blackdown Hills Chapel Youth Club was discovered and the local youth leader contacted. By building relationships during the interview process, a chain (or snowballing) of new contacts and lines of discovery evolved, and by nurturing confidence and interest within the collaborative nature of interviewing, further links with potential interviewees from work or friendship groups emerged. In order to maintain focus, there were specific themes underlying the selection of interviewees; these included the level of awareness of State directives, the autonomy of local youth provision, personal perspectives of progress and development during the period, and the challenges they encountered. These challenges could have been caused by funding issues, working with other agents, whether within the voluntary sector or local authorities or those brought about by lack of resources or local support. The interviews were guided by the university ethics process and the aims of the research were discussed and explained at each interview in order to reassure the interviewees. Letters of acknowledgement and thanks, as well as transcriptions, were sent after each interview. This was done in the hope that it would trigger further memories from the interviewees, a strategy that proved useful, with some additional material sent using the stamped addressed envelope provided.

As the research for this thesis progressed new questions arose and although letters requesting a second visit to one or two of the interviewees were sent a year after the original meeting, no response was received. However, other background information was provided by two retired county and city councillors. The research for this thesis was carried out over a number of years because of other work commitments, but there is value in such an approach as new information and perspectives come to light over time. For example, after presenting some of the

research to a group from the University of the Third Age, two further interviewees were recruited. In addition, a recent link with an archivist from the South West Police Heritage Trust formed in 2019, offered valuable insights into the police involvement in youth work during the 1960s. As the health of some of the original interviewees has deteriorated since they made their contribution to this research, their participation is made particularly significant and valuable. Interviewing older people carries responsibility for a researcher and care was taken in this research to maintain a balance between the benefits of reminiscence and the structured approach of a historian.

Although the research agenda was at the heart of the interviews, the emotional and subjective responses to recalled events proved equally valuable. How they felt about their individual experiences by demonstrating surprise, frustration and even anger after fifty or more years, represented a 'valid significance to individual remembering.'[133] The personal agency of the small cohort of interviewees used for this research enabled stories and perspectives to be revealed that were not familiar or often-repeated ones. Abrams points out that we should not 'downplay the psychological motivations for individuals telling a story or telling it in a particular way.' Subjectivity grounded in cultural constructs need not detract from the value of the personal and meaningful in the formation of the self through narrative.[134] For example, Anna Green has been critical of Penny Summerfield's use of pre-existing cultural frameworks in making sense of the oral testimonies of women about their experiences during the Second World War.[135] The challenge for oral historians is in understanding the wider context of remembering and meanings, and here Abrams

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[133] Anna Green, 'Individual Remembering and Collective Memory: Theoretical Presumptions and Contemporary Debates,' *Oral History*, Vol.32, No.2, Memory and Society, (Autumn, 2004), p.40.
[134] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p.48.
[135] Green, p.25.

cites Portelli's point that memory is not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meanings.'[136] The meanings and understandings that individuals attach to their experiences are 'not necessarily pre-formed and available for collection,' but rather it is the role of the interviewer to actively try to make sense of what is being said.[137]This process continued for the research presented here through the search for published and archived primary sources that substantiated and underpinned the oral narrative, and placed it within its temporal and social context.

The interviewees were important to this study because their memories presented perspectives that have not been told previously. Through contact by the interviewer prior to the interviews, they were encouraged to prepare by drafting out notes or prompts, and, because the interviews were held in their own homes, they often unearthed relevant resources from within their personal collections such as photographs, documents, and books which added different perspectives and interest, and were not archived in local records. Six interviewees were selected in Exeter to establish an urban perspective, four interviewees were from the rural areas of Devon, and a further four were from the coastal areas, and their profiles are included in the Bibliography of this thesis. Keith, Brian, Jim and Jane (pseudonyms have been used throughout to protect anonymity) were all involved in developing one of the first lifesaving initiatives in Devon on the north coast. Keith and Brian were recruited at school and Jim helped to fundraise for the club. Jane was an excellent swimmer and fought to gain gender equality in competitions.

Donald and Julie met at a Devon Young Farmers club and went on to help develop activities and social events and offered interesting perspectives on the

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[136] Abrams, p.79.
[137] Elliott, *Using Narrative in Social Research,* p.24.

dynamics of membership. Through their Christian communities, Reverend (Rev) Ron and Alan built and sustained youth clubs in different rural areas of the county. Alan's Methodist network offered a unique insight into the collaborative role of faith-based organizational structures in the Youth Service mix in Devon during the period.

In Exeter, Derek was the first Borough Youth Officer appointed as a result of the recommendations of the 1960 *Albemarle Report* and Evie joined a youth group developed by Derek and later trained as a youth leader. Gill assisted Derek at one of the local youth clubs which he set up in one of the deprived urban areas of the city. They were particularly helpful in remembering strategies used to engage 'unattached' young people in response to the trope of youth as 'problem' and the dynamics between youth leaders and the local authority. Anna had been a teenager in Exeter during the period and in spite of her grammar school education and parental aspirations, secretly spent much of her leisure time in local coffee bars.

In addition to these interviewees, other people answered questions informally on the way local authorities responded to the need to improve and rationalize services for young people in the 1960s. Two had been involved in the County Council and the others had worked in allied youth agencies in employment and education. A summary of the interviewees is included in the Bibliography.

An 'open, informal and semi-structured approach' was taken during the interviews.[138] As well as specific questions driven by the research agenda, there were opportunities to explore the unplanned 'asides' – the surprise comments that offered new insight and unanticipated information. As Abrams points out, the elements of any spoken narrative, whether the repetition of certain words, pauses,

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[138] Abrams, *Oral History*, p. 124.

silences, emphasis or hesitation have a role to play in conveying meaning.[139] The

inter-connectedness of memories is invaluable, but care has been taken in this

thesis to maintain a relevant and insightful approach to the oral narrative. All

historical sources are subjective, but attempts have been made to give personal

authenticity as an 'antidote to generalised accounts of events, or to versions of the

past produced by those with power.'[140] This has raised some interesting narrative

contrasts, particularly between official local authority records and the remembered

experiences of interviewees. These opportunities for further inquiry open up

contrasting perspectives between intended and actual outcomes of local authority

policy and action. Paul Thompson points out that there is a social purpose behind

both the original creation of written records and their subsequent preservation.[141]

Local authority minutes are brief, omitting any sense of debate and selectively noting

official lines. How and why written evidence was produced, what was not said or

written down, and which documents were destroyed or selected for local records

archives – all have relevance to the overall narrative.

Sourcing relevant local authority records for this research proved problematic

because of previous archiving methods; for example, minutes of meetings were not

stored with the accompanying papers so that plans or reports that were mentioned at

the meetings could not be accessed. Some police records were sourced in the

North Devon Records Office, but at the time of writing these were being moved and

archived along with other boxes of papers found in a number of other locations in

Devon.[142] Other primary sources used in this thesis have included records of

Parliamentary debates, academic and newspaper articles, pamphlets and books

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[139] Ibid., p.128.
[140] Ibid., p. 22.
[141] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, p. 106.
[142] Interview, Pam Giles, South West Police Heritage Trust, 13 March 2019.

produced during the 1960s, as well as research projects on young people and families. Original documents stored by organisations such as the YMCA and Devon Community Council of Devon supplemented other sourced records, and the website for Exeter Memories also provided some insights from local historians.[143] These primary sources offer perspectives on how local youth clubs and groups were organized, funded and resourced, and give a contextual framework that introduces the wider issues being experienced in Devon and provide evidence that will be useful for comparative studies of other counties in the 1960s. By introducing evidence from the 'underside' and juxtaposing the sources, the personal memories of the interviewees fill the spaces between written documents to form a dynamic and multi-layered reconstruction of events and experiences.[144] Through the process of remembering, some recognition of the roles played by undocumented actors at the time enriched the collaborative process and provided invaluable social perception of the events.

Autobiographical contributions to youth work literature are scarce, but Tim Caley's recent work has proved invaluable in adding context to the oral and primary sources. Although Caley's experience in the field of youth work was not in the south west, the insightful grassroots perspective gained from his involvement for over forty years makes *Keeping Them Off the Streets: a Youth Work Story* an authentic and universal narrative.[145] The value of such written autobiographical testimony is that it offers another lens through which different personal experiences can be juxtaposed with oral memory. Caley's journey from a young inexperienced youth worker through

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[143] *Exeter Memories* is a voluntary sector online initiative with almost two thousand followers who are able to access information, photographs, share memories and past lives through a website, Facebook page and blog. By using memory, the organisation is able to make links through anecdotal and recorded information about Exeter and constantly updates what is known about the city. http://www.exetermemories.co.uk

[144] Thompson, *The Voice of the Past,* p .7.

[145] Tim Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets: A Youth Work Story,* (Matador, Leicestershire, 2019).

to his later observations about engaging the 'unattached' and navigating various State agendas, resonates with Derek's memories of 1960s Exeter and enriches it.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter One establishes the aims of the *1960 Albemarle Report* and how far it set out appropriate and viable strategies to help local authorities across England and Wales implement its recommendations. It examines the nature of youth provision in 1960, how it was funded, who ran it and whether it delivered a coherent service for the growing population of young people. The chapter assesses whether the report reflected or captured realistic notions of the lives of young people, particularly through the perspectives of class and gender as well as geography. Contemporary commentators claimed that the report failed to go far enough in identifying specific strategies for engaging young people.

Chapter Two explores how the *Albemarle Report* was regarded at the time and how it was received in Devon, both by county and borough authorities and by voluntary organisations. The power of this local study is that it offers textual contrasts to the broad sweeping assumptions made in the *Albemarle Report* by exploring specific experience. It establishes whether, and to what extent, Devon's statutory agency fulfilled its responsibility under the 1944 legislation to 'secure the provision….of leisure-time occupation….for persons over compulsory school age' and to provide facilities for 'recreation and physical training.'[146] The chapter compares the approaches taken by the County Councils in Devon and Surrey in response to the *Albemarle Report*, and considers the geographical context of both regions.

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[146] 1944 Education Act, Section 53, quoted in Bernard Davies, *Voluntaryism to Welfare State: A History of the Youth Service in England 1939-1979,* (Youthwork Press, Leicester, 1999), p. 23.

Chapter Three explores the concept of the 'unattached' youth which was highlighted in the 1959 House of Lords debate as well as in the *Albemarle Report*: why was it seen as a problem and what research was carried out in order to address it? The chapter also establishes how Exeter responded during the 1960s and explores how agencies attempted to engage unattached young people in Exeter and the strategies that were used. The city was the focus of research carried out in 1965 by the University of London's Department of Psychological Medicine by Christopher Bagley, a Research Assistant in Child Psychology, to establish why levels of delinquency were relatively high in Exeter.[147]

Chapter Four presents Devon as a case study in order to establish how far rural and coastal areas were able to adapt to State directives. It considers how the local authority network was structured and how far its county-wide agency was able to effectively implement change in their local youth services. The chapter also establishes what the challenges were to such a large and rural region and what factors hindered or helped the way services were delivered during the 1960s. This chapter also looks at the importance of community-led action in the development of services for young people, particularly in isolated geographical areas. The role of faith-based provision and the organic nature of development based on a needs-led dynamic is also considered, alongside issues of delinquency, cohesion, population drift and access to leisure activities.

Chapter Five explores the challenge of change in Devon as the impact of social and political shifts impacted at a local level on the development of services for young people. In particular, this chapter considers how youth leaders negotiated the many roles their practice encompassed, from friend and confidante to activities

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[147] C. Bagley, *Juvenile Delinquency in Exeter: an EcologicaL and Comparative Study* (University College London, 1965), Devon Record Office (henceforth DRO) MATCH.BAGJUV1965.

manager and motivator, mindful always of inclusivity and boundaries. From post-Albemarle funding prospects in 1960 to the developing reality of straightened economic restrictions, the chapter explores how youth clubs and organisations negotiated change in order to sustain and develop their services and remain relevant to their members. How gender and class impacted on the choices made in developing these services in Devon are also explored as the focus of education opened up to encompass a wider community model.

Chapter Six considers the 1969 *Youth and Community Work in the '70s: the Fairbairn-Milson Report* on services for young people which noted that, a decade after Albemarle, few people outside the Youth Service were aware of a unified service. The key emphasis of the report was on an active society in which all ages, including young people aged fifteen to twenty-five, were to take a participatory role in the decision-making process on how services were designed and delivered. This reflected a change in vision from the State-run Youth Service of Albemarle to the renamed *Youth and Community Services*, and this chapter will assess what this meant in Devon.

The Conclusion to the thesis assesses what aspects of the Youth Service had changed in Devon as a result of Albemarle, and what impact it had on the way local government agency responded to the needs of young people. The *Albemarle Report* had attempted to raise the profile of an identifiable Youth Service that would adapt to local need with central State support. The Conclusion argues that local authority agency in Devon achieved a level of commitment and understanding of its role during the 1960s and succeeded in building the capacity of services through a collaborative programme with Voluntary Sector agents. The economic challenges that arose during the 1970s led to harsh restrictions on public spending, and State-

defined targets such as areas of high social need and disadvantaged young people deflected funding from other Youth Service activities.[148] In Devon, however, the initiatives that grew out of local agency effort during the 1960s as a result of the *Albemarle Report* adapted and supported young people through the next decade.

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[148] Bernard Davies, 'Defined by History: Youth Work in the UK,' *History of Youth Work in Europe: Relevance for Youth Policy Today*,' Vol.1, (2009) https://pip-eu.coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership/the-history-of-youth-work-in-europe-volume-1, accessed 13 February 2019.

CHAPTER ONE
THE 1960 ALBEMARLE REPORT AS SOCIAL POLICY

The "problems of youth" are deeply rooted in the soil of a disturbed modern world. To expect even the best Youth Service to solve these problems would be to regard it as some sort of hastily applied medicament.[149]

This chapter will explore the aims of the *1960 Albemarle Report*, the background to the approach that it took, and the nature of existing services for young people. The chapter will also look at ways in which the report was received at the time by contemporary critics who were involved in youth services for young people. Because the way that the *Albemarle Report* impacted on local authority practice is central to this thesis, the response at county and borough level in Devon will be explored in Chapter Two through primary source material. This includes reports, debates, research, and local authority records, as well as anecdotal evidence provided by oral interviews of people who were involved in the development of the Youth Service in Devon at the time.

Background to the 1960 Albemarle Report

In 1958, when the Albemarle Committee was appointed, the rationalization of a universal Youth Service was seen as a priority. In the first half of the twentieth century, a Youth Service had evolved through voluntary and philanthropic endeavor that resisted State intrusion, defining itself as the 'independent expression of democratic activity and community involvement.'[150] An attempt to change this was made at the outbreak of the Second World War, with the Board of Education Circular 1486 entitled '*The Service of Youth,'* which was issued to all local education authorities on the 27th November 1939, stating that:

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[149] *The Albemarle Report*, 1960, http://infed.org/mobi/the-albemarle-report-and-the-development-of-youth-work-in-england-and-wales, accessed 11 April 2014.

[150] Bernard Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State: A History of the Youth Service in England 1939-1979*, (Youth Work Press, Leicester, 1999), p. 12.

The social and physical development of boys and girls between the

ages of 14 and 20, who have ceased full-time education, has for long

been neglected in this country. In spite of the efforts of local education

authorities and voluntary organisations, provision has always fallen

short of the need and today considerably less than half of these boys

and girls belong to any organisation.[151]

The initiative recognized the need to bring a disparate network of youth groups,

clubs, and uniformed organisations together. The Board of Education declared that

the service was failing young people at a time when they were vulnerable to wartime

chaos and displacement, disruption to their education, and loss of friends and family.

In the ensuing chaos there would be more opportunities for mischief:

War emphasises this defect in our social services; today the black-

out, the strain of war and the disorganisation of family life have

created conditions which constitute a serious menace to youth.[152]

The Board of Education circular recorded the Board's decision to take direct

responsibility for youth welfare as part of the national system of education, defining

'youth' as those between the school-leaving age of fourteen until they were twenty

years old, which would include those young people who were already in work. A

National Youth Committee, later to become the Youth Advisory Council, was

established to advise the Minister of Education. The circular urged local authorities to

immediately set up youth committees and link with voluntary organisations in order to

provide a comprehensive Youth Service in their area. The envisioned rationalization

of services for young people was again addressed within the *White Paper on*

Educational Reconstruction in 1943. The *McNair Report* the following year proposed

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[151] Board of Education Circular, 1939, *The Service of Youth* (London, HMSO), http://www.infed.org/archives/gov_uk/circular1486.htm,, accessed 11 April 2014.
[152] Ibid.

the improvement of the status of out-of-school services, and recommended all

teacher training should be run by universities, thus raising the status of teachers and

rationalising their training.[153] The Report also proposed that youth leadership was to

be a professional role with structured conditions of service and training, raising its

status to that of schoolteachers.[154]

The Youth Advisory Council, set up in 1942, was to consider how out-of-

school services could be integrated into the post-war education system and

produced reports in 1943 and 1945 reinforcing the concept of a well-supported and

funded Youth Service. This initiative identified a defined and sustained service for

young people known as 'The Youth Service' and the *1944 Education Act* placed

responsibility on local education authorities to make sure there was adequate

provision for after school activities in their area. Youth Committees were set up by

local authorities to support voluntary sector initiatives and channel funding to local

youth clubs and groups, and these committees were meeting regularly in Devon

during the 1960s. This extended service to youth was intended to form a fully

integrated system that would educate through both functional and social skill

development. The 1947 *Clarke Report* commissioned by the Central Advisory

Council on Education re-emphasized this aim and made it clear that out-of-school

provision would not be allowed to develop in isolation, but as part of the educational

improvement programme, with an emphasis on the needs of the national economy:

> To meet the needs of young workers through the Youth Service,
>
> education authorities and voluntary organisations have evolved a new

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[153] *The McNair Report,* 1944, para 369,
http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/mcnair/mcnair1944.html, accessed 12 April 2019.
154 Ibid.

form of partnership for providing a social service: this needs to be developed further.[155]

These attempts during the 1940s and 1950s to bring services for young people within their local authority's mix of voluntary, faith-based, and uniformed groups aimed to erode divisions between official and voluntary agencies. The Youth Committees network within local government provided a channel for helping clubs and groups with funds, but also established collaborative opportunities for sharing and developing resources, including people, equipment, and the use of school premises after-hours. The practice of appointing paid youth leaders had been established in the 1930s, and men and women leaving the armed forces after the war were encouraged to train: by 1948 an estimated eighteen hundred full-time youth leaders were in post.[156] In Devon, by the late 1950s there were four youth leaders working across the county, and although no records are available as to whether they were trained, they did report to the County Education Committee annually as will be explored in Chapter Four. There was criticism about the assumptions made that ex-military personnel made good youth leaders. Ray Gosling, a writer and youth worker, demanded to know why 'all these military personnel are engaged in the service of youth in such very large numbers.'[157] An article in the 'New Left Review' criticised the *Albemarle Report's* paternal approach as 'one of the most detrimental legacies the youth service inherited'[158]This frustration grew from the directive style of leadership that was internalized in the attitudes of ex-

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155 *Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education England - The Clarke Report: School and Life, (1947),* http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/clarke1947, accessed 11 November 2018.

156 Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State:'* p. 26.

157 Ray Gosling, *Lady Albemarle's Boys,* (Young Fabian Publications, London, January 1961), p.3.

158 Quoted in Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p.80.

military personnel recruited for the youth sector, and exemplified the need for a change if young people were to be engaged.

In spite of these attempts to rationalize the Youth Service during the post-war years, it remained a complex web of statutory and voluntary organizations. At a conference sponsored by the King George's Jubilee Trust in April 1951 it was reported that out of a hundred and thirty-six local authorities, all but six were supporting voluntary organizations, but budgets had been cut and further economies were expected by central government.[159] The Trust, inaugurated by the Prince of Wales on 1st March 1935, was designed to provide more and better facilities for the recreation and guidance of the younger generation, and to assist, strengthen, and extend the work of the voluntary organisations that promoted the welfare of the boys and girls of Great Britain. The Trust's report '*Citizens of Tomorrow*' was published in 1955, and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award scheme, launched in 1956 to challenge 'average and sub-average boys and girls,' by 1960 had engaged thirty-five thousand boys and seven thousand girls in activities designed to encourage self-reliance and confidence.[160] This particular concern for young people had its roots in the experiences of two world wars that had demonstrated the power of ideas in mobilizing populations and harnessing the energies of young people to form groups of shared values. Influential sociologist Karl Mannheim's essays produced at the London School of Economics under the title 'Diagnosis of our Time' offered a third way between the extremes of fascism and communism: that of a route of 'militant democracy.' Mass education through schools and youth organizations presented a potential tool for turning alienated teenagers into engaged citizens within a youth

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[159] *King George's Jubilee Trust,* https://www.nature.com/articles/135756b0#article-info, accessed 20 September 2018.
[160] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p.80.

movement that was open to the 'potentialities which are inherent in the self-regulating forces of group existence.'[161]

A Ministry of Education report in 1952 declared that restrictions on financial expenditure had virtually called a halt to all new developments in the Youth Service.[162] Local authorities were struggling to meet their commitments to services for young people in their area and youth workers still did not have a nationally recognized structure for training and qualifications.[163] When the Albemarle Committee was set up to review progress in services for young people in 1958, it found that there was no agreed minimum of support that voluntary organizations could expect from their local authority agency.[164] The 1959 House of Lords debate held in anticipation of the Albemarle Committee's findings acknowledged that the Youth Service needed to change in response to 'the raising of the school age, the vastly increased personal incomes of young people at work, the development of television as a home entertainment, and the prospective ending of national service."[165] Because of a post-war surge in the birth rate, young people would total twenty-five percent of the British population by the 1970s, and the debate raised the negative way they were portrayed by the media. They were supposedly:

> Less deferential to their parents, quicker to expect the rewards of
> maturity; they expect more out of life and ...they are more
> vulnerable...if they go wrong they are more likely to go over the
> precipice.[166]

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[161] Quoted in Mathew Thomson, *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture and Health in Twentieth-Century Britain,* (OUP, Oxford, 2006), p. 235.
[162] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 28.
[163] Ibid, p.31.
[164] Ibid, p.32.
[165] House of Lords debate 4 February 1959, *The Youth Service, 4th February 1959,* Hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1959/feb/04/theyouthservices#S5LVO213PO_19590204_HOL_55, accessed 12 September 2013.
[166] Ibid.

The 1959 *Crowther Report on Education* had also noted that family life was changing as young people were going out more, with around a third of them spending only one or two evenings at home each week. The survival of the family seemed under threat as parental consent was no longer thought to be 'guaranteed by the nature of things.'[167]

Young people were exposed to the standards of an acquisitive consumerist society through a clearly defined 'youth market' aimed at them.[168] Tension arose between traditional notions of the role of family and community and concerns regarding youth individualism and a market driven acquisitive impulse. Adolescent as consumer rather than active citizen was perceived as potentially problematic at a time when generational differences were challenging traditional values. A report in *The Melody Maker* in August 1959 based on Mark Abrams' research, that teenage tastes had 'not so much changed as had their tastes changed for them,' bears out the manipulative power of marketing and promotional industries at the time.[169] State and media rhetoric depicted youth as both victim and problem, exploited by commercial interests that widened the divisions between groups and generations. [170] However, this was not universally experienced across the whole of England and Wales, a fact revealed by Mark Abrams:

> Britain's five million teenagers, after meeting their state and family
>
> obligations, and after putting aside approximately £70 million as true
>
> savings, spent £830 million or slightly over five per cent of the national

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[167] *Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), the Crowther Report 1959,* www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/crowther/crowther1959_1.html, accessed 30 April 2014.
[168] John Springhall, *Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain 1860-1960,* (Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 1986), p. 222.
[169] Quoted in Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel, *The Popular Arts,* (Hutchinson, London, 1964), p. 2.
[170] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers,* (Martin Robertson, Oxford, 1972), p. 140.

total consumer expenditure…it scarcely sustains a picture of an

extremely prosperous body of young people. And yet this is the

common view among most adults.[171]

Teenage consumerism was hardly new, and general assumptions

about universal consumption in the 1960s were misplaced. For example, when

asked whether the surfers on the North Coast of Devon had been influenced by the

music of the *Beach Boys* in the 1960s, one interviewee for this thesis claimed that he

had been too busy surfing to listen to music.[172]
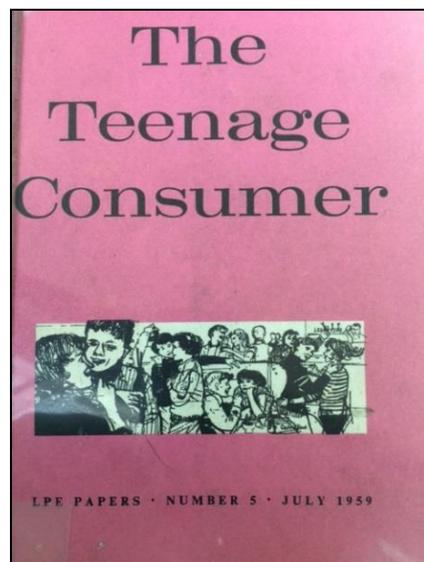
Figure 6: Mark Abrams claimed that he carried out his research in 1959 because 'no-one had
provided a comprehensive account of the new development (of teenage spending) as a business
factor' before.[173]

Differences between the lived experiences of the young and old were not the

only divisions brought about during this period of social change: similar gaps were

also manifested between rural and urban societies, and between manual and

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[171] Quoted in Ronald Fletcher, *Britain in the Sixties: The Family,* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1962),
p. 155.
[172] Interview, Brian, 6 March 2013.
[173] Mark Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer*, (London Press, 1959), p.1.

mechanized generations.[174] The loss of old value systems and the 'customs and conventions which controlled human behaviour' was central to the rhetoric of the *Albemarle Report*.[175] Giving State agency powers over young people's moral development through leisure activities was perceived as a solution to a growing problem. Generic tones regarding mutuality failed to grasp the realities of conflicting ethical or cultural issues, particularly at a time of increasingly plural communities, but encouragement for activities that challenged young people was intended to offer a sense of achievement that may have been elusive at school.

The Albemarle Report

Because of the economic problems of the post-war years, the *Albemarle Report* declared that the Youth Service had 'not been given the treatment it hoped for and thought it deserved, and has suffered in morale and public esteem in consequence.'[176] Cohen's work on the nature of societal reaction, the over-estimation of the risk involved in perceived deviant behaviour, and the resultant escalation in the control culture, offers a perspective on the tone of the *Albemarle Report*.[177] It was felt that not only were young people rejecting traditional values and agents of power and control, but there were going to be many more of them, as Lady Albemarle herself highlighted in an interview for the *Times* newspaper in February 1960:

> It is a tremendous job….and it is getting bigger because the
>
> cessation of national service and the arrival of the 'bulge' will mean

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174 Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes 1914-1991*, (Abacus, London, 1994), pp. 328-329
175 *Albemarle Report*, 1960, http://infed.org/mobi/the-albemarle-report-and-the-development-of-youth-work-in-england-and-wales, p. 341.
176 Ibid.
177Cohen, *Folk Devils,* p. 199.

that in 1964 there will be about a million more 15-20 year olds than

there were in 1958.[178]

The prospect of an extra million young people needing structure and discipline

provided the impetus for a way forward, and as Fred Bush, President of the National

Association of Youth Leaders and Organizers (NAYLO) claimed, for those people

who had been 'plugging away for years trying to get the government to act' the

Albemarle Committee took on the challenge.[179]

Lady Diana Albemarle, Chair of the Committee, used her knowledge of

government to draft a strategic set of proposals that were considered, if not

innovative reform, then at least a clear plan that would not suffer the fate of former

initiatives that had sunk without trace. Lady Albemarle was described at her death in

May 2013 at the age of 103 as a 'quietly persuasive campaigner able to influence the

highest circles of government.'[180] At the time of the publication of her report, she had

gained experience through working with the Development Commission and the

British Council, and went on to chair the National Youth Employment Council

throughout the 1960s. The Albemarle Committee's remit was:

> To review the contribution which the Youth Service of England and
>
> Wales can make in assisting young people to play their part in the life
>
> of the community, in the light of changing social and industrial
>
> conditions and of current trends in other branches of the education
>
> service; and to advise according to what priorities best value can be
>
> obtained for the money spent.[181]

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[178] 'Ten Year Development Plan for Youth Service Urged,' *The Times,* London 4 February 1960, http://find.galegroup.com/ttda/infomark.do, accessed 14 May 2013.

[179] Quoted in Davies, *From Voluntarysm to Welfare State,* p. 36.

[180] *Eastern Daily Press*, 14 May 2013, http://www.edp24.co.uk/news/obituaries, accessed 12 November 2017.

[181] *The Albemarle Report,* 1960, Ibid.

The Albemarle Committee was composed of representatives of various interested sections of society including unions, armed forces, researchers and educators. These included Dennis Vosper (ex-army, MP), Michael Clapham (industrialist and inventor), Richard Hoggart (academic and sociologist), Denis Howell (Labour MP, sportsman, served under Wilson), Roy A. Jackson (unions, employment, training and education), Pearl Jephcott (researcher on women, young people, communities and housing and a representative of NAYLO) (National Association of Youth Leaders and Organizers), Leslie Paul (innovator, Woodcraft Folk founder, writer, socialist, educator), and Ethel M. Wormald OBE, JP (researcher on women, juvenile delinquency, education).[182] Some members of the Albemarle Committee, such as Richard Hoggart, were critical of the behaviour of young people, but others like Pearl Jephcott had contributed significant research to understanding the day-to-day experiences of children and young people. Leslie Paul founded the Woodcraft Movement and firmly opposed prejudice and discrimination, believing in the democratic right of children to participate in the running of their groups and had an unconventional perspective on how the younger generation could contribute to future society.[183]

The Report began with criticism of the Ministry of Education's failure to enact previous attempts to provide a satisfactory service for young people:

> In 1945 the Ministry of Education made it plain that they did not intend
> for the present to put into effect the McNair recommendations about
> youth leaders. All the same the outlook still seemed bright enough to
> attract numbers of able men and women leaving the armed forces into
> the courses for professional leaders offered by universities and

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[182] Ibid.
[183] The Woodcraft Movement, https://heritage.woodcraft.org.uk/archive, accessed 13 December 2018.

voluntary organisations. For two or three years longer the Service

made some progress. It continued to be widely discussed, and four of

the Ministry's pamphlets published between 1945 and 1949 took it into

serious account. Then the wind began to blow cold.[184]

The original purpose of the Youth Service was to help young people to make

the best of themselves and act responsibly. The report concluded that some

provision had been made for the needs of only one in three young people between

the ages of fifteen and twenty-one largely through voluntary support. This included

youth clubs and organisations across the youth sector that relied heavily on

enthusiastic volunteers and continued despite prolonged financial stringency and

lack of leadership and training. The *Albemarle Report* declared that the Youth

Service was in a critical condition and identified the fundamental aim of a revitalized

service as maintaining the 'continued social and informal education of young people

in terms most likely to bring them to maturity, those of responsible personal

choice.'[185] Subsequently the structure of the Youth Service was to undergo a ten-

year development programme with increased State funding and a doubling of its

workforce. In addition, the Report proposed an extensive construction programme of

purpose-built premises to provide spaces for young people to meet, and a

standardized national training scheme to enable qualified youth leaders to work more

effectively. The *Albemarle Report* set a target to increase the number of full-time

youth leaders from 700 to 1,300 by 1966 and to provide flexible programmes that

would allow easy transfer to teaching and social work. There were to be more part-

time workers and a committee would be set up to negotiate salaries and conditions

of service for workers in both the statutory and voluntary sectors. It was also

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[184] *The Albemarle Report,* paragraph 14.
[185] Quoted in Bernard Davies and Alan Gibson, *The Social Education of the Adolescent,* (University of London Press, 1967), Preface.

proposed that more consistent levels of funding would be made available for local

authorities to spend on youth services:

> Turning to current finance, grants will be increased for the
>
> headquarters' expenditure of the voluntary organisations and also for
>
> approved experiments in attracting young people now not using the
>
> Youth Service. Some organisations will get larger grants, others will
>
> receive grants for the first time.[186]

By taking a greater responsibility for young people, the State aimed to control

and rationalize universally organized leisure activities. Pervading ideological aims

could be entrenched through the training of youth leaders and, through its

assumption of accountability and responsibility, State agency could influence

decision making and policy implementation. By undertaking responsibility for the

organization of a relevant and modern Youth Service, the State could implement

changes and policies that motivated young people through leisure activities towards

effective citizenship and economic and civil compliance. However, the Albemarle

plan was merely a blueprint for a way forward with a list of recommendations that the

Committee hoped would galvanize local responses. There were no quantifiable

outcomes or targets. The *Albemarle Report* set out a list of aspirations for a universal

Youth Service that advocated a break away from tendencies to 'recall the

hierarchies, the less interesting moments of school speech-days and other

occasions of moral exhortation.' Young people's failure to attend youth clubs may

have been less often a sign of apathy than of the 'failure of their seniors properly to

adjust their forms of language.'[187] Criticised at the time for being mild and

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[186] *The Albemarle Report*, 1960, paragraph 29..
[187] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 47.

unadventurous, the *Albemarle Report* nevertheless took into account the needs of young people.

Although during the preparation of the Committee's findings Lady Albemarle visited youth clubs, the Report drew largely from earlier reports and from the range of experience and knowledge of its Committee members.[188] It lacked any substantial analysis of data such as crime statistics or any studies of changing social and cultural trends and was criticised as 'one of the most disastrous social documents to appear in this country this century….it widens the fissure in English society which divides the generations.'[189] At its core the *Albemarle Report* did single out young people as needing special attention and it made history by being endorsed in its entirety by the Ministry within hours of its publication. It raised awareness of the complex partnership between State funded and voluntary organisations, and the uneven funding provided by local authorities.[190] The Albemarle approach was clear: youth leaders were to be professionalised and would receive standardised training; and when planning new secondary schools, local authorities were expected to include space for Youth Service activities.[191] This would erode the divisions between in-school and after-school activities and invigorate the buildings that housed youth clubs, groups, and organisations:

> Lack of finance is at the root of several shortcomings we have noted:
> clubs that frequently have to function in dingy drab premises; lack of
> equipment for the job; insufficient provision for outdoor recreation; and
> failure to measure up to the needs of new towns and housing estates,

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[188] *Ten Year Development Plan for Youth Service Urged,* the Times, London 4 February 1960, http://find.galegroup.com/ttda/infomark.do, accessed 14 May 2013.
[189] Frank Musgrove, *Youth and the Social Order* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1964), p.154.
[190] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p.47.
[191] Ibid, p. 111.

summed up in the remark of the boy who described one of these

estates as 'a graveyard with lights.'[192]

This grim image says much about how young people regarded some of the buildings

that housed their clubs and also indicates that the Albemarle Committee members

did pay attention to what young people were telling researchers. Contemporary

debates generated by the publication of the report revealed conflicting notions

regarding the status of young people in society and the State's role in shaping and

organising them. Echoing the 1959 House of Lords debate, the Albemarle

recommendations included the encouragement of a sense of fellowship, mutual

respect, and tolerance in particular across class and economic boundaries. Race

was also touched upon as the diversity of the population in some areas of the

country was increasing, and this is explored in Chapter Six. The *Albemarle Report*

challenged the State through local agency to commit financially to buildings and

training, but failed to offer firm strategies for engaging young people, relying on local

responses that met the needs of young people through revitalised leadership. An

expectation was placed on local authorities to be motivated to take action, implement

the recommendations, and report back on progress.

Critics have claimed that, far from breaking with the past and offering an

invigorated Youth Service fit to meet the needs of the 1960s young person, the

reality was one of strong continuity, with little in the way of innovative community-

building ideas. Davies claims that:

The Albemarle prescription had little to say on the possible shared

outcomes of its proposed programmes. The potential of group

experience for motivating and preparing like-minded people to work

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[192] *The Albemarle Report*, paragraph 41.

together for collective outcomes which might, even marginally

challenge the status quo was neither acknowledged nor, it would

seem, even considered.[193]

The Albemarle recommendations failed to address the issues of the 'un-clubbable'

young people that had been identified in previous debates, merely suggesting that:

Local education authorities and voluntary organisations should

consider what approaches they can make to those young people

who find it difficult to come to terms with society. The Youth Service

Development Council should collect and collate the results of such

research and experiment.[194]

Optimism by the Albemarle Committee that new training and buildings would help

youth leaders cope with the range of needs and challenges ahead waned as the

decade progressed and regular commissioned reviews exposed an uneven reality

across Britain. With a Labour government newly in place in 1964, Denis Howell,

former Albemarle Committee member and now Minister for Education and Science,

found that economic factors would hamper any further implementation of the

Albemarle Recommendations. There was also a renewed debate on the primary

mission of the Youth Service. In 1968 Howell admitted that he was still trying to find

out what the service actually represented.[195] This questions whether in some

quarters any understanding of the importance of the Youth Service had been

grasped - that it was a needs-led service, adapting to local social environments to

support young people and attempting to inspire and educate them through activities.

In a statement made in 1960 by the Trades Union Congress a few months after the

Albemarle Report was published, it was clear that they saw a rationalised Youth

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[193] Davies, *From Voluntarism to Welfare State,* p. 53.
[194] *The Albemarle Report*, 1960, paragraph 356.
[195] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State,* p. 110.

Service as critical to the 'individual and social needs of young wage earners' and that

it was imperative that local authorities, which in the past had failed to make adequate

provision, now took action to support them.[196] The confusion expressed by Denis

Howell indicates how the certainties of the early 1960s about the positioning of the

Youth Service in the development of young people was becoming obscured.

Although at the start of the decade there was an element of speculation and

experimentation about the way recommendations were to be implemented, for the

first seven years after the publication of Albemarle, central government grants to

voluntary organisations rose six-fold. However, this increased dependency led some

commentators to fear that the diminishing influence of these organisations was

shaped by the State's political motives.[197]

    A House of Lords debate prior to the publication of the *Albemarle Report* had

raised the importance of a new emphasis on the Youth Service:

> The House will remember that about a year ago we held a full debate
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> on the Youth Service which I think was regarded as being a debate of
>
> the first importance. So far as can be traced, it was the only time that
>
> this House had ever debated the Youth Service, and I am not aware
>
> that in another place they have ever debated the subject: all of which
>
> was perhaps symptomatic of the fact that in recent years the Youth
>
> Service has not received as much attention in our national thinking as
>
> was desirable.[198]

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[196] 'T.U.C. Backing for Report on Youth,' *Daily Telegraph*, 2 May 1960, p.17, *The Telegraph* Historical Archive, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/IO0702586542/GDCS, accessed 28 September 2019.
[197] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State,* pp. 78-79.
[198] House of Lords debate, *The Youth Service*, 4th February 1959, Hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1959/feb/04/theyouthservices#S5LVO213PO19590204_ HOL_55, accessed 20 April 2018.

The Albemarle recommendations aimed to ensure that the expanding Youth Service was to be an integral part of the development of school premises, but this was to be affected by wider central government debates around the role of education and the development of comprehensive schools. The need to improve young people's skills was rooted in concerns for the national economic future and 'reflected a broader polarisation in the education debate in Britain since the 1950s.'[199] The political will for change had been addressed in the Labour Party's 1959 policy statement which declared that grammar school ideals should be extended to all young people:

> We nail the lie that our aim is to abolish grammar school education.
> On the contrary, we shall open it up to every child who can benefit
> by it, and extend the tradition and standards of the grammar school
> throughout secondary education.[200]

Founded on the ideological erosion of class divisions and inequalities of opportunity, Labour revisionist Tony Crosland, Secretary of State for Education from 1965 until 1967, saw the comprehensive system as a vital ingredient in this process. Once in power, Wilson's government turned this declaration into reality on the 21st January 1965 when he confirmed that it was his government's declared objective to end selection at eleven and to eliminate separatism in secondary education. In July that year government Circular 10/65 required local authorities to submit plans for the reorganisation of their schools along comprehensive lines.[201] This fundamental change in how young people were to be educated has a bearing on the

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[199] Jeremy Nuttall, *Psychological Socialism: the Labour Party and Qualities of Mind and Character, 1931 to the Present* (Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 78.

[200] 'The Future Labour Offers You', issued by the Labour Party in 1959, quoted in Ted Tapper, *Young People and Society* (Faber & Faber, London, 1971), p.19.

[201] *Dept of Education and Science London 1965, Circular 10/65, The Organisation of Secondary Education,* http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/des/circular10-65.html accessed 2 June 2016.

implementation of the Albemarle recommendations at a local level because of a link with the development of new school buildings that had integrated youth wings for after-school activities. Some local authorities had begun to restructure schools along comprehensive lines before 1965 because it was cheaper to provide one school building rather than two. Research undertaken in Devon for this study has revealed an uneven picture across the county with some schools still catering for infant, junior, and secondary education under one roof well into the 1970s.[202] From 1965 to the mid-1970s virtually all state secondary schools in Wales and Scotland went comprehensive, and in England ninety per cent did so.[203] The debate on the continuing intellectual streamlining of children and the bias of middle- and upper-class parents towards grammar education continued, but the new school buildings constructed from the late 1960s did provide an opportunity to engage 'unattached' teenagers after school.

The *Albemarle Report's* plan to launch a building programme to support its aims included the removal of the limit of £5,000 for individual projects. A few months after the publication of the report, £3 million had been allocated for projects between 1960 and 1962, and a further £4.5 million was pledged for each of the following years.[204] However, in 1964, the National Association of Youth Service Officers published their survey of 122 local authorities showing that the amount of money approved by central government for expenditure on buildings actually fell between 1960 and 1964. Even in the years 1960 to 1962 when the post-Albermarle development was just beginning, only ten percent of local authority plans submitted to the Ministry of Education for school development was successful, and the level of

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[202] Interview with SS, retired city and county councillor, 8 October 2015.
[203] Richard Pring and Geoffrey Walford, *Comprehensive Schools, the History* www.timeshighereducation.com/news/comprehensive-schools-the-history/92186.article, accessed 2 June 2016.
[204] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 62.

rejected plans rose to fifty percent.[205] Local authority records show how agencies

were forced to make pragmatic decisions about which project applications for school

and youth service provision were allocated funds and which ones had to wait.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the aims and recommendations of the 1960

Albemarle Report and the reasons for intensifying local authority agency in

rationalising youth services. Attempts to address the issues of engaging young

people in meaningful after-school activities had been a feature of political debate for

some time. In 1942 the Board of Education set up the Youth Advisory Council to

advise central government; in 1943 this Council produced its first report on the Youth

Service. The 1944 *McNair Report*, following on from the Education Act, strove to

professionalise both teachers and youth leaders. As the war ended, the Youth

Advisory Council produced its second report on the *Purpose and Content of the*

Youth Service, but, as Lady Albemarle commented, very little was accomplished by

the State before 1957 when the House of Commons Select Committee on Estimates

reported on the current position. This report formed part of the research undertaken

by the Albemarle Committee which was appointed in 1958 to find a way forward. Its

work underpinned the first House of Lords debate on young people in 1959 which

was followed by the publication of the *Albemarle Report* in February 1960. The

ending of conscription and the post-war population bulge, as well as the social

changes that were impacting on young people, galvanized the Albemarle Committee

to propose decisive action. Reactions from contemporary critics revealed the

limitations of the report, and Chapter Two will show that at local level there was initial

frustration around funding and resources. The *Albemarle Report* challenged local

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[205] C. Bagley, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Exeter: An Ecological and Comparative Study,' *Urban Studies* 2:1, (1965), p.48.

government agency to revitalise services in their areas at a time when substantial changes in education were being proposed. The next chapters will introduce a sense of both the challenge and potential in Devon.

CHAPTER TWO
LOCAL GOVERNANCE: POLICY AND PRACTICE
Reactions to the Albemarle Report in Devon

The Albemarle Committee called for local authorities to consult as a matter of priority with their voluntary organisations and develop schemes for the expansion of the Youth Service in their areas and the training of paid and voluntary youth leaders. This chapter explores how the immediacy of this Report was received and responded to by focusing on the reactions of the public sector in Devon and in the urban area of Exeter where the county council was based. The motivating force behind the imperative to concur to the Report's recommendations came from the Youth Service Development Council, which was set up to oversee the process which included an expectation that local authorities would appoint dedicated Youth Officers if they had not done so previously. The Report had criticised the uneven support for services for young people by the country's local authorities after the Committee's investigations had found 'a picture of somewhat haphazard development.'[206] It also acknowledged that each authority had to frame policies to fit local needs and that there would inevitably be differences of system or approach between one area and another. However, where these differences were ones of efficiency, 'they may reflect the apathy of some authorities or their loss of confidence in the Youth Service.'[207] Some had no youth committee or youth officer, and even authorities that seemed to value the service demonstrated 'surprising variations in the way they go about things.' These variations were generally the result of the differing views that authorities took of their relations with voluntary bodies and the extent to which organisations were brought into consultation. There was a wide

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[206] *The Albemarle Report*, 1960, paragraph 39. http://infed.org/mobi/the-albemarle-report-and-the-development-of-youth-work-in-england-and-wales, accessed 11 April 2014.
[207] Ibid.

range between authorities that spent most of their money on clubs and centres of their own and those that left provision wholly to the voluntary bodies with the help of comparatively generous grants. The result of this was that there was no 'accepted minimum of services which voluntary bodies of standing can expect from every authority as a matter of course.'[208]

The Albemarle Committee had sent out questionnaires to all local authorities to establish the levels of funding made available for youth provision, and the data from the replies exposed the depth of the varied and uneven provision. The total expenditure on the Youth Service by local education authorities between 1957 and 1958 was estimated at £2.5 million, which represented only half of the expenditure claimed under the *Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937* for community leisure facilities. During the same period, only a penny in every pound spent on education went on the Youth Service and the *Albemarle Report* criticised the Ministry of Education for its lack of commitment.[209] .

The Response in Devon

There is no documentary evidence archived that would substantiate the existence of a county-wide youth service buildings plan for Devon, other than *ad hoc* requests from voluntary organisations for funds to replace or repair youth club buildings. These were sanctioned or refused during the 1960s depending on monies available after payments had been made to clubs for rent, equipment, and the salaries of youth leaders.

The Devon County Education Committee indicated that its ethos towards young people was in line with Albemarle and that it was:

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[208] *The Albemarle Report,* Ibid.
[209] Ibid., paragraphs 25-26.

recognised that one of the vital problems of the youth service was that of arousing a real sense of participation and responsibility in young people, and they were of the opinion that whatever is offered through a youth service the desires as well as the needs of young people should be borne in mind.[210]

The Committee also requested that the Devon County Further Education Sub-Committee should consider their regulations for evening classes in light of the Albemarle recommendations. There was clearly a disconnection between the school leaving age and the age when they were allowed to access after-work further education courses, and perhaps the Committee was proposing a more open approach to engage young working teenagers. There was also a recommendation that the University of Exeter's Institute of Education (St Luke's) be asked to look into the question of including youth leader training in their teaching courses. However, no records have been found to support the notion that the University of Exeter ever considered doing this. The *Albemarle Report* envisioned an approach that enabled teaching undergraduates to transfer easily to youth and social work, and had encouraged co-operation between local education authorities and voluntary organisations to enable youth workers to access part-time training.[211] Devon's county agency clearly supported such a development, and a partnership with the local university would have been in line both with Albemarle aspirations and the overall development of the county service for young people.

The Devon County Youth Committee also proposed at the May 1960 meeting that the Youth Grants and General Purposes Sub-Committee be approached to

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[210] *Devon County Education Committee Meeting Minutes: Report of County Youth Committee, The Albemarle Report* 6 May 1960, Page 16, Item 97, DRO DCC/150/4/1/58.

[211] Bernard Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State: A History of the Youth Service in England 1939-1979, (Youth Work Press, Leicester, 1999),* p. 37.

provide the funds needed to comply with the Albemarle recommendations, and this suggests that funding was the primary concern for any forward planning. The record goes on to report that the matter would be explored further when local resources were considered, but no specific timetable was noted. However, a subsequent visit by Her Majesty's Inspectors was discussed at the County Youth Committee's meeting in July 1960. These visits were carried out to ascertain the current level of local Youth Service provision and future expansion plans. In Devon Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) called upon the County Council to provide statistical data on where youth clubs were situated across the region, who was running them, and youth club attendance numbers. However, the visit appears to have been unsatisfactory as the meeting minutes note that:

> Whilst agreeing that such figures would be highly desirable that it is
> impracticable with the present number of staff to compile them,
> although it will be desirable to press the local youth committees to
> obtain the relevant figures when necessary.[212]

At this time there were four full-time area youth leaders in place to cover the north, south, east and west of the county, but it can be concluded from this statement that data collection had not been carried out. At a meeting of the County Youth Committee held in November 1960, Mr Shackleford the Area Youth Leader for East Devon attended and 'gave a report on the work in his area.'[213] No mention of data collection appears in the record. However, under an item entitled 'Progress and Development' it was noted that a Ministry of Education Circular entitled *The Youth Service Progress Report and Further Development* had been received by the Devon County Education department. This circular required all local authorities to appraise

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[212] *Devon County Education Committee Meeting Minutes: Report of County Youth Committee, The Albemarle Report, 6 May 1960*, Page 16, Item 97, DRO DCC/150/4/1/58.
[213] *Report of the County Youth Committee,* Ibid.

its existing youth service with an estimation of costs that would 'be reckoned for in the amount of general grant for the next period'.[214] The Circular also emphasised the desirability of co-ordinating with voluntary organisations and requested that all local authorities submit reports on 'the past and the future' with the first report likely to be 'requested towards the end of the present year.'[215] As this was discussed in November, the Ministry's request would have presented a very tight deadline, particularly in such a large and geographically diverse county with poor infrastructure, and youth clubs and groups scattered across vast areas.

At the February 1961 meeting of the County Youth Committee, after Mr Smith, the Area Youth Leader for North Devon, had given his report on his work (with no mention of data collection), county plans seemed to be moving ahead. A building programme for youth centres in twelve towns across the county was proposed as well as the creation of Youth Committees in ten new areas, which would necessitate the appointment of ten new youth leaders. At that meeting it was also noted that the need for a worthwhile training programme for youth leaders also required the appointment of a Youth Service Training Officer to plan the long-term aspects of training.[216] A month later, the Exeter Education Committee submitted a letter from the Devon County Education Committee suggesting the 'joint appointment of a Youth Service Training Officer.' The City Council turned this offer down.[217] Several years passed until it was raised at a meeting of the Exeter Youth Service Sub Committee in March 1966 that a Devon Youth Leadership Training Committee was to be formed

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[214] Ibid.

[215] *Devon County Education Committee Meeting Minutes*, *Report of the County Youth Committee, 8th November 1960,* p.108. DRO DCC/150/4/1/58.

[216] *Report of the County Youth Committee, 17th February 1961*, p.172, DRO/DCC/150/4/1/58.

[217] *Exeter Education Committee Minutes, 16th March 1962*, p.97, DRO/5378-0.

comprising one representative from each of the Devon, Exeter and Plymouth Authorities.[218]

From these primary sources some conclusions can be made about the immediate response to the publication of the *Albemarle Report* in Devon. The lack of data collection across the county hints at an existing County Youth Service comprising a network of voluntary youth organisations that had grown organically over a period of time in response to local need, available resources, and community commitment. The initial reaction of the county authorities seems to be one of optimism that compliance would reap financial rewards, enabling the expansion of services for young people. Because only functional minutes were recorded at meetings, no sense of debate or personal response has been captured, but the *Albemarle Report* would have offered a glimmer of hope for funding to be made available for the improvement of provision for young people. The quarterly reports from the four county Area Youth Officers were merely acknowledged at meetings, and reveal no sense of targets, actions, data, or any follow-up of specific issues. As the area reports are not filed and archived with the minutes, no certain conclusions can be made about the way that the county youth services were managed. Area Youth Leaders put forward claims for funding for specific requests made by youth clubs and groups and there are records to confirm that these were either upheld or denied based on undocumented assessments of need and funds available, and that 'each application will be considered individually.'[219] However, the Torquay Youth Service Committee was prepared to minute a declaration by their Chairman on 25th June 1959 which demonstrates a level of frustration that may have been shared by others:

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[218] *Exeter City Youth Service Sub Committee Minutes, 16th March 1966*, para. 418, DRO/G3.
[219] *Devon County Education Committee Meeting Minutes*, *Report of the County Youth Committee*, *8th November 1960,* p.108, DRO DCC/150/4/1/58.

It is difficult to see the way through the present situation….no doubt

we would get more support from youth leaders if they believed we

had something to offer. Without a central policy and direction….little

could happen. We are hampered by out-of-date methods and old

premises.[220]

In July the following year, six months after the publication of the *Albemarle Report*,

an unequivocal criticism of Devon County Education Department by the Honorary

Secretary of the Torbay Youth Service was delivered at their Annual General

Meeting on 20 July 1960:

The Committee should take stock and either get down to business or

pack up….a new start would possibly prompt the Devon County

Education Committee to take some positive action….(I'm) tired of

writing letters to people who were quite obviously disinterested in the

work of the (Torquay) Committee which was now loaded with well-

meaning but out of touch members.[221]

Two years later in 1962, Torquay still seemed to have received no comprehensive

plans for the future of their youth service:

Mr Boulter addressed the Committee about the future of the Youth

Service. Nothing had been decided on yet at County level.[222]

Contradictions between the recommendations outlined in the 1960 *Albemarle*

Report and the practicalities of their implementation are evident in this statement.

For example, the report expressed the hope that schools would become involved in

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[220] *Torquay Youth Service, Youth Service Committee Annual General Meeting 25 June 1959*, DRO 3879C/EEY.

[221] *Torquay Youth Service, Youth Service Committee Annual General Meeting, 20 July 1960*, DRO 3879C/EEY.

[222] *Torquay Youth Service, Youth Service Committee Annual General Meeting, 7 February 1962*, DRO 3879C/EEY.

the developing Youth Service, either through the encouragement of teachers to train as youth leaders, or through making school premises available for after-school activities. But by 1965 a school survey concluded that using their premises was proving unpopular for both pupils and head-teachers: pupils did not want to stay on after classes, and the heads felt that they had no control over after-school behaviour.[223] Immediately after publication of the *Albemarle Report* in 1960, the Devon County Education Authority was circumspect in responding to this aspect of developing youth services. Monthly County Education Departmental circulars to schools reveal no reference to the report until September that year, when an invitation went out to teachers who may have wanted to train as youth leaders, but nothing further on the relationship between school and after-school activities:

> The National College for the Training of Youth Leaders: the Albemarle Report stressed the urgent need for an increase in the number of trained full-time youth leaders and the Ministry of Education has recently announced the setting up of the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders. This college which is at Leicester, will be opened in January 1961.[224]

Implicit in the *Albemarle Report* was an expectation that schools would play a vital part in the progress of a rationalised Youth Service, and that youth wings that formed part of any new secondary school buildings would place both logistical and economic pressures on school development through local authority agency. In addition, school building programmes from 1964 included preparations for the expected raising of the school leaving age to sixteen. This necessitated the expansion of available classrooms, often prefabricated and deemed temporary, to accommodate a new generation of fifth-year pupils. How youth leaders were to be

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[223] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 112.
[224] *Devon County Education Committee Exeter, Circular No.117, September 1960*, DRO 1510C/O/EFA/22.

trained after Albemarle, and how this manifested in local leadership, becomes

apparent within Devon's local authority records during the 1960s. The shift from

directive to non-directive leadership required skills in being able to recognize how to

engage young people in the day-to-day running of a club and when to lead 'from the

front'.

One of the aims of the *Albemarle Report* was to encourage young people to

'make a significant contribution to society,' and through the 1960s Youth Service

networks were planned to act as clearing houses for voluntary service

opportunities.[225] Bernard Davies points out that in 1964 the National Council of

Social Service made this the theme of their annual conference,[226] and this was noted

in the Annual Report 1964-1965 of the Exeter Council for Social Service:

> WORKING IN THE COMMUNITY was the theme of the Standing
>
> Conference of Councils of SS meeting in Manchester in Sep 1964. It is
>
> a story of citizens working together for the citizens of Exeter whether
>
> by direct service, creative thinking, or financial support.[227]

Although the rhetoric contained in the *Albemarle Report* acknowledged the

pace of social change, the dominant ideological assumptions and political ideals that

were manifested in the report's blueprint for the Youth Service made it unclear how

local authorities would go about planning and funding a re-invigorated service. This

dilemma is demonstrated by the hesitant initial response to the *Albemarle Report* by

the Exeter Borough Education Committee in March 1960 that the recommendations

be discussed again at the next meeting 'after members have had an opportunity to

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[225] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State,* p. 106.
[226] Ibid, p.107.
[227] *Exeter Council for Social Service, Annual Report 1964-1965*, p.2. (Exeter CVS Archive).

study the statement.'[228] Local authorities were charged with acting upon its

recommendations, but they were unable to respond with an immediate plan because

of the lack of specific funding pledges from central government. Regular funding

applications were made by Devon's local agents to the Ministry of Education during

the years after the report, but progress was slow because of consistent refusal by

central government.[229] There were other factors that impeded Devon's compliance.

For example, in 1963, the University of Exeter published the *Exeter Youth*

Enquiry,[230] a research initiative to explore the apparent lack of adequate leisure

opportunities in the city. According to the findings of the research, the young people

felt the 'City Fathers' were generally unprogressive and often not concerned about

young people.[231]

During the early 1960s, Devon County Council and the County Borough of

Exeter interpreted the Albemarle directives regarding services for young people

based on local need and resources. Progress towards a rationalized service for

young people was dependent on geographical and economic challenges, and this is

made evident in local records. Despite discussions in 1961 by the Devon County

Youth Committee regarding a future building programme for youth clubs in twelve

sites across the county and the long-term development of youth provision, there was

little progress. Discussions were held concerning the creation of area committees in

ten new areas with new youth leader posts in each.[232] In September 1962, the Youth

Committee proposed the formation of youth clubs in school premises in certain

locations around the county, but further proposals and cancellations due to lack of

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[228] *Exeter Education Committee Minutes: Service of Youth Sub-Committee, 18 March 1960*, DRO/5378-0.
[229] *Exeter Education Committee Minutes: Service of Youth Sub-Committee, 8 September 1961*, DRO/5378-0.
[230] Miss P. Callard, *The Summary Report of Exeter Youth Enquiry 1963*, DROXB/EXE301.57UNI.
[231] Ibid.
[232] *Report of the County Youth Committee, Devon 17 February 1961*, DRO 150/4/1/58.

funding continued through the decade.[233] In their Annual Report for the year 1962 to 1963, the Exeter Education Committee noted that steady progress had been made in attracting young people to local clubs, but that 'much more would have been done if suitable premises could have been found or if the early provision of such premises could have been promised.'[234]

Progress was slow in Devon where many of the co-educational comprehensive schools were not built until the 1970s – for example West Exe in Exeter in 1972 and Queen Elizabeth's in Crediton in 1973. The transition from grammar to comprehensive in the county proved to be a complex process with separate boys' and girls' buildings, often dating back to the nineteenth century, having to wait for new buildings.[235] In his interview, Exeter's first Youth Officer remarked that the relationship between schools and youth clubs was new in Devon compared with his experiences in Surrey. Funding was very slow in Devon he noted, and 'a lot of the things that fell into place in the 1970s were developed in the1960s – it took time to build things up.'[236] He recalled that, although the city had to wait for the proposed purpose built facilities, teachers were willing to get involved in local initiatives in their spare time. As volunteers they gained experience in the evolving services for young people and the Youth Officer encouraged them to gain accreditation by attending college and qualifying.[237] Issues around funding building projects were seen by many as a distraction from more practical ways of appealing to a wider and previously sceptical clientele. Exeter's Youth Officer knew from past

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[233] *Report of the County Youth Committee, Devon 7 September 1962*, p.47, DRO 150/4/1/58.
[234] *Exeter Education Committee Annual Report, 1 September 1962-31 August 1963*, p.38, DRO53780.
[235] Interview with SS, 8 October 2015.
[236] Interview with Derek, 5 October 2013.
[237] The interview with Derek, appointed Youth Officer by Exeter Borough Council in 1965, revealed that he encouraged some of his volunteers to gain qualifications if they were keen to do so. Leicester College, which ran the 'Bessey' qualification, was particularly popular and accessible.

experiences that because buildings came later, cost-effective strategies were needed to attract reluctant young people and this will be explored in the next chapter.

In Exeter, the construction of purpose-built youth club facilities slowed down, and in other parts of Devon community organizations struggled to provide services for young people and turned to the Community Council for Devon, established in 1961 to support rural initiatives.[238] The structure of local government shifted during the decade and boundary changes were of particular concern to rural counties like Devon. The population in the county was contested during a decade of boundary disputes as administrative areas fought for direct funding status. The main structure of English local government had remained virtually unchanged since Acts of 1888 and 1894, which had created the existing system of county councils, county boroughs and county district councils. The *Local Government Commission (the Redcliffe-Maud Report)* on sustainable local democracy published its final proposals and circulated them to local authorities in February 1963.[239] The Report was a radical redrawing of boundaries that aimed to reduce the numbers of small local authorities, end the division between town and country, and update the requirements of planning and communications. The Report proposed a completely new administrative map of England (outside Greater London), divided into sixty-one new local government areas, resulting in eighty-one main authorities that would assume the functions of one hundred and twenty-four county and county borough councils

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[238] The Community Council of Devon sustained rural communities, was an agency for state funding, made working links with different rural organisations including the National Federation of Community Associations, Citizens Advice Bureaux, Devon Youth Advisory Committee, NCSS. Initiatives included village halls, playing fields, community centres, rural life initiatives. (Community Council of Devon archives, Exeter).

[239] House of Commons debate, *Local Boundary Changes in Devon*, *28th February 1966*, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1966/feb/28/local-government-devon, accessed 9 February 2018.

and over a thousand district councils. The low population of rural Devon raised concerns when it became clear that Exeter Borough Council aimed to incorporate a number of outlying villages within the city's boundaries to increase its population to 100,000 in order to retain its county borough status. During the debate in the House of Commons following the publication of the Royal Commission's Report on Local Government, the MP for Barnstaple in North Devon, Jeremy Thorpe, highlighted the threats that the largely rural county faced as Plymouth and Exeter grew:

> We are taking from the county a rateable value and leaving behind a county which still has the largest mileage of road of any administrative county in England, with only 74 people per mile, now to be reduced to 59. We shall have a situation in which either greater burdens will be put on those parts of the county which remain, including my own constituency, or a far greater burden on the Exchequer.[240]

The county's sparsely populated network of roads traversed its 2,534 square miles, skirting the 368 square miles of Dartmoor, followed the winding north and south coasts, and still remains the longest county network in England.[241] Travel in the county was made more difficult by cuts to the rail network after the *Reshaping of British Railways (Beeching) Report* in 1963, and the northern coastal towns that were reliant on tourism were particularly affected.[242] Declining employment in agriculture was also becoming apparent and population drift from the rural areas was of particular concern to small communities as young people sought employment in the towns. A report in the 1950s had found almost fifty percent decrease in population in the south of the county because of changes in agricultural practice and

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[240] House of Commons, Ibid.
[241] Dartmoor National Park Authority, www.dartmoor.gov.uk, accessed 24 August 2018.
[242] *The Beeching Report,* http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/beeching-labour-government.htm, accessed 24 August 2018.

this was higher than many other rural areas in England.[243] Unemployment peaked in winter, a pattern attributed to the seasonal decline in outdoor occupations such as fishing and building, and to the seasonal nature of the holiday industry. The average level of unemployment during the 1960s in the county was above the national average, making the potential loss of young people, allied to the dangers of an ageing population, of real concern to policy makers.[244]

Local authority agency in Devon underwent an ideological shift in the mid-1960s that may have impacted on the relationship between the county and borough representatives. In his study of hung councils during the 1980s, Michael Temple used Devon County Council as a case study in exploring the impact of institutional breakdown. After the Conservatives' domination of Devon's county politics since the Council's inception in 1889, the county authority was taken over in 1985 by an uneasy alliance between the Labour, Liberal and Social Democratic Parties. However, twenty years earlier the borough of Exeter interrupted the Conservative domination of the city in 1966 when Gwyneth Dunwoody won the seat for Labour at the general election that gave Harold Wilson's government its second successive victory.[245] Temple points out that Devon County Council had known little of party conflict, with unopposed members continuing in post if they so wished, for life. Their 'shell-shocked attitude in defeat' in 1985 certainly indicated a belief in their unassailability, Temple concludes.[246] Their loss in Exeter to Labour in 1966 may

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[243] John Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1951-1951*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1957), p. 175.

[244] *North Devon 1966-1974: Aspects of Social and Economic Change,* (1975 Report of Community Council of Devon), p. 2*,* DRO LKE/NDEV/1/F.

[245] *Guardian Obituary,* theguardian.com/politics/2008/apr/19/gwynethdunwoody.labour, accessed 04 March 2020.

[246] Michael Temple, 'Devon County Council: a Cast Study of a Hung Council,' *Public Administration*, Vol.71, Issue 4, pp.525.

have also met with similar response, making negotiations over social policy more complex.

A House of Lords debate in 1966 highlights some of the conflicting issues between a sparsely populated county and an ever developing city at its centre:

> On the other hand, my Lords, the hardships which will be incurred if this scheme goes through in the case of the County of Devon are very great indeed. This county, which is I believe the second largest in Britain, has one of the lowest population densities in the country, and the county would lose 9,300 people…. it would be £67,000 a year worse off. I repeat, this is a county with a low population density and without great resources.[247]

This debate was about Alphington, Topsham and Pinhoe villages which were, in spite of the demographic points raised, eventually incorporated within the city boundary, but other areas such as St Thomas remained under rural district councils until the early 1970s. The challenges of a low county population density will be explored further in Chapter Four as it was a fundamental concern of the Economic Committee of Devon County Council:

> The County Council noted in its first Review of the County Development Plan (1964) that the rural population of the county had reached its peak in 1851 and had been declining ever since.[248]

The relationship between the County Council and Exeter Borough Council needs to be taken into consideration when trying to understand the dynamics between the two institutions, as well as the aspect of funding and the provision of new school and

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[247] House of Lords debate on city boundaries, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1966/feb/28/local-government-devon, accessed 8 February 2017.
[248] *North Devon 1966-1974: Aspects of Social and Economic Change,* Published by the Community Council of Devon in 1975. DRO LKE/NDEV/1/F.

youth club buildings. The 1944 *Education Act* had placed the responsibility for the provision of recreational facilities for young people on local authorities, for 'leisure-time occupation, in such organized cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements, for any persons over compulsory school age who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose.'[249]

During the 1960s Devon County Council (which excluded Plymouth) Education Committee was directly responsible to the central Department of Education and oversaw the running of the county's Youth Service via a local and regional system of sub-committees that reported on progress and developments in their areas. The central County Council department was responsible for the management and control of direct funds from central government, dispersing grants to Exeter Borough Education Department and across the county for the training and appointment of youth leaders, approved grant applications from youth organisations, and the construction or repair of local youth buildings and schools. An interviewee who had been a local county councillor in the 1960s confirmed that the Exeter Borough Youth Officer attended the County Council's Planning Department meetings and contributed on matters concerning the building of Youth Service facilities.[250] Although working in Exeter, and answerable to the Borough Council, he worked across the city boundary on matters that affected city and county, particularly when school building design was planned with after-school activities in mind.

County Council Commitment to Albemarle

This discussion suggests that the local authority in Devon was ill-prepared for the recommendations of the 1960 Albemarle Report. This is made clear by the local

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[249] Education Act, Section 41, http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/7-,8/31/section/41/enacted, accessed 28 March 2019.
[250] Interview, DM, 3 March 2016.

authority's failure to produce data records on the county-wide youth organisations and clubs which would have provided a firm foundation on which to build and evidence progress. This became evident when representatives of the HM Inspectorate asked for information on where youth clubs were situated across the region, who was running them, and youth club attendance numbers.[251] Because of the geographical and economic challenges the county faced, the local authority relied on a network of voluntary and faith-based agencies to provide community initiatives that were able to respond to local need. Economic expediency meant that the local authority acknowledged the role of organisations and regularly issued grants on application, but was unable to manage or direct their practice. Chapter Three will show how the appointment of the first Exeter Youth Officer was made because of his previous work experience in Surrey where the local authority had taken a strategic approach to managing a network of urban and rural youth clubs and organisations. Surrey was a county with more resources than Devon and the difference between the two counties became apparent when the Exeter Youth Officer began his new job.[252]

The Education Department of Surrey County Council published its *Youth Service Development Plan* on the 30 October 1962, a comprehensive response to the recommendations of the *Albemarle Report.* The plan was based on a detailed survey made by each District Youth Committee of the existing provision in their area as at 31 March 1960, which showed that thirty to forty percent of young people were members of a club in each area.[253] The plan was a thorough survey of existing

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[251] *Devon County Education Committee Meeting Minutes: Report of County Youth Committee, The Albemarle Report 6 May 1960*, Page 16, Item 97, DRO/DCC/150/4/1/58.
[252] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.
[253] *Surrey County Youth Service Development Plan, 1962, Surrey County Council Education Department, Foreword by the Chief Education Officer*, (Surrey History Centre, Woking), ref. CC855/364.

services and a projection for future expansion, including estimates for funding which had already risen from a total spend of £79,000 between 1959 and 1960, to £169,000 for 1962 to 1963.[254] Surrey was a quarter of the size of Devon and, with an even distribution of urban areas across the county including outer London and a higher level of per capita income, it was better resourced to provide services for young people. Although it is acknowledged in the plan that the extent to which it could be implemented was dependent partly upon the resources available in any one year, it does reflect a level of institutional confidence that contrasts with the haltering response made in Devon. Immediately after the publication of the *Albemarle Report*, Surrey Education Department appointed a deputy county youth officer and two assistant county youth officers to act as co-ordinators, team leaders, and expert advisers across the county.[255] By contrast, there were only four area youth leaders in Devon until 1967 when more appointments were made. The Surrey Youth Service aimed to increase the membership of youth clubs from an average of thirty-three percent, which was already above the national average, to forty-five percent of the county's adolescent population.

The *Surrey Youth Service Development Plan* shows county-wide information on youth organisations: location, gender and number of members, ownership of buildings, proposed expansion or improvement of premises, and anticipated future membership numbers (Figure 7). Each area summary includes a list of the secondary schools that were to be made available for youth organisations, which implies that such a partnership was already established. In his interview, the Exeter Youth Officer stated that he was surprised at the lack of such a relationship in Devon, particularly as local authority education departments were responsible for

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[254] Ibid.
[255] Ibid.

both education and youth services.[256] No comparable county-wide Youth Plan has been archived in the Devon county records, and no mention of statistical data collection was evident in any of the Devon County Education Department meeting minutes from the 1960s.

The *Surrey County Council Youth Service Development Plan,* with its strategic approach based on rigorous data collection, demonstrates one local authority's response and vision. By comparison, Devon's corresponding agency seemed less prepared, and it seems that, because of rurality and economic challenges, its local authority had adopted *laissez-faire* management of its network of independent and voluntarily run youth organisations. The County Education Department regularly gave grants in response to applications from uniformed groups, Young Farmers Clubs, and faith-based initiatives when funds were available. However, as will be explored in the next two chapters, some organisations preferred to maintain their autonomy by not applying for county help.

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[256] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.

DIVISION : NORTHERN

DISTRICT YOUTH COMMITTEE : BARNES & RICHMOND

Existing Open Youth Clubs	Mixed, Boys or Girls	1960 Membership		Premises at Present	School (S) County owned (CO) County leased (CL) Vol. owned (VO) Hired (H)	1970 Proposed Development	Anticipated Membership
		Total	14-20's				
CASTELNAU Y.C.	M	216	156	Church Hall, Stillingfleet Road	CL	Improvement of existing premises if site can be acquired.	150
ANNEXE Y.C.	M	102	72	Corporation Annexe, Mortlake	CL	Improvement of existing premises if site can be acquired.	150
RICHMOND Y.C.	M	72	72	Princes Road School	CL	Development of existing premises.	150
HAM BOYS' CLUB	B	50	27	Back Lane, Ham	VO	Improvement of existing premises by Voluntary Organisation.	150
HAM & PETERSHAM Y.C.	M	155	150	Lock Road, Ham	CL	Development of existing premises and site (involving Meadlands C.P. School).	150
Additional Proposals CENTRAL BARNES AND RICHMOND						New Centre possibly at Barn Elms.	300
MORTLAKE						New Centre on site in Townmead Road defined for school playing field.	150
KEW						New Centre on St. Luke's C. of E. School site, if possible, on re-building of primary school.	150
			477				1,350

SUMMARISED STATISTICS.

I. 1960
(a) Population aged 14-20 7,000
(b) No. aged 14-20 in membership 2,293
(c) Composition of (b) :—

	Organisations.	14-20 Membership.
(i) Pre-service	3	105
(ii) Uniformed	59	650
(iii) Church sponsored ...	23	833
(iv) Specialist	6	228
Total (i-iv)	91	1,816
Open Clubs, etc. ...	5	477
	96	

Total Membership 2,293

(d) % (b) of (a)—33%.

II. 1970 (Assuming completion of Development Plan)
(a) Estimated population aged 14-20 7,500

(b) No. aged 14-20 in membership :—
(i) Other organisations (as at present) ... 1,816
(ii) Open Clubs, etc. (as planned) 1,350

Total Estimated Membership 3,166

(c) % (b) of (a)—44%.

Accommodation planned in Secondary Schools to be available for Youth Organisations

Gainsborough C.S. Boys'   Barnes C.S. Mixed
Greycourt C.S. Mixed   Shene County Boys'
Mortlake C.S. Girls'   Richmond County Girls'

Figure 7: Surrey County Council Education Department, *Youth Service Development Plan* 30th October 1962, page 1, of 29 pages of meticulous data.[257]

In May 1966 there was evidence in Devon of the beginning of a new county approach. At the Devon County Council Education Committee meeting, a report from the County Youth Sub-Committee was submitted that proposed a restructure of the

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[257] *Surrey County Council Youth Service Development Plan*, p.1.

way the county-wide Youth Service was managed. The main proposal was to review

the constitution and functions of local and area youth committees and youth councils

which would invigorate the current stasis, and enable remote youth workers to work

more effectively within a supportive management model. It also proposed a review

of the way that the central committee approved grant aid for equipment and

premises, as well as a thorough review of youth leaders' access to training and

conferences.[258] Also proposed at the same meeting was a *Major Youth Service*

Building Programme for 1967-1970 based on prioritised plans submitted from across

the county.[259] Because Devon's archived county council records are not

comprehensive there is no written evidence of the existence of a detailed Youth

Service Plan that was comparable to the one produced in Surrey. However, primary

source material indicates that the years 1966 to 1970 were significant in the

development of the Devon County Youth Service. This is because in 1966 the Devon

County Education Committee issued draft proposals for the formation of community

colleges, and a subsequent working party produced a full report which was updated

by a second working party report in 1970. The earlier report laid out the basic tenets

of community colleges that would serve their local populations, including young

people. The second report re-emphasised these tenets, and referred to participation

through community involvement in the planning of activities.[260]

It appears that from the mid-1960s Devon's local authority had a clearer

picture of how education and schools would evolve into community models that

would be inclusive to local people whatever age they were. In the planning, school

building development could incorporate ideas that fitted the new community

[258] *Devon County Education Committee Report of meeting held, Report of the Youth Sub Committee, 5 May 1966, pp.5-9,* NDRO 3072C/EE6.
[259] Ibid.
[260] *Devon County Council Education Department, Sharing and Growing: a Short Account of the Growth and Activity of Community Colleges in Devon, 1977,* p.8.

perspective and eliminated the need for premises for specific youth service use. The management of the Duke of Edinburgh Award (DoE) Scheme by Devon County Council had already established a collaborative model between schools and youth initiatives, but was managed by a sole worker at County Hall who was interviewed for this research. He remembered that, because finance was tight, he was given the management of the DoE Scheme on top of his existing role, but the County Council was committed to offering young people this opportunity.[261] The *Devon County Council Youth Service Handbook,* published in 1968, acknowledged the County's commitment and the responsibility that the *Albemarle Report* had placed on local authorities, and that a county-wide structure had been created for a Youth Service, but some re-organisation was about to take place.[262] This would entail merging further education with the youth services through combined Youth Sub-Committees. In addition, a strengthened County Youth Advisory Committee would have responsibility for making recommendations and for assisting with the development of county provision. This was seen as a sound framework for future development, and a commitment was made to expanding grant aid, providing more purpose-built club houses as part of school building development, and gradual expansion of youth service staff to include youth officers and leaders as well as youth tutors based at secondary schools.[263]

The youth tutors would also make any resources available to strengthen voluntary youth work in their catchment area, and school buildings would be made available at evenings, weekends and holiday periods for 'community leisure use'

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[261] Interview, Donald, 6 September 2013.
[262] *Devon County Council Youth Service Handbook: Leisure Opportunities for Young People in Devon, 1968*, p. 13. DRO/P301.57/DEV/DEV/Pamphlet.
[263] DCC, *Youth Service Handbook*, p.13.

including for young people. [264] The planned restructuring was intended to provide for 'effective partnership between the voluntary organisations and the Local Education Authority,' but 'financial restrictions will mean that expansion in our fields of youth work will have to be achieved gradually.'[265] The Devon Youth Leadership Training Committee formed in March 1963 was still initiating county-wide training opportunities for youth workers in 1968, and was providing discussion and tutorial groups for them to share common problems and improve the workers' knowledge and skills.[266] Accredited youth leader training courses were provided at colleges in Leicester, Swansea, Birmingham, and London, and fifty colleges of education around England and Wales were including youth leadership training within their three-year teacher training courses.[267]

The Devon County Council agents appeared to be hindered by the strategic barriers of geographical distance and too few staff. Although the archival material from the period is sparse, it is possible to perceive a change in attitude from initial stasis in 1960 through to more inspired forward planning mid-decade, with further substantial changes developing at the end of the decade that would bring the concept of 'community' into the cohesive way that education and services for young people progressed. Collaboration between key actors in Exeter was vital in building capacity through sharing resources and experience, but this process was more complex across the wide and varied landscapes in Devon.

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[264] DCC, *Sharing and Growing,* p.35.
[265] DCC, *Youth Service Handbook*, p.16.
[266] Ibid., p.18.
[267] Ibid., p.19.

The Role of Local Governance

At the heart of the relationship between local authority and central ministerial agency, is the complex and changing pattern of responsibilities and powers between the State and the Voluntary Sector. The *Seebohm (Younghusband) Report* of 1959 saw the future of social welfare in terms of statutory services, and the *Albemarle Report* the following year reflected this ideology in setting out the State's responsibility for the rationalisation of the Youth Service through local authorities. However, at local level county and borough councils were highly exposed to the decisions of national governance and were forced to make difficult decisions around budgeting and the provision of public services. The drive to improve services was impacted by the departmental and fragmentary nature of social policy implementation that persisted throughout the 1960s. Although agents from various social welfare departments worked together in cases that supported young people involved in forms of juvenile delinquency, the relationship of youth and community work to education or to social work remained uncertain, complex and varied, according to Professor Bob Leaper from the University of Exeter. In a speech delivered at the University of Exeter in 1971, he spoke of the urgent need for collaborative planning between the university and the city's local authorities on planning effective services.[268] The need for effective cross-departmental collaboration had been highlighted by the *Albemarle Report* when it criticised the Department of Education's disregard of the Youth Service.[269] Devon was further disadvantaged during the post-war years because, as Neil Brenner points out, national industrial expansion was concentrated in urban regions where there was

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[268] R. A. B. Leaper, *The Determinants of Social Policy,* (University of Exeter, 1971), p. 21.
[269] *The Albemarle Report: the Youth Service Yesterday and Today,* paragraphs 25-26, http:///C:users/user/Documents/PhD/Statereports/Albemarletheyouthserviceyesterdayandtoday.htm, accessed 11 April 2014.

consistent demographic growth.[270] Interviewees who were involved with the Devon County authority hinted that it was under-funded across all its departments during the 1960s in comparison to other counties.[271] This is explained by Neil Brenner, writing on post-war economic geography, who points out that state strategies to promote economic development in this period were mobilized primarily at a national scale rather than through bottom-up regional or local initiatives.[272] The Rural Community Councils were formed in 1960 to support small-scale employment initiatives and sustain the local demographic viability of counties like Devon that relied largely on seasonal work. Although, due to their high population densities, metropolitan regions received the bulk of large-scale public infrastructure investments and welfare services, there were some compensatory regional policies designed to encourage growth in underdeveloped regions.[273] North Devon benefited from this policy to some extent, but the remaining scattered populations of the county appear to have been reliant on small grants from the Community Council of Devon.[274]

This provides a wider perspective on the limitations of local authority funding that inhibited the expansion of a Devon-wide Youth Service, and this was made more complicated by changes in the way central and local government departments were restructured during the 1960s. Comparisons have been made between the response to the 1960 *Albemarle Report* made by Surrey County Council and the apparently hesitant reaction from Devon County Council. As well as anecdotal evidence from the interview with the retired Exeter Youth Officer who described his

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[270] Neil Brenner, 'Urban Governance and the Production of New State Spaces in Western Europe, 1960-2000,' in *Review of International Political Economy*, 11, August 2004, pp.447-488.
[271] Interviews with DM, 3 March 2016, SS, 8 October 2015, Donald, 6 September 2013 and Derek 5 October 2013.
[272] Brenner, 'Urban Governance,' p. 459.
[273] Ibid.
[274] *Community Council of Devon Annual Report 1967-1969*, p. 20, (CCD Archive, Exeter).

transfer from Surrey to Devon,[275] there is written evidence from primary sources on the lack of action from Devon County Council. For example, at their meeting on the 7 February 1962, two years after the publication of Albemarle, the Torbay Youth Service Committee noted that, about the future of the Youth Service, 'nothing had been decided on yet at County level.'[276]

It is problematic to untangle the complexities of funding and action in the county's development of the Youth Service. However, the Surrey response to Albemarle was to immediately gather data and use it to construct a comprehensive template for the county, and despite the underlying uncertainties about future funding, the plan demonstrated a confident and decisive commitment.[277] Contrastingly, the Devon County authority claimed that they would have gathered statistics on youth clubs scattered across their region if they had had the capacity to collect it.[278] This point appears to be a defensive response but, as it was minuted and archived at a time when local authority sources generally omitted details of discussion and debate, it places on record the critical funding issue and possibly a lack of structured collaboration with the Voluntary Sector.

Neil Brenner's point that the nation state is constantly being produced and reproduced and subject to 'multi-faceted and ongoing processes of qualitative adaptation,' can be seen in the conflicting social policies that impacted on Devon during the 1960s.[279] This was exemplified in North Devon when, at a time when the population was shrinking because of unemployment, train services to coastal towns that were dependent on tourism were severed. Devon's local governance was highly

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[275] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.
[276] *Torbay Youth Service Committee minutes, 7 February 1962*. DRO 3879C/EEY.
[277] Surrey County Council Education Department, *Surrey County Youth Service Development Plan, 1962, Foreword by the Chief Education Officer* (Surrey History Centre, Woking), ref. CC855/364.
[278] *Devon County Education Committee Meeting Minutes: Report of County Youth Committee, The Albemarle Report* 6 May 1960, Page 16, Item 97, DRO/DCC/150/4/1/58.
[279] Brenner, 'Urban Governance,' p.459.

exposed to the decisions of the State, and any dependency on alternative sources of income such as household and business taxes was also problematic as the population drifted away from the area. The limited capacity of the county authority to respond to its statutory responsibilities is evidenced in primary and oral sources. Local government in Devon was forced to make difficult decisions around budgeting and the provision of public services and the implication of change demanded by the *Albemarle Report* exposed its limitations. Hesitancy could have been driven by confusion regarding the proposed local government reorganisation because of the time lag between the appointment of the *Royal Commission on Local Government* in 1966 and its final report in 1969.[280] The power to enact reform was hindered by entrenched modes of practice and uncertainties about how to finance it, and the local authority's ability to adapt and change course was constrained by public sector restructuring and expenditure reductions.[281]

In their recent work on the current uneven economic geography of the UK, Mia Gray and Anna Barford claim that 'public finance is politics hidden in accounting columns.' Primary sources from the 1960s offer glimpses of frustration with the level of central funds available.[282] For example, in February 1961 the construction of youth centres in twelve locations in Devon was proposed, as well as the appointment of ten additional youth officers to be based across the county to support the existing four

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[280] The Royal Commission on Local Government was appointed on 7 June 1966 and the Report was published in 1969, when Hansard records that: "The main structure of English local government has remained virtually unchanged since the Acts of 1888 and 1894, which created the present system of county councils, county boroughs and county district councils. The dominating theme of the Report is a radical redrawing of local authority boundaries, not merely to reduce the numbers but, even more important, to end the division between town and country and recognise the requirements of planning and communications in the modern age. The Report proposes a completely new administrative map of England." http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1969/jun/11/local-government-reform-the-redcliffe, accessed 29 December 2017.

[281] Brenner, 'Urban Governance,' p. 545.

[282] Mia Gray and Anna Barford, 'The Depths of the Cuts: the Uneven Geography of Local Government Austerity,' Cambridge *Journal of Regions, Economy and Society,* 11, 2018, p. 541.

officers. However, by 1968, only two additional officers had been appointed.[283] There were also failures of central government to sanction the development of youth club buildings in Devon: for example, in Exeter proposed applications for buildings to house youth clubs were regularly cancelled:

> The Youth Service Sub-Committee reported that the Department of
> Education and Science had been unable to include the Countess Wear
> Youth Centre project in the 1966-67 Youth Service Building
> Programme in view of the heavy demands on the resources
> available.[284]

The resources referred to were those of central government as the pressure of national fiscal priorities and a shrinking economy impacted on local authorities. To put this into a wider perspective, a survey of 122 local authorities was published by the National Association of Youth Service Officers in January 1964, which claimed that the amount of money approved by central government for expenditure on buildings had been falling. In the period 1960 to 1962 the value of the local authority plans that failed to get Ministry approval was ten percent of the total. In the period 1963 to 1964, however, the proportion of rejected plans rose to fifty percent of the total proposed so that a substantial number of projects had to be held back or abandoned.[285] Although almost fifty small projects gained approval and funding across the country, these were provided in urban areas of low employment, and this did not include Exeter. Compromises were made, as evidenced in the city's Education Committee Minutes in September 1961 when it was reported that 'the

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[283] Devon County Council, *Leisure Opportunities for Young People in Devon: County Youth Service Handbook 1968*, p.18, DROD05038232x.

[284] *Exeter Youth Service Sub-Committee Meeting 5 January 1966*, DRO/G3/ECA/114.

[285] C. Bagley, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Exeter: an Ecological and Comparative Study*', Urban Studies, Vol.2, Issue 1*, 1st May 1965, p.48. DRO/MATCH BAGJUV1965.

Ministry of Education had approved in principle to provide one new youth centre and a change of use adaptation of another.'[286]

The 1960 *Albemarle Report* placed expectations on schools to be assiduous in eroding the division between daytime education and after-school activities by providing premises for youth clubs and groups, but primary research has revealed a contrasting narrative. For example, six years after the report's publication, the leader of Dartington Youth Club failed to gain the support of the local secondary school in Totnes, in spite of the club being a successful enterprise with an average nightly attendance of over 100 and a waiting list for fourteen to twenty-one year olds.[287] It appears that the reticence of schools in Devon to embrace the Albemarle recommendations during the 1960s was not only rooted in antipathy to change, but also by the complexities inherent in institutional adaptability. The response from the headmaster of Totnes School appears particularly short-sighted as the South Hams area was experiencing a faster demographic decline than other rural areas in the country, with a particular drop in the supply of juvenile labour. In some South Hams parishes the population had dropped by as much as fifty percent during the decade before the *Albemarle Report* was published, with a high level of young women moving away to find work.[288] As populations of Devon's rural areas declined during the decade, along with employment opportunities for young people, it seems that higher priority should have been given to offering them better services.

The autonomy of public agencies in the process of social reform meant that local authorities in Devon inherently held assumptions of rural communitarism, using established initiatives that were responsive to the needs of their populations, as

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[286] *Exeter Education Committee Minutes, Service of Youth Sub-Committee, p.43, 8 September 1961.* DRO/ECA/110.

[287] *Dartington Youth Centre, Report November 1966.* DRO/DHTA/T/AE/7/A-D.

[288] John Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1957), p. 180.

'mediators of innovation.'[289] The negotiation of power and action was illustrated by the pragmatic approach the county authority took to allowing voluntary youth clubs to remain autonomous, merely imparting friendly advice from time to time.[290] Being independent of institutional authority was seen as more desirable than waiting in vain for local government funding, and a pride in autonomy sustained rural voluntary and community structures of influence and power. However, Geoffrey Finlayson points out that, in its desire for increased participation, the Voluntary Sector was sometimes in conflict with professionalism and training, and although it could be flexible in its approach, the spread of organisations in areas of need could be uneven and patchy. Although the Voluntary Sector prided itself on its independence, where it accepted the resources of the State this relationship in the mixed economy of welfare was often ambiguous and conflicted.[291]

Conclusion

The *Albemarle Report* impelled local authority agencies to respond to their responsibility for providing an effective Youth Service in their counties and boroughs. It has been shown in this chapter that large rural areas like Devon were at a distinct initial disadvantage, having pragmatically relied on existing unregulated networks of voluntary and faith-based youth clubs and groups. Although many of these were governed by their own organisational ethos and regulations, and supplemented financially in some cases by local authority grants, lack of cohesion made progress complex. Lady Albemarle herself commented in 1964 that 'in general the picture that emerges is still one of random growth.'[292] Quantifiable successes such as the

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[289] Peter Marris and Martin Rein, 'Dilemmas of Social Reform, Poverty and Community Action in the United States,' *Society*, January 1968, 5:3, p. 222.
[290] Interview with Reverend Ron, 22 August 2013.
[291] Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990,* (Oxford University Press, 1994), p.351.
[292] Quoted in Bernard Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p.60.

construction of suitable buildings and training programmes for youth leaders and workers could be held as evidence of progress, but statistics on the increase of youth club attendees remained elusive.

The following chapters explore specific examples of youth provision in Devon. Chapter Three focuses on the city of Exeter where the Borough Council's challenges included a relatively high youth delinquency rate and a reliance on funding from the County Council. Chapter Four examines the specific problems of engaging young people in isolated rural and coastal areas in one of the largest counties in Britain. These two case studies will provide perspectives on grassroots Youth Service development, and explore geographical spaces that potentially open new perspectives on the impact of the *Albemarle Report*.

CHAPTER THREE
IN PURSUIT OF THE 'UNATTACHED'
The Teenagers Who 'Don't Belong to Anyone or Anything'[293]

The introduction and first chapter of this thesis have explored the socio-political background in England and Wales at the time of the publication of the *Albemarle Report,* and assessed why the State felt obligated to improve after-school services for young people. In his study of the history of the Youth Service, Bernard Davies points out that social policy is inevitably a product of a complex negotiation due to conflicting societal differences and priorities, and this study appraises how these tensions impacted on the implementation of the *Albemarle Report.*[294] In the following three chapters the role of local government agency is explored to establish to what extent the recommendations contained in the *Albemarle Report* were implemented in Devon during the decade following its publication. The State's interest in young people was influenced by the dominant values and ideas of the time, but the manner in which human agency responded at a local level is at the core of this thesis, particularly as local government officials may have brought even more varied and contradictory values and interests to the task than those of central government agents.[295] Chapters Four and Five will explore these issues using oral, primary, and documentary research findings to establish how services in Devon's rural and coastal areas developed post-Albemarle, particularly as the Report had failed to address the non-urban issues that affected young people. These chapters will consider the challenges that local government agencies encountered in attempting to adhere to the ethos of the *Albemarle Report*, and the part that voluntary Youth Service providers and community activism played in the region.

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[293] Mary Morse, *The Unattached,* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1965), Introduction.
[294] Bernard Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State: a History of the Youth Service in England 1939-1979*, (Youth Work Press, Leicester, 1999), p.4.
[295] Ibid, p.12.

This chapter will begin the focus on Devon by exploring these issues in Exeter, a city where young people had a wide choice of urban distractions, and where social factors such as population density, social disorganisation, and juvenile delinquency were of concern to local government agents. The *Albemarle Report's* recommendations impelled local authorities to engage the two-thirds of young people who were not attached to an organised youth club or group, and highlighted 'a new climate of crime and delinquency' and of 'the crime problem' being very much a youth problem.[296] The 'unattached' became synonymous with the bored, the apathetic, the rebellious, and the defiant, who became the focus of debates about juvenile delinquency and its root causes.[297]

Research and Debates

The *Exeter Youth Enquiry (Callard Report)* carried out in 1963 by the University of Exeter, found that recorded indictable offences per thousand juveniles in the city between 1958 and 1962 had increased faster than that for the country as a whole. [298] The problem featured again two years later in the *Bagley Report* conducted in the city in 1965 as part of a country-wide investigation into juvenile delinquency.[299] Produced at a time when there was considerable interest in urban renewal and statistical analysis of social and economic trends, Bagley modelled his analysis on the 1961 *Moser & Scott Report*.[300] This study had analysed the social

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[296] Albemarle Report, para.17, http://infed.org/mobi/the-albemarle-report-and-the-development-of-youth-work-in-england-and-wales

[297] Morse, *The Unattached*, Introduction.

[298] Miss M. P. Callard, *The Summary Report of Exeter Youth Enquiry, 1963*, Department of Sociology, University of Exeter, DRO xB/EXE/301.57UNI.

[299] C. Bagley, *Juvenile Delinquency in Exeter: an Ecological and Comparative Study,* (University College, London, 1965), pp.33-50. C. Bagley was a Research Assistant in Child Psychology in the Department of Psychological Medicine at the Institute of Neurology, University of London. The Exeter study appeared in *Urban Studies*, Vol.2, Issue 1, 1st May 1965.

[300] C. A. Moser and W. Scott, 'British Towns: A Statistical Study of their Social and Economic Differences,' *Centre for Urban Studies, Report 2,* (Liverpool University Press), 1963 http://online.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/doi/pdf/10.3828/tpr.33.1.188612143k713701, accessed 19 February 2017.

and economic variations of fifty-seven British towns in England and Wales with a population of 50,000, classifying urban life in order to understand the relationships between societal issues such as population size and change, diversity, housing and economic environment, social class, health and education. The *Moser & Scott Report* was produced by Liverpool University's Centre for Urban Studies which was established in 1960, and the study provided a foundation for further cluster analyses during the 1960s. The *Bagley Report* used this analytical methodology to understand the causal factors in Exeter's youth delinquency rate which, by 1963-1964, was proportionately higher than in other urban spaces around the country. A total of 104 juveniles aged eight to seventeen in Exeter were found guilty of offences between December 1963 and June 1964; ninety percent were against property with ten percent being violent crimes. This represented one juvenile offender for every 769 members of Exeter's total population compared, as an example, to Croydon where the ratio was one per thirty-three thousand.[301]

The 1959 House of Lords debate on the development of a new Youth Service had raised this issue and acknowledged that young people 'more numerous than ever before, possessed of a greater potential for good or evil than any previous generation' needed a better Youth Service. The House was asked to 'recognise not only an urgent need but an unprecedented opportunity.'[302] Underlying this recognition were the two-thirds of young people who, in 1960, were 'unattached' to the service, and thus regarded as more likely to resort to deviant behaviour and juvenile delinquency. Various post-war research projects investigated the causal factors of delinquency in young people, ranging from poor housing and disruptive

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[301] Bagley, *Juvenile Delinquency in Exeter,* p.40.
[302] *House of Lords debate on the Youth Service, 4 February 1959,* Hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1959/feb/04/theyouthservices#S5LV0213PO19590204_ HOL_55, accessed 29 May 2017.

family life to boredom and low intellectual capacity. Societal changes such as the breakup of families and loss of community were seen as problematic and disruptive, leaving children without supportive role models. The *Albemarle Report* attempted to provide local facilities that would offer 'unattached' young people a focus for social and personal development and a base for reconfiguring new communities. The 1958 *Crowther Report* for the Central Advisory Council for Education on provision for fifteen to eighteen year olds included the figures for the rise in convictions of juvenile boys:
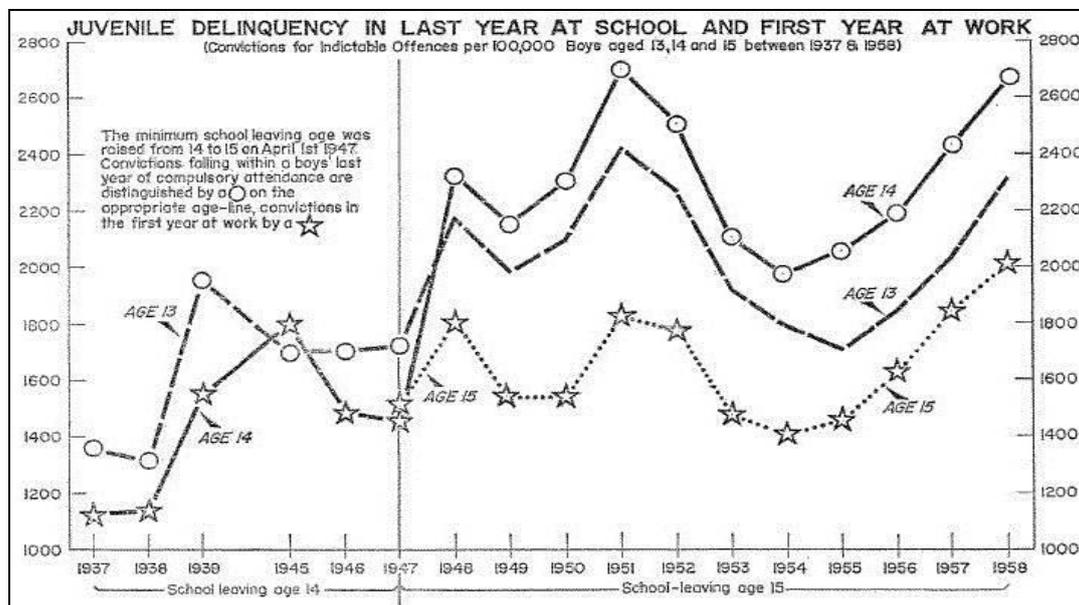
Figure 8: Graph showing the increase in convictions for indictable offences by boys aged 14-15, featured in the Crowther Report 1958.[303]

The graph above was based on evidence from the *Annual Report on Criminal Statistics*, which showed a substantial rise in convictions per 10,000 civilian males resident in England and Wales. Concern was expressed in the *Crowther Report* about a dramatic increase in juvenile delinquency among boys aged fourteen to fifteen in their last year at school:

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[303] *The Crowther Report 1958, 15 to 18: Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England),* pp.41- 42, www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/crowther/crowther1959_1.html, accessed 21 July 2014.

There is a good deal to suggest that more thought ought to be given to

the conditions of a boy's life, both in and out of school, during the last

year or so before he reaches the leaving age. We cannot be satisfied

with things as they are.[304]

However, Geoffrey Pearson has pointed out the notorious unreliability of using

criminal statistics in measuring the actual extent of criminal activity because of a

number of complicating factors. Changes in police numbers, methods and mobility,

and changes in the legal definitions of crimes all impact on the statistics. Perceptions

of what constitutes serious misdemeanour also shift over time; for example, Pearson

points out that until the 1930s it was routine practice for London police to record

thefts reported by the public as 'lost property.'[305] This may account for the low levels

of juvenile delinquency at the start of the graph used in the *Crowther Report.* The

increased use of formal rather than informal caution, and shifting levels of what was

deemed 'minor' and 'major' damage in cases of vandalism added to the illusion of

increase in criminal activities.

The *Crowther Report* also expressed concern for the moral decline of young

people exposed to the full force of the mass media, and the impending disaster as

previously held values disappeared:

Teachers and youth leaders are…well placed to bring to attention the

personal bewilderment and disaster to which (this) public indecision

over moral issues often leads the young. There can be no doubt of the

disaster. On 1956 figures, one girl in fifty might expect to give birth to a

child conceived before she was 17. It is important to disentangle the

two strands - the rise in unsupervised association between teen-age

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[304] *Crowther,* Ibid.

[305] Geoffrey Pearson, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears,* (Macmillan, London, 1983), p.214.

boys and girls; and the virtual disappearance of many of the old rules

of right and wrong which were formerly accepted even when they were

not obeyed.[306]

Noting the apparently fickle and superficial nature of badly informed teenage opinion

the *Crowther Report* pointed out that 'teenagers are most exposed to the impact of

the 'mass media of communication.' At school, they had the help of educated adults

to 'enable them to distinguish and to criticise; to master the suggestive and

imaginative material put before them in a never-ending stream, and not to be

mastered by it.'[307]

However, the reality of much education for fifteen to eighteen year olds during

the early part of the 1960s remained didactic and offered little scope for any

discussion of ideas, thus extending the chasm between organised learning and the

reality of wider experiences. The high level of interest in the causes of juvenile

delinquency was at the heart of reports, surveys and Parliamentary debates during

the decade. In response to media reports of youth violence between groups of Mods

and Rockers at the seaside resort of Clacton over the Easter weekend, a heated

debate took place in the House of Lords on 27th April 1964:

This House notes with concern the continuing increase in juvenile

crime and outbreaks of hooliganism among young people: urges Her

Majesty's Government to ensure that the courts have adequate means

of dealing effectively with young offenders; welcomes the action taken

by Her Majesty's Government to promote the study of and research

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[306] *Crowther Report*, 1958.
[307] Ibid.

into causes of delinquency; and urges the Government to intensify the measures for its prevention.[308]

Points were raised in this House of Lords debate about the high level of media interest and the uncertainty of modern life; the lack of services for young people, and the low quality housing that many families endured were also put forward as important factors. Stanley Cohen claimed that the distortion by the media of 'hooliganism' during the unrest at Clacton grossly exaggerated the seriousness of what happened and the incendiary words chosen by reporters sensationalized and heightened elements of what actually took place.[309] However, photographic images went around the world and fueled debates regarding the deviant behaviour of young people and what to do about it. Boredom was frequently cited as the underlying cause, and reports highlighted the lack of action in providing services that were seen as offering opportunities to develop interests and a sense of purpose. The ways families and communities lived featured in a number of projects led by Pearl Jephcott, who also contributed to the Albemarle Committee's report. Jephcott produced a number of research reports on the relationship between housing, community relations, and self-help. In 1950 she joined Nottingham University where she explored the social origins of delinquency and the membership of youth organizations. She was sponsored by the King George's Jubilee Trust, which resulted in the report *Some Young People* in 1954. Later, Jephcott became a senior research assistant at the London School of Economics, working in the social administration department headed by Richard Titmuss. Her first research project at the LSE resulted in the book *Married Women Working* in1962, which contributed to

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[308] *House of Lords debate, 'Delinquency and Hooliganism, 27 April 1964,* https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=1964-04-27a.31, accessed 20 September 2018.
[309] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: the Creation of the Mods and Rockers*, (Martin Robertson, Oxford 1980, first published in 1972), p. 31.

popular debates around the roles of working wives and mothers. Pearl Jephcott then began work on the *North Kensington Family Study* in 1962, which resulted in the book *A Troubled Area: Notes on Notting Hill,* exploring housing conditions, the experiences of migrants, and the role of community self-help. As a member of the Albemarle Committee in 1959, Jephcott believed that the difference between commercial activities and those of the Youth Service were the goals; the Youth Service offered club members more opportunities to learn and develop.[310]

The Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency published its findings on the correlation between low intelligence and delinquency in 1955, concluding that 'low intelligence cannot be regarded as an important causal factor in delinquency.' In fact, during the previous forty years improved systems of testing intelligence had been developed and as a result, the 'tested intelligence of delinquents has increased, steadily reaching an average IQ of 92.'[311] There had been an ongoing debate about the necessity for intelligence testing which became a political and ideological one as the model for secondary education changed from that of selection to comprehensive during the 1960s. Implicit in educational politics during this time was the issue of class and entitlement. In 1961, however, the Education Officer of West Riding of Yorkshire, speaking against the use of caning as a deterrent for delinquency, pointed out that the schools with the best (lowest) delinquency records were among those with the lowest rateable value for housing. In other words, it was believed that 'economic affluence was not a direct determinant of child behaviour nor poverty a direct cause of misbehaviour.'[312] Earlier research

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[310] Pearl Jephcott, *A Time of One's Own,* (Edinburgh, 1967), pp.125-126.

[311] Mary Woodward, 'Low Intelligence and Delinquency,' *The Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency, 1955*, p. 21.

[312] Deborah Thom, 'The Healthy Citizen of Empire or Juvenile Delinquent? Beating and Mental Health in the UK*,'* in Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Hilary Marland, (Eds), *Cultures of Child Health in Britain and the Netherlands in the Twentieth Century*, (Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2003), pp. 189-210.

into the causes of delinquency had been challenged at the Second International

Congress on Criminology in Paris in 1950 when the assumption of a link between

low intelligence and delinquency was thrown into doubt.[313] Problematic sampling

methodology obscured important variants such as cultural influences and whether

delinquents of low intelligence were more easily caught by the authorities and thus

more highly represented in studies. Research in America in 1946 had postulated the

existence of a number of typical patterns of abnormal behaviour that could be related

to certain types of upbringing, but a study by Elizabeth Field for the Home Office

Research Unit in 1967 concluded that there was no relationship between behaviour

and upbringing.[314] The complexity around delinquency and its causes became

embedded in rhetoric regarding the challenging behaviour displayed by some young

people and children that failed to meet social norms and expectations of behaviour.

Sarah Hayes points out that, although the term 'juvenile delinquent' was used to

refer to children who had appeared before a court of law as a result of criminal

activity, it was also used more loosely to refer to children whose behaviour fell short

of the norms of society.[315]

In the decade after the publication of the *Albemarle Report* there were a

number of research projects in urban areas to analyse the choices young people

were making about joining organised clubs or choosing to remain unattached, and

the findings were intended to extend understanding and inform Youth Service

practice. In 1961 the National Association of Youth Clubs commissioned a three-year

research programme to establish who unattached young people were and how to

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[313] Mary Woodward, *Low Intelligence,* Introduction.

[314] Elizabeth Field, 'A Validation Study of Hewitt and Jenkins' Hypothesis'*, Home Office Studies in the Causes of Delinquency and the Treatment of Offenders, HMSO, 1967*

[315] Sarah Hayes, 'Rabbits and Rebels: the Medicalisation of Maladjusted Children in Mid-Twentieth Century Britain,' in Mark Jackson (Ed), *Health and the Modern Home*, (Routledge, London, 2007), pp.128-152.

encourage them to become attached to a local club or group. The result of this programme was the *Morse Report*, *The Unattached,* which was published after a number of researchers were embedded in four towns across England to engage and interview one hundred and seventy young people.[316] The first Exeter Borough Council Youth Officer who was interviewed for this thesis was acquainted with this report and this will be returned to later in the chapter. National reports, debates and State rhetoric around the causes of juvenile delinquency and how to address the problem, were being considered by local authorities around the country, including in Exeter. Here the problem was increasing at an alarming rate; the *Exeter Youth Enquiry (Callard Report),* published by the University of Exeter in 1963, researched the level of commitment already made by Exeter Borough Council to the Albemarle recommendations. Based on interviews conducted by sociology students with young people in the city aged between fourteen and twenty years, almost two hundred questionnaires were completed on the leisure-time choices that young people were making and what was available to them in the city. Commenting on the local authority failure in committing to the 1960 recommendations on expanding the Youth Service in Exeter, the report concluded that:

> In Exeter, plans following the Albermarle Report on the Youth Services
>
> envisaged the erection of five youth centres on the outlying estates of
>
> the city, and possibly a central Youth House as well. The building of
>
> the first youth centre, in Whipton Ward, is scheduled for 1965-6
>
> ….Exeter has no unemployment problem, but its delinquency rate

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[316] Morse, *The Unattached,* p. 209.

certainly seems to justify a more rapid expansion of its youth services.[317]

Plans for a central Youth House had been abandoned after the funding failed to materialise from the Ministry of Education, and this problem is documented regularly in the Exeter City records and will be returned to later in this chapter. The *Callard Report* pointed out that little major building progress had been achieved in Exeter since the need for more adequate youth service facilities was recognised and recommendations made by the government.[318] The researchers also found that out of the thirty-nine youth clubs in the city that were being used by the interviewees, twenty-seven were on church premises. The implication made here was that these were faith-based and run by volunteers from the church community, and would not be a popular choice for many: youth clubs, the report pointed out, were competing with the twelve coffee bars in Exeter.[319] Although faith-based clubs would have received a limited grant from the Exeter Borough Council, most of the interviewees attended clubs that were not initiated, regulated or managed by the local authority or run by youth workers trained in State-approved programmes. Despite this, these organisations became part of the local authority network of provision that shared resources to build youth service capacity within the urban area. The autonomy and self-regulation enjoyed by faith-based youth clubs is key to understanding the relationship between the State and voluntary organisations in the 1960s both in urban and rural areas. The 1965 *Bagley Report* concluded that poor services for young people, as well as housing and poverty issues in certain areas of Exeter, were at the root of the city's delinquency problem, also noting that:

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[317] Callard, *Exeter Youth Enquiry,* p.3.
[318] Ibid.
[319] Ibid, p.4.

In the blocking of the aspirations of school leavers and young workers,

through the lack of opportunity for occupational mobility, frustration

may arise having its outlet in various forms, one of which may be

delinquency.[320]

The *Bagley Report* included a survey of one hundred and twenty-two local

authorities published by the National Association of Youth Service Officers in

January 1964, showing that the funds approved by central government for

expenditure on buildings to house youth groups had been falling between 1960 and

1964. And even in the years 1960 to 1962 when the post-Albermarle development

was just beginning, only ten percent of local authority plans submitted to the Ministry

of Education for school development had been successful. The situation did not

improve as the level of rejected plans rose to fifty percent, and only forty-seven small

projects in high unemployment areas were successful.[321]

Interviewees for the *Callard Report* described their distaste for being grouped

together with no regard for the differences between younger and older teenagers'

leisure needs and abilities, and raised the importance of feeling valued rather than

ignored and neglected. The researchers also found that existing provision failed to

attract older teenagers who regarded what was on offer as suitable for 'kids',

concluding that:

If young people are to take up responsibility as citizens, they have first

to be made to feel that they are regarded and treated as such….the

impression gained from this enquiry into the attitudes of young people

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[320] Bagley, *Juvenile Delinquency in Exeter*, p.45.
[321] Ibid, p.48.

in Exeter is that they feel that the 'City Fathers' are generally

unprogressive and often not concerned about young people.[322]

On publication, a copy of the *Callard Report* was sent to the Exeter Borough Council

Education Committee. At a meeting on the 15th October 1963, the Committee

acknowledged the report's research, but also placed on record their problems with

funding:

> Whilst the Committee does not accept entirely the interpretation
>
> contained in the Report ….the solutions to the problems emphasised in
>
> the Report would be greatly facilitated if the early provision of premises
>
> for young people as proposed in its Development Plan for the Youth
>
> Service in Exeter could be allowed.[323]

Other key research projects attempted to understand the environmental and

psychological reasons why some young people broke the law. Liverpool University

published a study of juvenile delinquency in 1964 by studying eighty boys who were

interviewed over a period of time, and who may or may not have taken part in

delinquent behaviour. The study made the controversial point that all individuals

harbour some delinquent tendencies and desires, making the concept of anti-social

behaviour merely 'normal' behaviour in the wrong social context.[324]

As well as considering the impact of social conditions on young people, post-

war interest in the role of psychology in understanding the problems of the group

was applied to youth. The medicalisation of delinquency enabled it to be diagnosed

as a 'clear sign of a collective psychological crisis….making education a powerful

potential tool for turning alienated members of the crowd into groups with shared

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[322] Callard, *Exeter Youth Enquiry,* p.10.
[323] *Exeter Education Committee Meeting Minutes*, 15 October 1963, p.61. 150/4/1/5378-0 DRO
[324] J. B. Mays, *Growing up in the City: a Study of Juvenile Delinquency in an Urban Neighbourhood*, (Liverpool University Press, 1964), p. 28.

values.'[325] At the University of Leicester, where teachers and youth leaders could qualify, its Emeritus Professor of Education, John Tibble, previously based at the University of Exeter, raised the need for an understanding of psychology in working with children and young people. Tibble claimed that the relevance of psychology was vital in developing concepts and courses of action in working with children and young people, and would enable teachers and youth workers to assess the impact of their decisions.[326] An understanding of educational psychology was seen as helpful in the engagement of reluctant learners, avoiding directive approaches to teaching, making after-school activities more inviting, and situating psychology within local community provision. State policies attempted to shape the conduct of individuals, not just to control, subdue, discipline, normalize or reform them, but also to 'make them more intelligent, wise, happy, virtuous, healthy and productive.'[327]

Nikolas Rose asserts that the regulatory role of 'psy' disciplines – meaning the group of disciplines that incorporates psychology, psychiatry, psychotherapy and psychoanalysis – is intrinsically linked to questions of the organisation and reorganisation of political power that were central to shaping State regulation and control in the twentieth century.[328] Mathew Thomson points out that by choosing information and education rather than propaganda, the liberal approach to keeping up morale demonstrated a democratisation of the psychological subject. The State's rejection of 'strategies of overt psychological control and manipulation', and the move towards 'an appreciation of everyday life in understanding the psychological

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[325] Mathew Thomson, *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture and Health in Twentieth-Century Britain,* (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 234-235.

[326] J. W. Tibble, (Ed), *The Study of Education,* (Routledge & Kegan, London, 1966), p. 220.

[327] Nikolas Rose, *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power and Personhood* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.12.

[328] Ibid, p.11.

subject,'[329] revealed acceptance of the national character and underlay the pragmatism of future debates on the role of psychology. The link between feeblemindedness and social class had been established by the eugenics movement, associating pauperism as well as other social ills such as alcoholism and criminal activity with the ten percent of the population marked as a social problem group. A psychologically-based vocabulary enabled State discourse to reconfigure human problems, and to scrutinise and regulate family life and institutional existence in terms of mental normality, and to site 'psychology linked subjective and inter-subjective existence into governmental programs in a new way.' The new language of 'the group' amalgamated diverse and even apparently incompatible conceptual developments to make the family 'knowable, calculable and administrable.'[330]

State interest in the treatment of juvenile delinquents resulted in several Government White Papers in the late 1960s. The first in August 1965 invited further discussion of possible measures to support the family, forestall and reduce delinquency, and revise the law and practice relating to young offenders. *The Child, the Family and the Young Offender* outlined the new Labour Government's proposals for reforming the ways in which minors (under twenty-one) were dealt with under the law. [331] Its significance was in setting the context for the debates that went on before the next Government White Paper, *Children in Trouble,* published in 1969, recommended that young offenders aged under seventeen were dealt with without the use of courts. [332] The *Children and Young Persons Act*s of 1963 and 1969 reformed the treatment of young offenders in juvenile courts. The 1963 Act

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[329] Thomson, *Psychological Subjects*, p. 227.
[330] Rose*, Inventing Ourselves*, p. 72.
[331] Government White Paper, *The Child, the Family and the Young Offender,* https://www.thetcj.org/child-care-history-policy/the-child-the-family-and-the-young-offender, accessed 25 November 2018.
[332] Government White Paper, *Children in Trouble,* 1969. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.bjc.a049150, accessed 26 November 2018.

emphasised the importance of care and protection, raising the age of criminal

responsibility from eight to ten. The 1969 Act reduced the powers of juvenile courts

to make orders, deciding in favour of care orders and supervision by probation

officers and social workers, effectively prohibiting criminal proceedings for offenders

under fourteen and ensuring those between fourteen and seventeen were handed

over to local authorities' social welfare care.[333] Concerns expressed on

environmental factors causing anti-social behaviour led to debates on the standards

of expanding residential development during the 1960s. The 1968 *Town and Country

Planning Act* instigated more real public participation in planning that gave people a

'better chance of being involved in the planning of the area they live in and of

influencing it' and prioritised the human environmental element to urban

design.[334]Studies were made to establish the relationship between architectural

standards and vandalism, and sociologists such as Stanley Cohen introduced an

analytical approach to understanding the meanings and motives behind vandalism.

Cohen concluded that vandalism was the ideal form of rule-breaking that offered

excitement, action and a sense of control that were lacking in young people's lives

but portrayed in the films and television programmes they were watching. [335] These

powerful influences in society may have impacted on some young people but the

majority of them who lived more conventional lives were not deemed

newsworthy.[336]Juvenile crimes and delinquent behaviour were seen by Cohen as a

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[333] John Springhall, *Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain 1860-1960*, (Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 1986), p.197.
[334] Mathew Thomson, *Lost Freedom: the Landscape of the Child and the British Post-War Settlement,* (Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 207
[335] Stanley Cohen, 'Property Destruction: Motives and Meanings', in Colin Ward (Ed) *Vandalism,* (The Architectural Press, London, 1973), pp. 42-53
[336] Ronald Fletcher, *Britain in the Sixties: The Family and Marriage,* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1962), p. 158.

physical manifestation of the frustration that some young people felt in their attempts to redefine themselves.[337]

Figure 9: Research by Mark Abrams found that twenty-five percent of all consumer expenditure on entertainment was made by teenagers.[338]

Studies of youth culture and adolescence through the twentieth century have identified consumerism aimed at young people as both a response to and the driver of youth modes of behaviour. (Figure 9) In the 1960s, the 'youth market' responded and fashion style, magazines, record labels aimed at young buyers flourished and film, television and 'pirate' radio reinforced the message. *Radio Caroline* was launched in 1964 to beam pop music illegally from the ship 'Ross Revenge' moored just outside the legal three-mile jurisdiction, and continued to operate for almost thirty years before the ship floundered off the coast of Kent.[339] Its popularity was rooted in the range of popular music that was unavailable on other airwaves, and by its challenge to State authority. Working-class voices and themes were increasingly apparent in popular culture, and identity groups emerged using style as signifiers of shared values and authenticity. Often these were associated with deviant behaviour and civil threat as their numbers grew and their collective presence was felt. Calls

[337] Cohen, *Property Destruction.*
[338] Mark Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer,* (London Press, 1959), p.11 and p. 20.
[339] '*Radio Caroline Returns to the Airwaves*', https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-essex-42424163, accessed 28 March 2019.

for tighter censorship controls in order to protect young people included a backlash

against the perceived trend for media indecency which was marked by the formation

of the National Viewers and Listeners Association, formed in 1964 by self-appointed

campaigner against the permissive society on television, Mary Whitehouse. Although

vilified in the 1960s, Whitehouse represented the views of many concerned parents

and educators, and the association became a powerful lobbying group.[340]

The cultural norms of education not only appeared to support the idea of

placing barriers between young people and the media, but according to the Plowden

Committee's Report in 1967, between eighty and ninety percent of teachers were

opposed to any abolition of their power to use corporal punishment. This method of

control was linked to historical notions of exerting institutional power in order to

maintain children's moral character. Deborah Thom points out that resistance to

challenge from psychological experts[341] meant that it was not until the 1980s that

beatings in school were stopped.[342] Social control was also a feature of the 1960

Albemarle Report which made broad sweep assumptions about youth unrest and

crime highlighting a 'new climate of crime and delinquency' that associated 'youth'

with 'problem:' [343]

> I think that both arousing and keeping the interest of the young is the
>
> biggest antidote to crime, and … there is no doubt that if we could
>
> recruit into the Youth Service 2 million young people by 1965—and this

[340] *Guardian,* 24 November 2001, https://www.theguardian.com/media/2001/nov/24/guardianobituaries.obituaries, accessed 28 March 2019.

[341] Thom, 'The Healthy Citizen of Empire or Juvenile Delinquent?' p. 208.

[342] In 1982 the European Court of Human Rights declared that parents in the UK would be allowed to stop school beatings after a parent took up the case of her son. In 1986 beatings in state schools were outlawed, but it wasn't until 1998 that this applied to fee-paying schools. http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/february/25/newsid_2516000/2516621.stm, accessed 15 March 2019.

[343] The Albemarle Report, ///c:/users/user/Documents/Albemarletheyouthserviceyesterdayandtoday.htm, accessed 11 April 2014.

is the suggestion of the Minister of Education—the juvenile courts

would be considerably emptied.[344]

In making sense of the 'law-and-order' myth, Geoffrey Pearson highlights the

place of collective generational nostalgia in the historical persistency of

notions of youth as 'problem.' Each tradition, he claims, uses the existence of

crime to 'indict some aspect of the social order and to champion its own social

causes.'[345]

The moral-political dispute underlying the ethos of the *Albemarle*

Report called for the moral duty of the State to do better in their services for

young people, and this would inevitably benefit the social and political stability

of society as a whole.

Engaging the 'Unattached' in Exeter

Exeter's local authority may have demonstrated a willingness to comply with

the Albemarle recommendations, but several years passed while plans to expand

and improve buildings to house youth clubs were thwarted by lack of central

government funding. With its high level of juvenile delinquency, other approaches

were needed to engage young people particularly those at risk of causing trouble,

and Exeter's first Borough Youth Officer was appointed in 1965.[346] Derek was

interviewed for this thesis and recalled that he was given the opportunity to move to

Exeter from Surrey because of his experience in engaging young people in the urban

area of Guildford. The Exeter Education Committee noted this in their Annual Report:

Considerable attention was given to the problem of the 'unclubbables'

and it was decided to move towards an unattached qualified leader

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[344] House of Lords debate Hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1959/feb/04/the-youth-services#S5LVO213PO_19590204_HOL_55, accessed 12 September 2013.
[345] Pearson, *Hooligans,* p.236.
[346] *Exeter Education Committee Annual Report 1 September 1964-31 August 1965,* p.28. DCC/150/4/1/58DRO.

who would mix with such youngsters and guide the Committee in what

provision could be made to secure their interest and co-operation.[347]

Derek's memories provide a useful perspective on the way that the Exeter local

authority responded to the Albemarle recommendations. Although he was familiar

with the *Morse Report* on engaging unattached young people, and had worked in

Surrey to implement the Albemarle plans, Derek had to take a pragmatic view of the

reality of inadequate funding and resources in Devon.[348] He remembered being

surprised at the lack of funds available when he started work in Exeter because

Surrey had benefited from a higher level of funding for the development of

Albemarle-driven services.[349] Not only did he struggle to obtain funding during the

decade, but his geographical area was expanded gradually to include parts of the

county that bordered the borough boundary. Derek soon realised that he needed to

build the capacity of Exeter's Youth Service by linking with existing local voluntary

and independent initiatives to share resources and knowledge. No written records

have been found that might confirm why and how Derek's appointment was made

and this makes the oral evidence all the more important. Derek implied that his work

in Surrey had become known to key agents based in Exeter, and the timing of his

appointment may have been in direct response to the reports on high levels of

delinquency in Exeter. His interview also revealed dismay at how much catching up

was needed in Devon if it was to address the Albemarle Committee's

recommendations; he recalled that 'the relationship between schools and the youth

clubs was pretty new, but it was what was already happening in Surrey.'[350] This

personal recollection illustrates three key points which have value for this study.

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[347] Ibid, p. 29.
[348] Morse, *The Unattached.*.
[349] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.
[350] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.

Firstly, there were clear differences in the way local authorities across Britain were resourced to help them respond to the Albemarle recommendations. Central government grants were based on a *per capita* system which disadvantaged sparsely populated counties like Devon where low levels of local domestic and business taxes added to funding constraints. Secondly, differences between Surrey and Devon expose an inherent but misinformed assumption of universal compliance across the country. Thirdly, Derek expressed frustration at the lack of motivation shown by the local authorities compared to Surrey, which may have been caused by historic under-funding.

The Exeter Youth Service aimed to engage all young people. Derek's expertise was needed to find ways of including those 'unattached' juveniles who resisted the conventional aspects of youth club activities. He took up his new post with few resources and managed by a Borough Council Education Department with no immediate certainties for the construction of modern buildings that would facilitate after-school activities. Expediency meant the use of existing facilities and networking with established voluntary sector organisations such as uniformed and faith-based groups. He had to work hard to build partnerships with local schools and youth groups and, because of the lack of trained youth leaders and money to pay them, volunteer teachers became vital in engaging young people in outdoor out-of-school activities.[351] Another interviewee who worked part-time at an after-school club in a less affluent part of Exeter recalled how the Youth Officer organised activities primarily to keep young people off the streets. He always felt that the club was

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[351] Ibid.

undervalued and under-supported by the local authority, although the secondary school found the resource vital in keeping young people out of trouble.[352]

The planned changes in the way young people were to be educated had a bearing on the implementation of the Albemarle recommendations at a local level because of links between proposed developments in school buildings with integrated youth wings for after-school activities. Debates on the intellectual streamlining of children and the bias of middle- and upper-class parents towards grammar education continued, but new schools built from the late1960s did offer those working for grassroots services for young people after school an opportunity to engage the 'unattached' teenagers who concerned the State. Derek's Surrey experience of engaging 'unattached' young people was useful for his new role, and his efforts in Exeter to try a range of initiatives to engage and challenge them were revealed in his interview. One of his strategies was to target them through frontline agencies like the police in order to change attitudes towards young people who might be regarded as at risk of non-conventional behaviour. He had regular meetings at Middlemoor and worked closely with the police, training some of them as part-time voluntary youth workers.[353]

Middlemoor was, and remains, the Headquarters of Devon and Cornwall Police and the role of the police in engaging young people in the 1960s was recalled by another interviewee. She remembered that young people between the ages of sixteen and nineteen were trained as police cadets at the headquarters.[354] They were not compulsorily enlisted into the Force, but encouraged to surf life-save, become involved in community service with older people or children, and complete the Ten Tors Dartmoor trek and the Duke of Edinburgh Award. This oral evidence,

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[352] Interview, Gill, 16 November 2015.
[353] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.
[354] Interview, Pam Giles, South West Police Heritage Trust, 13 March 2019.

and the community engagement on the North Devon coast explored in Chapter Four, demonstrates how the police saw their involvement as both a way of preventing juvenile delinquency and training officers to deal more effectively with young people. It may also have helped that serving police officers were out of uniform and more approachable in this role. Liverpool University's study on juvenile delinquency, published in 1964, included interviews with community 'on the beat' policemen who were responsible for apprehending juvenile offenders and presenting evidence in court. The research found that:

> Forty percent revealed an understanding of the social significance of
> their job which went far beyond a mere maintaining of law and order
> and the safeguarding of life and property. There were indications that
> the attitude of present day police officers is tending to approximate to
> that of other social service workers.[355]

The police officers interviewed in Liverpool had experienced difficulty in being socially accepted, were criticised during court procedures, and felt that court sentences for juvenile offences were too lenient. They also wanted closer co-operation with schools so that minor offences could be dealt with at school level, but some police interviewees stated that a few schools had taken the view that any misdemeanours committed outside of school were not the concern of the teachers.[356] By mixing police and volunteer teachers in various youth initiatives, Derek offered an opportunity for these key agencies to work together across the delinquency agenda, with an implicit understanding that 'anti-social behaviour is learned by cultural contacts in precisely the same way as socially acceptable

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[355] John Barron Mays, *Growing Up in the City: a Study of Juvenile Delinquency in an Urban Neighbourhood*, (Liverpool University Press, 1964), p.187.
[356] Mays, p.186.

behaviour.'[357] By taking 'unattached' young people into an environment that was very different to their urban communities, and offering them new ways to use their energy and initiative, the volunteer police and teachers could engage with them informally - and this made the Pixies Holt initiative an important strategy.

Pixies Holt Residential Centre at Dartmeet on Dartmoor had been a shelter for walking groups and owned privately when Exeter Borough Council bought it in 1964, and the Exeter Youth Officer was granted permission to develop it into a venue for outdoor education.[358] Realising that the updating of city buildings suitable for young people was going to take time, he proposed to take them out of the city and into the wilder areas of Devon to help them develop skills in physical activity, participation, and organisation. The aim was for young people from Exeter to learn map-reading, orienteering and setting up camp, and to enjoy and understand the countryside as well as grow confident in decision making, working in a team, and taking responsibility. The support of the Borough Council does demonstrate an understanding of what needed to be done to encourage 'unattached' young people and reveals an aspect of trust and confidence in Derek's knowledge and experience. He introduced taster days where teenagers could choose from a range of activities including pitching a tent, sub aqua diving in a local pool, map-reading and orienteering, abseiling, and canoeing. These activities could be used to gain the Duke of Edinburgh Award (DoE); the scheme was run by schools and the involvement of teachers at Pixies Holt not only offered opportunities for fulfilling the requirements of the DoE awards, but also encouraged teachers to gain experience and qualify as youth leaders.[359] Some of the teachers who became involved were motivated by the experience to give up their spare time to establish adventure clubs

[357] Ibid. p. 28.
[358] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.
[359] Interview, Derek.

for their own schools.[360] In this way through the 1960s an increasing number of Exeter schools became involved in out-of-school activities, gradually eroding barriers between schools, the Youth Service, and the police force.[361]

These agency links were vital in the prevention and management of juvenile offending in Exeter: the Petty Sessional Division of Wonford Case Committee records include detailed notes from child care officers, care agents and probation officers that show a multi-agency approach to supporting young offenders.[362] These ranged in age from eight-years old, with a proponderance of fourteen to seventeen year olds, who were mostly male but with a few teenage girls. The details recorded individual cases where families needed extra support, return-to-school management was logged, and at-risk teenagers were deemed in need of care and protection. Probation officers linked with employers and schools and where a young person demonstrated satisfactory progress probation orders were rescinded. The potential for 'trouble' underlies much of the narrative around 'unattached' youth in Exeter and also underpins Derek's strategy in engaging the police, church leaders, and teachers within his Youth Service support network.

New housing developments and changing demographics were seen as contributing to the break-up of family units that had provided the support needed to sustain health and social care levels. The wartime bombing of the city and the subsequent aftermath of slow reconstruction and recovery had been at the core of concerns about the welfare of families and young people by the local authority during the 1950s. The first child guidance clinic was opened in 1950 at the Alice Vlieland Welfare Centre in Exeter, and in its annual report a year later the city's School

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[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid.
[362] *Petty Sessional Division of Wonford Case Committee Schedule of Cases*, *1960-1963,* F3/32/12/5/1821P/M2DRO.

Health Service reported to the Exeter Borough Council Education Committee that a hundred and twenty-four pupils had been supported at the clinic.[363] A few years later in 1956, the Committee reported the completion of a research initiative to assess the level of 'special disabilities' in the city's schoolchildren. The categories included 'mental dullness' (an IQ of less than 84), 'very inadequate speaking vocabulary', 'marked incapacity for abstract thought', 'emotional immaturity', anxiety and neurosis, delinquent behaviour as well as physical impairment, 'bad or broken homes', illegitimacy and 'homes where cultural level is very low.'[364] The report was entitled *Adjustment Teaching for Educational Subnormal Children in Exeter,* which implies the assessment would inform future educational practice. The conclusion to the report highlighted the welfare of the city's young and the impact of post-war infrastructural changes:

> We have repeatedly noticed the extent to which the breakup of the neighbourhood – a marked phenomenon of the post-war years affects parents and their children. Removal to a housing estate poses many conflicts.[365]

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[363] Exeter Borough Council Education Committee, *Annual Report Upon the School Health Service in Exeter 1950.* DRO MATCH EXEANN/1951.
[364] Exeter Borough Council Education Committee: *Adjustment Teaching for Educational Subnormal Children in Exeter,* 1956. MATCH EXEADJ 1956/WSL:sB/EXE/371.91/EXEU.
[365] Exeter Borough Council Education Committee, *Annual Report.*

Figure 10: Council housing in the new town of Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire in 1954.
(Photograph: Raymond Kleboe/Getty Images, Guardian Newspaper 17 July 2019).

Child guidance was initially part of the mental hygiene movement during the inter-war years and centred on the development of the 'normal' child and the environment in which he or she grows and develops. The research carried out in Exeter can be seen as an attempt to establish how local children's mental health could be assessed, diagnosed, and categorised in order to 'adjust' through education in school. Although records are not available to ascertain how the local authority planned to do this, the records from the voluntary sector, explored in the next section of this chapter, do show how voluntary community agencies collaborated to support families where children were vulnerable. Critics have claimed that assumptions that the environment in which children grew up as an important causal factor of juvenile delinquency provided a far less contentious explanation for juvenile delinquency than the sociologists' stress on the necessity for social reconstruction, as well as the 'incorporation of the working-class adolescent into a society still ostensibly governed by a middle class consensus.'[366]

The trope of lost communities not only featured in the *Albemarle Report*, but also in parliamentary debates and articles. Richard Hoggart, one of the Albemarle

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[366] John Springhall, *Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain 1860-1960*, (Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 1986), p. 197.

Committee members, suggested in *The Uses of Literacy* that working-class

communities championed values that Britain was in danger of losing:

neighbourliness, mutuality, and integrity.[367] However, the research carried out by

Michael Young and Peter Willmott in the late 1950s concluded that notions of

community were more complex than the nostalgic romanticism of the past. They

explored the role of kinship and family in the lives of people who were moved out of

Bethnal Green into new local authority homes in the sprawling housing estate at

Greenleigh (Debden) in Essex. Many residents in Young and Willmott's research

expressed feelings of uprooted-ness and isolation, with the lack of shared amenities

preventing them from making new friends and establishing a feeling of community.

The densely packed streets of the Bethnal Green docklands and the West Quarter in

Exeter, where the average death rate was twice that of the city overall, for all their

health and welfare challenges, offered kindship and community at close hand.[368]

However, an updated introduction to the 1986 edition of Young and Willmott's work

acknowledged the family's 'impressive resilience' to adapting to changes in

society.[369] They found that, although previously tied to a geographical space by time,

people did not throw off a past that contained former family and friends, but instead

combined past and present to adapt and sustain a sense of belonging.[370] This sense

of belonging that came from knowing and being known by so many explains their

attachment, but new communities emerged as associations were reformed. Jon

Lawrence has recently revisited some of Young and Willmott's original field-notes

and concludes that their inherent left-wing critique of State social policy skewed their

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[367] Selina Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class, 1910-2010,* (John Murray, London, 2015), p. 241.
[368] 'Exeter Medical Officer for Health Report, 1926-1930,' in '*The West Quarter*', www.exetermemories.co.uk, accessed 29 August 2019.
[369] Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, (Published by Penguin, Harmondsworth in 1957, new edition 1986), p.xxiii.
[370] Ibid, p. 187.

findings. Lawrence also found that the original interviews showed that family life was more fractious and kinship ties considerably weaker than the researchers had claimed. In fact, residents at the new housing estate saw their 'leafy, low-density estate with its modern well-appointed homes' as proof that their lives were valued by the State.[371] In his recent research using recordings of workers from the Tyneside shipyards made in the 1960s speaking about what the notion of 'working-class' meant to them, Lawrence concludes that it is 'impossible to weave these together to produce any single, overarching model of working-class life and culture. Diversity and individuality loomed large in the workers' testimony.'[372]

In Exeter, the statistical evidence in the findings of the 1965 *Bagley Report* on Exeter's juvenile delinquency substantiated the concerns held by the Borough Council, and revealed a complex picture of familial and environmental causes (Figure 11). The *Bagley Report* showed that forty-one percent of Exeter's juvenile delinquents resided in a single ward, which consisted almost entirely of an out-of-town council estate in Wonford where two and a half thousand inhabitants had been rehoused after city centre slum clearance in the 1920s and 1930s. The Wonford estate was built after a compulsory purchase order was made by the Borough Council for ninety acres of farmland on either side of a lane which took its name, Burnthouse Lane, from a farmhouse that had burnt to the ground 'one Saturday night.'[373]

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[371] Jon Lawrence, 'Family and Kinship in East London Revisited,' *Fabian Society*, 7 November 2017, https://fabians.org.uk/family-and-kinship-in-east-london-revisited/, accessed 21 August 2019.

[372] Jon Lawrence, *Me, Me, Me? The Search for Community in Post-war England*, (Oxford University Press, 2019), p.162.

[373] Exeter Memories, http://www.exetermemories.co.uk/em/_streets/burnthouse.php, accessed 10 January 2019.

Ward	Number of convicted juvenile delinquents (aged 8-17) December 1963-June 1964	% of Dwellings with over 1.5 persons per room	Overcrowding as at 1961 Rank Order
Wonford**	43	12.8	1
St Loyes**	19	9.2	2
Whipton	14	5.1	4
Barton	11	3.7	6
Exwick	6	5.9	3
Cowick	3	1.7	11

Figure 11: A breakdown of the areas of Exeter where juvenile delinquency was highest included in the 1965 Bagley Report. (**Slum clearance housing estates built in the 1920s)[374]

The new council-owned houses were offered to the residents from the decaying central part of Exeter between the cathedral and the River Exe, close to the mills and factories on the banks of the river. It appeared that this area was in its day a criminal subculture of some notoriety, and 'rehousing alone was not the cure of delinquency unless supported by adequate social services.'[375]

The break-up of the old city centre communities and enforced movement to the rural outskirts had engendered some resentment, and the area retained its nickname of 'Siberia' because of its relative isolation and lack of amenities.[376] Bagley put forward the argument that continuing delinquency might well be explained by the lack of community and youth services on the estate. In addition, the *Report* stated that the overcrowding rate in Wonford was the highest for any urban ward in the south west, including Plymouth, Bristol and Southampton. All of the wards with above average levels of delinquency were found to be the most overcrowded in Exeter. The Wonford estate had been laid out on a symmetrical design with a central road with no other outlets, and the *Report* noted its physical isolation from other urban sections of the city, being surrounded by fields:[377]

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[374] C. Bagley, *Juvenile Delinquency in Exeter,* p.42.
[375] Ibid.
[376] http://www.exetermemories.co.uk/em/_streets/burnthouse.php, accessed 6 June 2016.
[377] Bagley, p.44.

Figure 12: Aerial photograph of the Burnthouse Lane Estate, Wonford: surrounded by fields and cut off from the city centre where the inhabitants had lived prior to inter-war slum clearance. (Copyright Exeter Memories)

The Exeter Youth Officer aimed to engage all young people and needed to find ways of including these 'unattached' juveniles who resisted conventional aspects of youth club activities. In the 1963 *Callard Report,* it was noted that two minor building projects had been completed in Burnthouse Lane for young people, although no details of what these were have been sourced.[378] The *Directory of Social Agencies* compiled by students at the University of Exeter in 1971 listed a Burnthouse Lane Youth Club for fourteen to twenty-one year olds, but further details of who ran and funded it were not included in the directory.[379] However, the records of Wonford Methodist Church in Burnthouse Lane offer some idea of the challenges of engaging young people. In the minutes of the Church Council Meeting on the 12th November 1962 it was noted that a member had suggested that a fund be held until some youth work could be developed.[380] No further mention of such an undertaking was mentioned for several years until a dedicated Youth Secretary was appointed on the 25th February 1969. Two years later, the established youth club's attendance averaged between sixteen and twenty young people with a number of new

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[378] Miss M. P. Callard, Department of Sociology University of Exeter, *Exeter Youth Enquiry 1963*, p.3, DRO/xB/EXE/301.57UNI.

[379] *A Directory of Social Agencies in Exeter, June 1971,* Compiled by students of Exeter University, led by R A B Leaper, Professor of Social Administration, (University of Exeter Archives).

[380] *Collection Journal of Wonford Methodist Church, Burnthouse Lane, 12th November 1962-25th January 1973.* F2/12/17/1/8404.

members.[381] This may have been the club mentioned in the University Directory in 1971 when the Burnthouse Methodist Youth Club membership averaged between forty and fifty and was aided by two volunteers from the University.[382]

Although Methodist youth clubs were self-funded they could apply to the Exeter Borough Education Committee which was empowered to make grants to youth organisations in the city.[383] These were assessed individually on merit, but could cover payment for youth leaders' salaries, overhead costs or for specific purposes such as the purchase or repair of buildings or equipment. The County Director of Education had to be consulted before any purchase was made but it was nevertheless an established local authority route for expediting the improvement of local facilities. It is likely that the Borough Youth Officer was involved in the decision-making process because of his familiarity with the youth clubs' needs and his ability to make informed recommendations. The 1963 *Callard Report* noted that a plan for five new youth centres on the periphery of the city and an additional central Youth House had been approved for inclusion in the 1965-66 Ministry of Education programme, although this was cancelled when the Minister of Education failed to provide the funds.[384] Although records show that the provision of new school buildings that would cater for after-school activities was slow to develop during the 1960s, Exeter's Youth Officer broadened the opportunities for engaging young people by developing a range of initiatives and partnerships. Funding restrictions were overcome by recruiting volunteers to help supervise participants and Derek encouraged them to use that experience towards achieving youth leader qualifications. Research interviewees Ellie and Gill both gained in-service training at

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[381] *Collection Journal,* 16th June 1971 F2/12/17/1/8404.
[382] *Collection Journal,* 25th January 1973. F2/12/17/1/8404.
[383] The Methodist Youth Movement will be explored in Chapter Three.
[384] Callard, *Exeter Youth Enquiry 1963*, p. 3.

Pixies Holt in the evenings, weekends, and afternoons. Gill recalled that training was practical rather than theoretical, but she did study some theory later and went on to work as a paid part-time youth leader, carrying out work in the community.[385] Ellie went to Leicester College to study full-time to become a youth leader, and enjoyed a long career working with young people.[386] Derek recalled how he used the lessons he had learned as a Youth Officer for Surrey County Council to network with schools in an imaginative way to meet the recommendations of the *Albemarle Report* within his limited resources:

> We were able to run adventure clubs during the week and school
> groups at the weekend. We had open days to build relationships with
> the local rural community....we had a few awkward kids from time to
> time…We depended on help from the volunteers from the clubs...we
> used some of the teachers from the schools...and the young
> helpers....we built up the support from the schools because it benefited
> them as well.[387]

Future plans to develop the partnership with schools were hinted at during an Exeter Youth Service Sub-Committee meeting in March 1967, when it was requested that work should be done to determine the feasibility of hiring school premises to youth organisations for after-school activities.[388] No records have been sourced that show that this idea was pursued before 1967, which raises questions about the willingness of schools to become involved on their premises. However, the involvement of volunteer teachers in Derek's outdoor activities programmes does suggest that some schools were supportive of their staff being involved. When interviewed Derek

[385] Interview, Gill, 16 November 2015.
[386] Interview, Ellie, 5 October 2013.
[387] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.
[388] *Exeter Education Committee Minutes*, *Youth Service Sub Committee* 15 March 1967, p.175. DRO ECA/19/106.

recalled that, although he submitted a monthly report to the City Council's Education Department, he was never given any quantifiable targets to achieve. The lack of complete written records in local archives highlights the importance and relevance of oral research. His efforts to slowly build the capacity of youth services in Exeter within very tight budget restrictions seem to have been well received. Certainly, the Pixies Holt initiative was recalled by several interviewees in a positive way, and opportunities for achievement in both physical activity and personal development were enjoyed by the youth groups and volunteer youth service workers.[389] The success of Pixies Holt met one of the *Albemarle Report's* key ideals:

> Many groups find their companionship in strenuous physical ventures,
> in canoeing or cycling together, in camping or travelling across Europe
> by hired lorry. To be a member of a group, living side by side for a
> period in camp or on an expedition, can be of special value to social
> development. Experience of the same kind can be gained from
> residential courses, which many witnesses have praised for the greater
> impact they make on young people and the opportunities they give for
> more stimulating and far reaching work.[390]

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[389] Interviews with Derek, Gill, Ellie.
[390] Ministry of Education (1960) *The Youth Service in England and Wales: The Albemarle Report*, London: Chapter 5, item 190 (Her Majesty's Stationery Office), http://infed.org/mobi/the-albemarle-report-the-youth-service-yesterday-and-today/ last accessed 20 October 2019.

Figure 13: Twenty-five percent of all consumer expenditure on bicycles
was made by teenagers.[391]

Travelling across Europe in a hired lorry was possibly a step too far and Derek

seems not to have attempted such an initiative, but the Borough Council asked him

to link with Bad Homburg in Germany when it was twinned with Exeter in 1965.[392]

These post-war partnerships were seen as an important opportunity for the new

generations from both countries to work together to build bridges that would

establish international understanding. Derek responded by taking groups to

Germany to link young people across political divides, and these trips and the work

at Pixies Holt demonstrated new and effective initiatives that served to engage

'unattached' young people.

      After he was appointed in 1965, Derek found that, although his remit was

Exeter, he was asked to gradually cover some of the rural areas beyond the borough

boundary and the challenge became greater as resources were more thinly

distributed and the Borough Council absorbed some of the outlying villages. During

his interview, Derek recalled how amazed he had been at the lack of funding

available in Exeter and Devon compared to Guildford and Surrey, and local records

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[391] Mark Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer*, (London Press, 1959), p.20.
[392] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.

reveal some insight into why he felt there was a lack of energy and innovation.[393]

There were clearly financial restraints, but in addition to fiscal resources the will and determination to instigate change seemed absent, and a visionary perspective on the future was lacking. Although past experience of financial constraints may have hindered the pace of change, Committee minutes often reveal a ponderous environment that failed to address wider cultural and social changes.[394] This was not helped by the nature of the committee: even towards the end of the decade, the eight-person 1966 Devon County Youth Sub-Committee that reported directly to the County Council included one major and two reverends, educators and housewives, but failed to include any consultation with users of the services.[395]An extensive *Devon County Youth Service Building Programme* that crossed over Exeter's boundaries was finally launched for 1967-1970 through a grant made by the Department of Education and Science and plans were submitted and priorities decided.[396] Meanwhile, however, through the decade the Exeter Borough Youth Officer realised he needed volunteers to build a 'structure of provision' based on a network of interested people and voluntary organisations, and he remembered that 'buildings came later.'[397] Oral research on the early days of the Exeter Youth Service demonstrates how challenging it was to recruit young people in an environment offering plenty of other urban distractions. Derek linked and supported existing voluntary sector youth organisations and, because his own resources were so limited, built capacity through networking with faith-based and other voluntary youth clubs such as the YMCA. By building a working relationship with youth leaders

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[393] Ibid.

[394] *Torquay Youth Service Committee AGM Minutes, 20 July 1960.* DRO 3879C/EEY.

[395] *Report of Youth Sub Committees 05.05.1966,* p.41. NDRO 3072C/EE6.

[396] Ibid.

[397] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.

around the city and sharing skills, expertise and resources, he hoped that previously 'unattached' young people would attach themselves to groups.

Although no written record has been found to directly link the 1965 *Bagley Report* on juvenile delinquency in Exeter with why Youth Officer Derek felt he had to engage with the 'unattached' young people of Exeter, his oral evidence testifies that he was expected to at least make attempts to do this. He was clearly uneasy about it, admitting that he remembered 'confronting some difficult kids at the time,' but he was determined to develop a practice of engaging young people who were not already linked to a youth club or group.[398] By taking the University chaplain with him, he developed a partnership approach, getting moral support from the organisation that had produced the *Callard Report* on delinquency in Exeter. Derek responded to local need and adapted his approach to engage 'unattached' young people in different ways.

Another area of Exeter that he concentrated on was Beacon Heath. The sprawling post-war residential estate was constructed on a hilly area on the outskirts of the city to house families made homeless by the bombing around the St James' area. The Beacon Heath secondary school was constructed in 1961 and named after the original school building, and included a dedicated building for after-school activities, named the Knight Club.[399] Interviewee Gill described the way Derek developed youth work there, which aimed to keep the young people out of trouble and off the streets. Beacon Heath was deemed a 'rough area' and Gill recalled that the secondary school's headteacher could not cope with some of the teenagers.[400] This observation does imply that the Exeter Youth Officer and the head-teacher worked together on this initiative. In addition to after-school care, the Knight Club ran

[398] Ibid.
[399] http://www.exetermemories.co.uk/em/_schools/stjamesschool.php, accessed 29 March 2019.
[400] Interview, Gill, 16 November 2015.

a lunch club for fifteen and sixteen year olds and, although Derek and the volunteers worked hard, he always felt that the club was undervalued by the city authorities.[401]

These facilities would have appealed to some of the unattached young people that Derek was meeting as he carried out 'detached' or street youth work. In an effort to engage young people who were not already linked to a youth club or group the Exeter University chaplain accompanied him to popular places like the El Zamba Coffee Bar in Fore Street and the Clock Tower Cafe where Mods, Rockers, and other 'challenging' groups gathered. These particular coffee bars had a reputation that was remembered recently by a local woman:

The El Zamba had everything that a 60s coffee bar needed….a cool

name, a great jukebox….and a slightly dangerous clientele.[402]

Research interviewee Anna also recalled the coffee bar fondly. Together with her older brother they met up with friends at El Zamba on Saturday mornings, going on to a pub at lunchtime (Anna was aged sixteen at the time). The attraction was that there was no organised entertainment but they enjoyed listening to the jukebox and playing cards and were happy to consider themselves unattached to any organised club.[403] Oral evidence offers an insight into the difficulties of categorising young people. Bagley's report would not have regarded Anna and her friendship group a source of delinquent behaviour; they were well-educated and middle-class, and she later went to university and qualified as a solicitor. Young people such as Anna contradicted class-based assumptions about the 'unattached' during the 1960s, and the Exeter Youth Officer was aware that he needed to adopt a range of strategies to engage them. In the autumn of 1966 he persuaded the city's Youth Sub-Committee

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[401] Ibid.
[402] Exeter Memories blog, www.exetermemories.co.uk/em/_story/story_28.php, accessed 16 October 2015.
[403] Interview, Anna, 16 November 2015.

to recommend a coffee bar club to be formed in the city centre. The project was to be 'an experimental venture' for fourteen to twenty year olds to be run by a full-time dedicated youth leader and overseen by Derek.[404] At the same meeting he was asked to submit a plan for the leisure activities for the ten to fourteen age group, and he submitted the 'Youth Service Census Figures' for the previous year, which suggests that he was collecting data on youth club attendance.[405] These skills were important as the Exeter City Education Committee had noted in their Annual Report a year earlier that previous statistical analysis of attendance had resulted in a misreading of multiple memberships that concluded that thirty-three percent of young people had attended youth clubs, whereas the real figure was below the national average in real terms.[406]

In March 1966 the Borough Youth Officer reported to the Exeter Youth Service Committee that in the year since he had been appointed, fifty city youth leaders had gained the 'Bessey' Youth Leadership Training qualification. This programme was named after Gordon Bessey, who chaired a working party appointed by the Minister of Education in July 1961 in response to the recommendations of the *Albemarle Report*, to consider a standardised training programme for youth leaders, whether voluntary or paid, full or part-time. The programme that was devised as a result of the working party's findings was delivered at Leicester University through the 1960s. Although no response to Derek's achievement was noted in the meeting minutes, it may have gained him some appreciation. When he was interviewed he spoke about his determination to get both volunteers and paid youth workers in his area to qualify, and fifty newly-qualified

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[404] *Exeter Youth Service Sub-Committee Meeting Minutes, 7th October 1966, p.71.* 150/4/1/5378-0 DRO.
[405] *Exeter Youth Service Sub-Committee Meeting Minutes, 24th June 1966, p.27.* 150/4/1/5378/0DRO.
[406] *Exeter Education Committee Annual Report 1st September 1964-31st August 1965, p.28.* 150/4/1/5378-0 DRO.

youth leaders was a quantifiable response to Albemarle. By encouraging teachers, police officers and other volunteers to gain practical experience as well as passing accredited training, he aimed to raise the standard of leadership as well as build a successful team for the city's Youth Service. In the same Exeter Youth Service Committee Report it was also noted that the county and city local authorities had decided to form a Devon Youth Leadership Training Committee with one representative from each of the Devon, Plymouth, and Exeter authorities.[407] Derek was to represent Exeter and report on training courses completed and recommend other youth workers to qualify.

Exeter offers an urban case study for exposing the particular challenges and infrastructural aspects that were to hinder the role of the Borough Youth Officer during the 1960s. Derek's interview tells us much about the strategies that he adopted in order to make a difference. He was innovative in his approach to offering accessible routes for training his volunteers as youth leaders, and acknowledged in his interview that his work in Exeter was pragmatic and experimental, taking time to build trust and capacity.[408] Within that development work were the collaborative partnerships he secured with established voluntary organisations, many of which had a long history, independent funding routes, and community support.

The Role of the Exeter Voluntary Sector

To provide 'unattached' young people with meaningful facilities and activities Derek networked with faith-based organisations across the city such as the YMCA to locate clubs that would interest and inspire them to get involved. Faith-based youth clubs had the advantage of being able to access grants from trusts and so were not

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[407] *Exeter Youth Service Sub-Committee Meeting Minutes, 16th March 1966, p.25.* DRO150/4/1/53780.
[408] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.

solely dependent on local authority funds, and these trusts were often established by philanthropic endeavours to support communities, and encourage young people. From the late 1950s, the YMCA in Exeter moved slowly towards engaging in community social action by opening a community club at the new housing estate at Whipton.[409] In 1958, the County Director of Education and the Youth Employment Officer were on the list of attendees at the Exeter YMCA annual meeting, and the guest speaker, Reverend E. A. Simpson, 'underlined the educational basis of any responsible approach to youth leadership and citizenship.'[410] However, an implicit understanding of the limitations of local authority funding, meant that the YMCA in Exeter turned to the Carnegie Trust in 1962, in order to provide facilities for fourteen to twenty-one year olds. This trust was established in 1913 by Scottish-American philanthropist Andrew Carnegie to seek 'the improvement of the well-being of the masses of the people of Great Britain and Ireland' and empowered trustees to 'select as best fitted from age to age for securing these purposes, remembering that new needs are constantly arising as the masses advance.'[411] The Trust understood that many local youth organisations, burdened as they were with maintenance commitments had been prevented from attempting much-needed refurbishing of their premises because of the difficulty of raising funds. It hoped that the offer of Trust grants would help to stimulate fresh and constructive efforts to recondition clubs and put them in better shape to meet the needs of young people.[412]

The YMCA grant application to the Carnegie Trust was successful and, with further financial gifts and loans, it was able to open a new extension to its building that provided young people with a range of leisure activities and a place to meet.

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[409] Tom Browne, *A History of YMCA Exeter,* (YMCA Community Projects), 2018, p.110.
[410] Ibid, p.110.
[411] Carnegie Trust, https://www.carnegieuktrust.org.uk/who-we-are/our-history, accessed 22 January 2019.
[412] Browne, *A History of YMCA Exeter*, p. 111.

There are no records to confirm that the 1965 official opening was attended by

Derek, newly in post, but he did speak at the Annual General Meeting of the Exeter

YMCA on the 13th July 1966 where he referred to the 'large number of young people

not at present being served by the existing youth service facilities and on the need

for venturesome youth work.'[413]
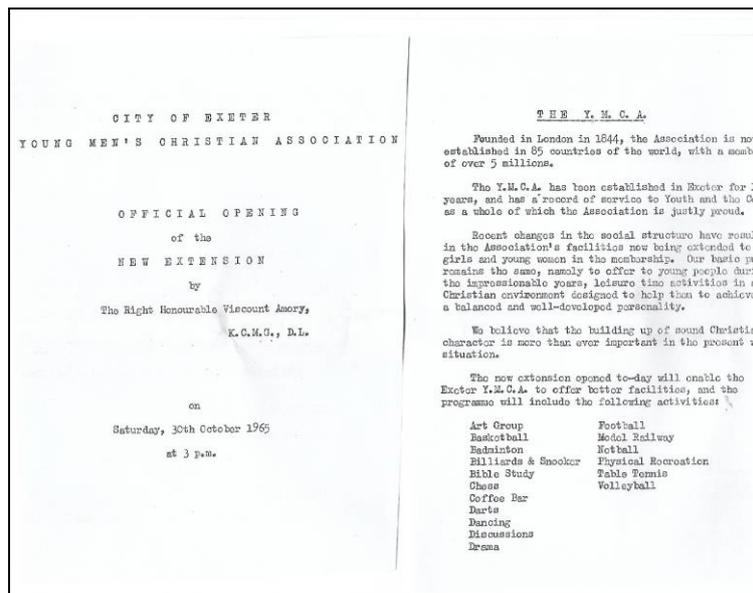
Figure 14: Programme for the Official Opening of the new extension to the YMCA facilities in Exeter on Saturday 30th October 1965. The YMCA could now invite young women and girls to enjoy the new activities. (YMCA Archives, Exeter)

It was also recorded that after Derek spoke a lively discussion took place about the

role of the YMCA in the development of the Youth Service in Exeter. The National

YMCA body had responded to the Albemarle recommendations and began to raise

the profile of young people's personal development.[414] The programme (Figure 14

above) for the official opening in October 1965 of the Exeter YMCA's new building

extension reveals that the larger premises would enable young people (both boys

and girls) to enjoy many leisure activities including badminton, billiards, chess,

[413] Ibid, p.117.
[414] History of the YMCA in the UK, https://www.ymca.org.uk/about/history-heritage/timeline, accessed 12 April 2018.

dancing, drama, table tennis, and volleyball.[415] Other clubs being run by the YMCA at the time included boxing and judo and 'unattached' young people were encouraged to get involved through the outreach work carried out by Derek in his role as Borough Youth Officer.

Urban populations like Exeter also benefited from the way that Methodism took on the role of service provider for young people in their communities.[416] The example in Wonford given earlier in this chapter demonstrates how the church council recognized a need and gradually built up a viable youth club over a number of years. Interviewee Alan was employed by the Methodist Church to co-ordinate youth clubs across Devon including Exeter. He had quarterly meetings with each area to discuss national and local interests and was responsible for training youth leaders.[417] It is likely that he would have collaborated with Derek in Exeter to consider who to put forward for youth leader training, and ways of engaging 'unattached' young people in areas like Wonford. Although he had no specific memory of meeting Alan, Derek may have made this link in an effort to make progress in this challenging area of the city. During the 1960s, Alan became Training Officer for the Methodist Association of Youth Clubs, Chairman of the Devon Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations, and a member of the Devon Youth Leadership Training Committee where Derek represented Exeter. When interviewed, Alan recalled that those in youth work at the time 'took responsibility and we all grew through experience and not text books.'[418] This was very similar to Derek's approach to engaging 'unattached' young people which may have led to a useful working collaboration between the two youth leaders.

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[415] *Programme for the Official Opening of the New Extension of the YMCA, St Davids Hill, Exeter on 30th October 1965* (YMCA Archive, Exeter).
[416] Interview, Alan, 5 April 2014.
[417] Ibid.
[418] Ibid.

As well as offering young people activities in their communities, Exeter's voluntary sector played a wider role in supporting them and their families when they were in trouble. The notes made by the Petty Sessional Division of the Wonford Case Committee reveal close liaison with juvenile offenders and their families, particularly in relation to the financial and social hardships that they may have been experiencing.[419] Support for families in need was provided by local authority agency in partnership with voluntary sector agency. The Exeter Council for Social Service (ECSS) supported non-government organisations in the city, by offering work-space, funding opportunities, and administrative support. The range of service providers within its remit played a key role in supporting families living in deprived and isolated residential areas during the 1960s. The ECSS noted in its annual report in 1960 a reminder of the 'social pressures for material things from which none of us can escape,' and recorded that the organisation had helped almost 240 people during the past year in dealing with their budgeting and hire purchase problems.[420] The national hire purchase debt at the time was at a record high level with figures from county courts recording an increase in the number of debtors committed to prison the previous year.[421] The role of family and community in Devon will be explored in depth in Chapter Four, but in Exeter support for families and communities during the 1960s was increasingly provided by the voluntary sector. At the beginning of the decade, the ECSS (later to be named the Exeter Council for Voluntary Service) acknowledged its collaborative role with the local authority:

> The CSS is made up of individuals and organisations concerned with
>
> the social wellbeing of the people of Exeter. It is a voluntary

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[419] *Petty Sessional Division of Wonford Case Committee Schedule of Cases, 1960-1963,* DRO/F3/32/12/5/1821P/M2.

[420] *Thirteenth Annual Report of Exeter Council for Social Service 1959-1960* (Exeter CVS Archive).

[421] *Thirteenth Annual Report of Exeter Council for Social Service,* Ibid.

association of people, not tied to any government department but working in close co-operation with the City Council and all statutory authorities. It is alive to all social problems that arise and if a service is needed which is not as yet, or cannot be, provided by statutory means, then the CSS itself endeavours to meet that need. These social services are carried out by professional workers and voluntary helpers working together as a team. The Welfare State now provides for the basic needs of its people but many problems confronting men and women are personal and spiritual ones which cannot be provided for by legislation. It is in this field that a voluntary organisation has such a valuable contribution to make.[422]

In his study of psychology in the twentieth century, Mathew Thomson notes that many general practitioners in this period without the resources to deal with the post-war psychological strain on health, turned to 'outside alternatives.'[423] These could be provided by the Exeter voluntary sector where understanding, support and practical help from volunteers in response to need was vital to reducing demand on hospitals, doctors, probation officers and others.[424] The 1961-1962 Annual Report of Exeter Council for Social Services acknowledged the continuing challenge, declaring that 'voluntary organisations still have a very important part to play in the Welfare State by giving that extra help that cannot be provided by legislation.'[425] As economic constraints were felt by local authorities, the voluntary sector adapted to local need and the notion of community care continued through the partnership of both sectors

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[422] *The Fourteenth Annual Report of Exeter Council for Social Service 1960-1961, Team Work by the Citizens of Exeter for the Citizens of Exeter,* (Exeter CVS Archive).
[423] Mathew Thomson, *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture and Health in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 205.
[424] *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Exeter Council for Social Service 1961-1962,* (Exeter CVS Archive)
[425] *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Exeter Council for Social Service,* Ibid

and the co-operation and the willingness of both paid and voluntary agency.[426] The *Directory of Voluntary Sector Social Agencies in Exeter* undertaken by the University of Exeter in June 1971 showed that Exeter Council for Social Service supported the Volunteer Bureau, Citizens' Advice Bureau, Widows Group, Young People's Counselling Centre, Over Sixties Rest Room, Chiropody Service and the Social Workers' Luncheon Club.[427] The role of the ECSS was to 'find needs of the area and try to meet them by bringing together specialist knowledge, experience and machinery, and to find areas of overlap and gaps which need bridging.'[428]

On Youth Service provision, the *Directory of Social Agencies in Exeter* 1971 stated that its objective was to offer young people opportunities for 'discovering and developing their personal resources so that they may be better equipped to be responsible members of the community.'[429] Uniformed groups in the city amounted to fifty-seven and included Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, Air Training Corp, Army Cadet Force, Sea Cadets, Boys Brigade, Girls Brigade, St Johns Ambulance Cadets, Nursing Cadets, and British Red Cross Cadets. These uniformed organisations provided structured and dedicated learning and opened up possible career paths: the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts originated in the early 1900s and aimed to teach young people life and survival skills; the cadets trained by the medical organisations taught young people the skills they needed to help in medical emergencies and influenced future career decisions; and the armed forces provided similar skills that aimed to encourage cadets to join the Air Force, Navy or Army. There were thirteen 'open' youth clubs (where the responsibility was shared by local authority support

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[426] *The Nineteenth Annual Report of Exeter Council for Social Service 1965-1966*, (Exeter CVS Archive).
[427] *A Directory of Social Agencies in Exeter*, Compiled by students of Exeter University led by R. A. B. Leaper, Professor of Social Administration, published in June 1971, (University of Exeter Archives).
[428] Ibid.
[429] *Directory of Social Agencies*, Ibid.

and voluntary management) as well as thirty faith-based youth clubs run by the Methodist, Baptist, Church of England, Catholic and Congregational churches and two run by the YMCA. There were also a number of specialist interest and sports clubs in Exeter that young people could access. The University ran a Community Action initiative that encouraged students to get involved in working with children, the disabled, the elderly, befriending 'at risk' families and helping at youth clubs, including the Wonford Methodist Church club already mentioned. Although adult volunteers, including parents, teachers, police or congregational members, were vital in keeping youth clubs operating and thriving, the involvement of young people was also important. As they were able to leave school from the age of fifteen in the 1960s, it was common for young volunteers to get involved in uniform organisations such as the Red Cross Cadets, where they volunteered on hospital wards to get direct experience of nursing and caring.[430] The International Voluntary Service recognized the increasing need for social projects and by 1966 the organisation was running almost two hundred projects in the England and Wales every year, giving young people opportunities to get involved in the support of their local communities.[431] From the Wonford example, it is clear that the students at Exeter University were volunteering in the city during their periods of study and throughout the 1960s. ECSS acknowledged the support the university provided for the city's voluntary sector and declared its appreciation of the firm links it had and the generous financial help received each year from the University Rag.[432]

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[430] History of Red Cross Cadets, https://museumandarchives.redcross.org.uk/objects/38693, accessed 22 January 2019.
[431] History of International Voluntary Service, https://ivsgb.org/history, accessed 22 January 2019.
[432] *Fourteenth Annual Report of the ECSS 1960-1961*, p. 2, (Exeter CVS Archive).

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the public and voluntary sectors worked together
in an attempt to support families and young people in deprived areas of Exeter, and
to address the issues of 'unattached' young people and juvenile delinquency. It has
shown how government agency worked through schools and the police force,
alongside voluntary organisations to engage 'unattached' young people, using
needs-led initiatives. Faith-based organisations such as the YMCA and Methodist
youth initiatives were able to adapt to their communities' needs, and access both
funds and volunteers that were not available to local authorities. Faith-based
organisations such as the Methodist church were readily embraced as responsible
employers and trainers of youth leaders, and in Exeter and Devon local authorities
absorbed their contribution into Youth Service provision.[433] Derek, the first Exeter
Borough Youth Officer, was appointed in the mid-1960s and used his experiences in
Surrey to build networks with voluntary organisations, volunteer teachers, and police
officers to enhance capacity through collaboration and sharing resources and
knowledge. The personal agency of youth workers such as Derek and Alan during
the 1960s enabled the gradual blending of voluntary and public sector resources in
order to maximise the engagement of 'unattached' young people. In Exeter the
voluntary sector offered a network of opportunities for engaging young people in
order to re-connect them with new perspectives and experiences. By exploring the
way that young juvenile offenders were managed in Exeter by the police and social
agencies, it can be seen how the network of voluntary and public agents worked
together to support families and young people to overcome social and financial
deprivation and improve their lives. Through participating and volunteering in their

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[433] Interview, Alan, 5 April 2014.

communities, 'unattached' young people could be redirected back into education through training as youth workers, and supported to gain skills and confidence through wider community activities and volunteering roles.

This study of Exeter has demonstrated how a viable Youth Service was developed in the post-Albemarle decade in an urban area with a high level of recorded juvenile delinquency and an under-funded local authority. The chapter has highlighted the importance of personal agency in implementing change and understanding local need, and this contrasts with the institutional circumspection of local authority action. However, the pragmatic acceptance of the voluntary sector's ability to adapt and react to local need meant that government agency was prepared to fund Exeter's voluntary initiatives, but not to 'dictate or determine their activities.'[434] The next chapter will explore the way that youth services were developed across the county of Devon, and in particular the specific challenges experienced in isolated rural and coastal areas. It will also consider the relationship between public and voluntary agency in these parts of the county to establish whether geographical distance impacted on the way the two sectors supported youth clubs and groups. The chapter will use oral and primary documentary sources to analyse how far the *Albemarle Report's* recommendations were implemented during the 1960s, and will compare Devon County Council's response to this social policy document with that of Surrey County Council. In his study of the *Albemarle Report*, Bernard Davies claimed that its impact was variable across England, and this comparison offers an opportunity to explore this statement and to evaluate the causes of any variation.[435]

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[434] Matthew Hilton and James McKay, *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the Big Society*, (Oxford University Press, 2011), p.133.
[435] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State,* p. 55.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PROGRESS OF ALBEMARLE IN RURAL
AND COASTAL AREAS OF DEVON
"It's not much cop walking two miles in the wet to play
ping-pong with the vicar!"[436]

The Challenges of Rural Youth Work

Earlier chapters have shown that concerns about the impact of social change

on young people, their families and communities were expressed by both national

and local State agencies. This chapter explores how this impact was experienced in

the rural and coastal areas of Devon and to what extent they responded to the

recommendations of the *1960 Albemarle Report*. The focus of this report, and the

subsequent changes made to youth work practice, primarily concentrated on the

urban young, while the needs of young people in the rural areas were largely

ignored.[437] The *Salter-Davies Report* based on the findings of a working party, set up

in November 1963 to explore the issues, concluded that the basic needs of young

people were largely the same in urban and rural environments, and that any social

changes in communities impacted on those living there in similar ways, whether town

or country. This report concluded that, although the findings had been limited, there

was no need for a more detailed or systematic enquiry into the special problems of

rural youth work. Researchers for an article on *Youth and Policy*, published in May

1991, found no evidence that any further information gathering was systematically

undertaken in any part of the country after the *Salter-Davies Report*, and neither

the1960 *Albemarle Report* nor the 1969 *Fairbairn-Milson Report* had specifically

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[436] Quoted in Bernard Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State: a History of the Youth Service in England 1939-1979*, (Youth Work Press, Leicester, 1999), p. 175.
[437] Ibid., p. 104.

addressed the issues.[438] Assumptions were made in both reports that established networks of Young Farmers Clubs, uniformed groups, and faith-based activities would continue to serve rural youth.[439] The concept of 'rural deprivation' began to take shape in the late 1970s as a counter-balance to earlier research on urban deprivation, and increasing central government focus on urban and inner city problems.[440] In Devon as in other rural counties, the local authority boundary changes subsumed many rural councils within district councils that included urban areas. This reduced the rural agency of reconfigured local authority frameworks, but it was possible to access specific central funds for economically deprived areas such as North Devon.

Although juvenile delinquency was regarded by the Albemarle Committee as an urban problem, recent research has found that any delinquency rates deemed lower overall among rural adolescents are accounted for by rural girls' lower likelihood of committing delinquent acts, as rural boys did not differ from non-rural boys in this respect.[441] In 1960, in spite of concerns about population drift,[442] which will be explored in this chapter, rural communities in counties like Devon were regarded as having a more homogenous and stable population, with effective communal social control from church and community that influenced young people's behaviour. Despite assumptions of similarities between urban and rural youth needs, research undertaken in 1991 by the National Youth Bureau on young people's perspectives on living in a rural area raised specific issues that remained

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[438] Ray Fabes and Sarah Banks, 'Working with Young People in Rural Areas,' *Youth and Policy: Focus on Rural Youth,* May 1991, No.33, p. 2.
[439] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State,* p. 104.
[440] Fabes and Banks, *Working with Young People,* p. 3.
[441] Don Weenink, 'Delinquent Behaviour in Dutch Rural Adolescents', *Journal of Youth and Adolescents*, 2011 Sep; 40(9), pp. 1132–1146.
[442] John Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1957).

unaddressed. Thirty years after the *Albemarle Report* these young people felt

isolated, claustrophobic, and unaware of opportunities open to them. They felt visible

and judged within their community and had low expectations about their future. They

spoke of strong hierarchical and class divisions, stereotypical gendered

assumptions, and poor transport and health provision. Responses were gathered

from a 'number of corners of Britain' and revealed a general feeling that the world

was governed by the urban experience.[443] The Campaign for Rural Youth (CRY) had

been established in 1979 as a lobbying group for change, but over the next decade it

seemed that little had changed for young people in the countryside. The rise in youth

unemployment during the 1970s and 1980s affected both urban and rural young, but

the invisibility of rural youth to urban policy makers, youth workers, academics, and

politicians intensified the problems. During the post-war decades, concerns about

juvenile delinquency and social disorder had been seen largely as an urban issue

that gained more attention than the scattered rural youth populations, particularly as

their inherent dislike of being visible and judged within their communities was the

very factor that kept rural delinquency off the policy-makers' agenda.

To try to understand the problems of engaging young people in rural areas,

the *Morse Report's* research in the early 1960s into four areas in England included a

country town given the fictitious name of 'Midford,' where the major employment was

based on agriculture and its dependent trades. There were several villages nearby

with few facilities for entertainment, and the transport services between those

villages and Midford were poor. According to the final report, it was not until 1962

that the local authority began to assume any real responsibility for the provision of a

youth service and it was widely accepted by both statutory and voluntary

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[443] Quoted in Fabes and Banks, *Working with Young People in Rural Areas*, p. 5.

organizations that the provision was inadequate.[444] In Midford itself only a sixth of young people attended a club or group, far below the national average of one in three. The situation in the villages was further disadvantaged by the lack of transport and the problem of finding skilled, or at least enthusiastic, leadership and by the fact that rural isolation made it difficult for anyone to attend a youth leadership training course.[445] The researcher also found that most rural clubs were closed from mid-May to September because club leaders were usually employed in agriculture and this was their busiest time of year. The *Morse Report* also raised the issue of poverty and insecure employment: for example, one village youth leader worked a seventy-hour week, which included volunteering at the youth club and paid agricultural work, and he produced all the food he and his family needed on his allotment:

> It is likely that the rural club leader gardens for food on a scale
>
> unknown in the town….one has spoken to someone who annually lifts
>
> a ton and a half of potatoes from his back garden and regards the
>
> success of his crops as a matter of some seriousness.[446]

The sparse population of villages and small towns meant that it was more likely that child and teenage youth club members would experience activities together. This meant a planning challenge for any youth leader, and the management of bored and disenchanted older members difficult to manage. Some of these older teenagers had left school at fifteen and were apprentices or working in low-wage agriculture. The *Morse Report* mentions incidents of teenage drunkenness when police were sometimes involved, but the word 'delinquency' was not applied in these examples. There seemed to be an element of self-management in the attitudes of some of the young people using clubs, where known 'trouble-makers' were avoided. One young

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[444] Mary Morse, *The Unattached*, (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1965), p. 152.
[445] Ibid., p. 160.
[446] Ibid., p. 161.

club member confirmed that they just did not have anything to do with that sort because sooner or later they brought trouble.[447]

The Midford research in the *Morse Report* reveals local knowledge about violence and control within families, feuds and long-standing resentments that were well-known among the young people attending organized activities at the clubs. This management of deviant behaviour was also evident in the Young Farmers Clubs in Devon, and raises notions of the nature of behaviour control in small, rural areas with few leisure options available.[448] The 1991 research by the National Youth Bureau revealed how gendered stereotyping remained embedded in rural youth work, and thirty years earlier the *Morse Report's* gendered rhetoric and assumptions are particularly acute: for example, some young girls were named and singled out in the report as being 'difficult' and susceptible to sexual promiscuity. A young girl whose 'sexual danger seemed considerable' was noted by her youth worker who recorded several incidents of rescuing her from compromising situations with local boys.[449] No record was made regarding any response to the boys in question, and the subjectivity and bias contained in the report raises questions about the morality and vulnerability of both the young people in the research and the anonymous researchers. The *Morse Report's* methodology used researchers with false identities posing as youth workers, and there seemed to be complete disregard to any boundaries within which youth workers should have operated. A study of adolescence and community by John Eggleston for the University of Keele, reviewing how the Youth Service had adapted and progressed during the 1960s, highlighted the challenges that youth leaders had faced. Engaging the 'unattached' had been given high priority in the *Albemarle Report*, but this had compelled youth

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[447] Ibid., p. 162.
[448] Interview, Donald, 6 September 2013.
[449] Morse, *Unattached*, p. 164.

leaders to build collaborative relationships with them that had made previously held boundaries less distinct. The experimental youth worker, who was open to trying new approaches to engage young people, was made vulnerable by gaining acceptance but risking a loss of authority.[450] This will be explored in more depth in Chapter Five, when the different approaches taken by youth leaders in urban and rural areas after Albemarle will be assessed further.

Devon's Response to Albemarle in its Rural Areas

Rural isolation was both a day-to-day social issue and a psychological and geographical barrier to the development of partnerships with schools. The level of resistance inherent in some areas reveals non-co-operation and a reluctance to embrace the spirit of the Albemarle recommendations. This is illustrated in the records of Dartington Youth Club, which was supported by a Devon County Council grant plus endowments from the Dartington Estate, and as a result was better resourced than other clubs in the South Hams area. The club's Youth Leader, Wesley Jones, was concerned that the club, being based on the Dartington Estate, was too removed from the local community and he was eager to collaborate with the secondary school's building development plans in Totnes, which was both expedient and in line with the Albemarle vision. Nevertheless, in 1966 Jones recorded his frustration at the lack of co-operation from the school in that year's annual report:

> I put a number of questions to Mr Snape, headmaster of Totnes
> Comprehensive School…he said a Youth Wing at the new school was
> out of the question…he couldn't see the school becoming a 'Newsom'

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[450] John Eggleston, *Adolescence and Community: the Youth Service in Britain*, (Edward Arnold, London, 1975), p. 153.

school with lots of out-of-school activities because of the very rural

area and the difficulty of getting young people home.[451]

The quotation refers to the *Newsom Report* of 1963 which recommended that

schools engage with the personal development of its pupils and with other youth

organisations, both statutory and voluntary. It urged that links with the youth

employment service, further education and the youth service be strengthened, and

that local education authorities should begin an experimental building programme to

remedy the existing functional deficiencies of schools.[452] Mr Snape clearly had

concerns about rural logistics, but the Youth Club was overcoming these challenges.

The headmaster failed to grasp that, as the Dartington Youth Club Report recorded,

the club had seventy junior members (under fourteen) and two hundred seniors

(fourteen to twenty-one) and that twenty percent travelled from outlying villages up to

fifteen miles away. This meticulous record-keeping reveals much about the uneasy

relationship between rural youth organisations and schools. Clubs like Dartington

relied heavily on community support but could apply to Devon County Council

Education Department for funds which were not guaranteed. Subscriptions and local

fundraising initiatives largely sustained the clubs and the tone of the above quotation

reveals a level of frustration that must have been felt by many leaders of rural youth

organisations. Wesley Jones believed that rural youth work 'cannot be successfully

undertaken without regard to the wholeness of village life' and by 1969 he had

successfully overseen the club's move to a new purpose-built centre in the village

that could be used by the whole community.[453]   The journey that Dartington Youth

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[451] *Dartington Youth Club Report November 1966*, Dartington Youth Centre Records,
DRO/DHTA/T/AE/7/A-D.
[452] A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) on Secondary Education, *The Newsom Report, Half Our Future, 1963* http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/newsom/, accessed 7 July 2016.
[453] *Dartington Youth Club*.

Club took during the decade from its inception in 1962 to the end of the 1960s illustrates the challenges and relatively slow pace of change that services for young people took in the rural parts of Devon.

Faith-based youth clubs formed an important part of the rural youth service in Devon. Churches and chapels were often an established part of village life, with their own buildings and supply of willing volunteers, and Devon County Council Education Department absorbed them into the county-wide network.[454] The role of faith-based clubs was vital in an area lacking in resources and Methodism in particular was regarded as a responsible employer of youth workers by the County Council.[455] The Methodist Association of Youth Clubs had been established in 1945. During the next decade, with its emphasis on informality, friendship and doing things together, Methodist youth work was seen as an extension of its responsibilities towards the whole community. During the 1950s and early 1960s the Methodist Association of Youth Clubs continued to develop its work, and by the mid-1960s there were 3,400 clubs and 110,000 young people in membership across England.[456] The Methodist Youth Department was headed by Donald Hubery, the author of a number of books and pamphlets on the development of youth work and who wrote the introduction to (Reverend) Fred Milson's 1963 work on social groups and Christian education:

> Group psychology has also brought a new dimension into the
>
> assessment of the purpose of youth clubs and the nature of leadership
>
> required. That which was intuitively recognized by some leaders as a

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[454] Interview, Alan, 5 April 2014.
[455] Ibid.
[456] M. K. Smith, 'Methodism and Youth Work', *The Encyclopaedia of Informal Education,* 2003, www.infed.org/features/methodism_youth_work.htm, accessed 10 December 2016.

formative influence in the life of the individual and the group is now

being more clearly defined.[457]

Methodist leaders were key to Youth Service debates during the 1960s and the
1970s. Milson produced a number of publications on youth work, and chaired one of
the committees that produced the report, *Youth and Community Work in the 1970s*
(*Fairbairn-Milson Report)* in 1969.[458] The report assessed the progress of the
Albemarle recommendations, and Milson urged youth workers and policymakers to
see youth in the context of community, advocating political education and the active
involvement of young people in society.

Methodism provided a sustained and well-organised network that operated in
small communities throughout the county under a largely autonomous self-
monitoring system. When interviewed for this research, Methodist youth worker Alan
recalled how, during the 1960s, he was responsible for co-ordinating youth clubs
across Devon as well as parts of Cornwall and Somerset. Although ultimately
accountable to the head of the County Youth Service, limited resources meant that
Alan was largely allowed to develop activities in a non-directive way building on the
strengths of local leadership. He claimed that without the support of communities
and families the provision across such a vast geographical area would have been
impossible.[459] He had quarterly meetings with each area to discuss national and
local interests. By discovering individual ministers' talents and interests and building
relationships with the local youth leaders, a collaborative model was developed
which enabled the work to grow. Alan recalled that in the churches they were using
an experiential approach, and where he found enthusiasm or skills he energised the

[457] Frederick W. Milson, *Social Group Method and Christian Education*, (Chester House, London, 1963), p.12.
[458] The *Fairbairn-Milson Report*, 1969, which reviewed the progress of the Youth Service since the Albemarle recommendations, will be reviewed in Chapter Five of this thesis.
[459] Interview, Alan, 5 April 2014.

youth workers by asking: 'What excites you?' and 'What do you find tough?'[460] Alan later became a youth leader training officer and built a strong network of provision using the limited human resources available, covering a large geographical space and sharing good practice. The evangelical nature of this parochial tradition was built on the winning of men and women over to the principles of Christianity, but also built a strong fellowship among the congregations, offering compassion, help, and comfort.[461] This model helped Alan to manage his youth provision across large areas of the South-West, involving and engaging communities and families.

The evangelical movement in Devon had also led to the creation of small lay-led house churches and the Blackdown Hills Mission in the east of the county grew from this tradition. Continuity of community was ensured by rural isolation and transportation limitations, and Reverend Ron White, interviewed for this research, had worked hard during the 1960s to encourage young people to attend the youth group at Clayhidon, the main chapel of the hills. After helping to convert an unused school room into a coffee bar in 1965, 200 members of the local Blackdown Hills community demonstrated their support by attending the opening of the facility for local teenagers. As was pointed out in the thesis Introduction, familial control and generational differences were under scrutiny by policy makers, and concerns were expressed regarding the perceived decline of the family; but it is clear from the Blackdown Hills example that family units there remained strong. The Blackdown Hills Mission youth work was supported by local subscription and fundraising and young people formed a large proportion of the congregation: one chapel in the hills

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[460] Ibid.
[461] Mark Smith, 'Evangelical Parish Ministry in the Twentieth Century', in Andrew Atherson & John Maiden (Eds), *Evangelicalism and the Church of England in the Twentieth Century: Reform, Resistance and Renewal,* (Boydell & Brewer, 2014), p. 215,.

recorded fifty percent in 1963.[462]   This local provision was not only self-supporting,

but was happy to stay autonomous, resisting any attempts by the County Council to

encourage them to access State funding. When interviewed, Reverend Ron recalled

with some amusement that although a representative from Devon County Council

had visited and encouraged and advised him from time to time, 'there was never any

funding available, and I think the elders might have been suspicious of any

interference.'[463]

Like other struggling youth leaders in Devon Rev Ron used his initiative and

networking skills to the fullest to stretch human and economic resources to engage

as many young people as possible, and the County Council adopted a policy of non-

intervention. Despite rural isolation and transportation limitations, Reverend Ron

succeeded in engaging local young people:

> (We) ran the youth group at Clayhidon, the main chapel of the hills
>
> there were seven chapels then....we ran the youth club, once a
>
> week....it was very popular, attended by most of the people who went
>
> to secondary school in the area, thirty to fifty or so on a good night....a
>
> few came on motorbikes, on bicycles, walked, a few parents might
>
> have brought them.[464]

Rural youth clubs maintained their membership by adapting their activities to

cater for all ages and individual interests, and benefited from the lack of

competition from nearby alternatives. The coffee bar initiative was created to

give the young members of the community a relaxed environment that

emulated other urban meeting places.

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[462] Reverend Ron White, *The Hills Rejoice*, (Ron White, 2013), p. 48.
[463] Interview, Reverend Ron, 22 August 2013.
[464] Ibid.
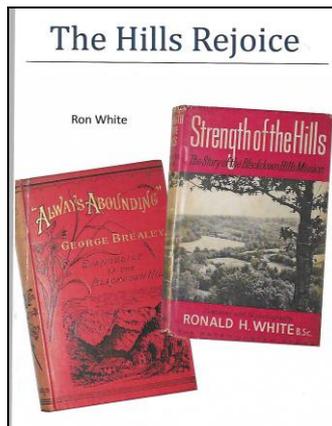
Figure 15: Reverend Ron's account of the history of the Blackdown Hills Mission.

Oral research carried out in the rural areas of Devon reveals that groups formed in relatively isolated rural communities across class and gender barriers shared a common desire for social interaction within the limitations of a tight knit network of family units. The Blackdown Hills had hosted the founding of the British Young Farmers Clubs (YFCs) movement in 1921 in Hemyock, the largest village in the Blackdown Hills. Since its inception in 1932, the Devon Federation of YFCs had grown to seventy-five clubs by 1962, having the largest YFC membership in the country but proportionately in receipt of one of the smallest county grants.[465] In response to this, the Devon County Branch of the National Farmers' Union (NFU) called for a meeting with the County Council in 1962 to 'protest at the way rural youth was being treated.'[466] By 1964 the annual County Council grant was raised from £500 to £1,400. Interviews with members of the Devon Young Farmers Clubs show how similar backgrounds and interests bound members together towards a shared purpose, and Donald and Julie, who met at a YFC, recalled how things were run during the 1960s. The movement was:

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[465] *Devon Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs: 50 Years 1932-1982,* compiled by T. Wilson to mark the Golden Jubilee of the Federation, (Gifted by David Baker), p. 44.
[466] Ibid, p. 45.

very inward looking….farming was very much about keeping the sons

and daughters on the farms….I had come from the south east and had

a totally different attitude because we were closer to London….Youth

work was very parochial.[467]

The clubs' activities were designed with clear gender divisions. For example,

at the club in Totnes in March 1960 there were 'talks for the boys on grass

management, and care of the hair for the girls.'[468] Donald's point about the parochial

nature of the clubs is substantiated by evidence that YFCs were reluctant to interact

with their wider communities. In the Annual General Meeting (AGM) notes from

February 1961, it was stated that 'more could be done by the way of giving service to

others more unfortunate than ourselves.'[469] And at the same meeting in 1963, it was

noted that 'there appears to be a lack of knowledge of what is going on within

members' own county.'[470] The following year's AGM noted that Young Farmers

were not taking advantage of the Youth Leadership Training being offered by the

local authority. This implies that the County Council was keen to fund YFC members

to gain qualifications in youth leadership. AGM Reports consistently record

reluctance by the clubs to engage with groups outside their own local farming

community, and the competitive nature of their activities encouraged individual club

loyalty but further entrenched insularity. Recalling how structured and disciplined the

activities were for the young farmers, Donald and Julie remembered how tight-knit

the club groups were:

Nobody got thrown out of Young Farmers….the rest in the club

wouldn't accept troublemakers. It was like a clan, a tribe….you didn't

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[467] Interview, Donald, 6 September 2013.
[468] *Young Farmers Clubs, Devon*, DRO 2696G /Add61/Totnes 2 01/03/60.
[469] *Devon County Federation of Young Farmers Clubs AGM* 17 February 1961, DRO 2696G.
[470] *Devon County Federation of Young Farmers Clubs AGM* 28 February 1963, DRO 2696G.

want the good name of what you stood for being tarnished would you?[471]

This self-regulation and sense of group responsibility is far from the image of young people portrayed in State rhetoric: young people in the rural areas of Devon during the 1960s appear very different to the materialistic generation that was seen to be developing during the decade. Many children working on their family farms did so without being paid, and Julie recalled how one young man even had to ask his father for the money to buy his fiancée an engagement ring.[472]

Donald worked for Devon County Council during the late 1960s and was given the task of overseeing the Duke of Edinburgh Award. He also had a working relationship with Derek the Exeter Borough Youth Officer as well as the new rural youth officers when they were appointed in 1967. Donald also recalled how the Young Farmers set up clubs in rural secondary schools using school premises and redundant buildings such as the old primary school in Exwick, on the outskirts of Exeter.[473] In fact as early as the 1930s the Devon Federation of Young Farmers Clubs was linking with secondary schools; for example, Holsworthy in 1938, Chagford in 1942, Plympton in1944, Crediton in 1945, Torrington and Kingsteignton in the 1950s and Bideford, Tiverton and Dawlish in the 1960s.[474] This raises questions about schools' reluctance to engage with after-school youth club activities, illustrated by failed attempts by Dartington Youth Club to link with Totnes Secondary School. It also raises questions around the relationships between farming communities and their local schools; Young Farmers were perhaps seen as less

[471] Interview, Donald and Julie, 6 September 2013.
[472] Interview, Julie, 6 September 2013.
[473] Interview, Donald.
[474] *Devon Federation of Young Farmers Clubs: 50 Years 1932-1982*, pp.91-92.

troublesome than other youth club members and the YFC organisation represented structure and accountability.

Underlying the development of an effective rural Youth Service in Devon was a concern about the viability of small villages and hamlets as a result of depopulation, particularly the loss of young people to urban areas. These issues had been identified in other rural areas around England and Wales by John Saville, a lecturer in economic history at Hull University, and in the late 1950s the Dartington Estate commissioned him to investigate these issues in Devon. In the report produced in 1957, Saville included an examination of the South Hams area of Devon and concluded that the rural population there was decreasing at a faster rate than other areas in the country; in some villages the population had declined by as much as fifty percent.[475] Saville also noted that more young women than men were leaving rural areas in search of work and this is reflected in a comment that Julie made in her interview about family farms:

> Farming in the Sixties was very much about keeping the sons and daughters on the farms. I remember my mother-in-law telling me it takes three generations to build up a farm and one to lose it. I think farmers were very aware that they needed to make sure the sons and daughters worked on the farm. It was very high priority that the farms stayed within the families."[476]

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[475] John Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951,* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1957), p. 180.
[476] Interview, Julie, 6 September 2013.

Figure 16: Inter-Young Farmers Quiz Final 1965.[477]

Julie recalled the way that the role of the daughters of farming families changed as decisions had to be made about which siblings were to inherit and take on the responsibility of the family farm. Her own daughter realised that with three brothers she 'wasn't going to get the farm,' and she joined other young women who were moving from the rural areas into banking and other types of office-based jobs in the towns.[478] John Saville's report highlights the problems of agricultural efficiency and the subsequent loss of return per acre as farms were forced to become more productive if they were to survive. The family farm that Julie spoke about was too small to sustain all four siblings and the male members would get priority based on assumptions of physical strength and ability. Gender will be explored in more depth in Chapter Five, but it is interesting to note here how traditional norms and expectations were deeply embedded in the rural areas of Devon. An inefficient farm was not only vulnerable to eventual closure, but would dampen down wages and reduce work opportunities for people living in the surrounding hamlets and villages, adding to the problems of depopulation. The YFCs played a vital role in promoting good agricultural practice through training its members and offering an inter-club competitive element to producing healthy livestock and efficient arable outputs. The

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[477] *Devon Federation of Young Farms' Clubs, 50 Years 1932-1982*, p. 50.
[478] Interview, Julie.

Rules laid out by the National Federation of Young Farmers Clubs, stated in the

Devon County Handbook 1963, made sustainable agriculture and the development

of members' knowledge and character a priority:

> <u>National Federation of Young Farmers Clubs, Rules</u>:
>
> (a) to advance the education of its members and their knowledge of
>
> agriculture, home crafts and country life
>
> (b) to bring together the young people of the district to develop their
>
> self-reliance and individual responsibility
>
> (c) to train members to play their full part in the life of the movement
>
> and of the community.[479]

The YFCs were concerned with sustaining shrinking rural communities through

improving agricultural practice and efficiency. Saville had noted that in South Hams

'juvenile labour has been relatively in much shorter supply since 1945 than male

labour in general' and this loss of a young workforce had wider implications.[480] From

individual interviews carried out during surveys of small villages, Saville concluded

that 'the age composition of these parish populations will steadily become older.'[481]

This problem was compounded during the 1960s because of the lack of new housing

for young workers, and older people remaining in tied agricultural cottages until they

died. Saville acknowledged the valuable role that communities were playing in

sustaining services for young people, but insisted that 'there can be no substitute for

the provision of additional employment opportunities, without such opportunities, the

drift to the towns will continue.'[482]

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[479] *Young Farmers Clubs, Devon County Handbook 1963,* DRO 2696G/Add 51.
[480] Saville, *Rural Depopulation*, p. 225.
[481] Ibid., p. 231.
[482] Ibid., p. 169.

The small alternative industries in Devon such as paper mills, motor repair shops, and engineering works reported that the lack of local public transport made it difficult for commuting. Other traditional employers of young males in Devon were also finding recruitment difficult. For example, between 1962 and 1966 the North Devon Clay Company in Torrington only registered ten young males who were declared medically fit for physical work. These were recruited in the year they turned sixteen and examined in accordance with the *Mines and Quarries Act* 1954.[483] The glass manufacturer Dartington Crystal was set up in the 1960s in Torrington by the Dartington Hall Trust to bring employment to rural areas, and in 1966 North Devon was designated a Development District by the Board of Trade, as one of the assisted areas that were set up as a result of the *Local Employment Act.* This aimed to tackle low employment and encourage balanced growth, investment and development through central ministerial grants. But issues around accessibility and local infrastructure were ignored leaving housing and public transport problems in the rural area of North Devon unaddressed. In 1964, the MP for Barnstaple Jeremy Thorpe expressed his frustration about how ineffective the Board of Trade Advisory Committees were in processing and agreeing applications for assistance:

> "Does not the right hon. Gentleman feel that the Board of
>
> Trade Advisory Committees could better discharge their statutory
>
> obligations if the Board of Trade gave general directions as to the
>
> criteria on which to base their decisions in granting loans for industry to
>
> cure unemployment? Does not this account for the extraordinary

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[483] *Register of women and young persons employed at mines other than mines of coal, stratified ironstone, shale or fireclay, and at quarries, 1962-1966,* NDRO 3518B/4/13.

decisions which some committees have made in turning down

applications in respect of schemes to cure unemployment?[484]

The Community Council of Devon, founded in 1961 to act as intermediary between

the rural areas and central government, aimed to help the county's rural communities

as agents for state funding. It linked with a range of rural organisations such as the

National Federation of Community Associations and Citizens Advice Bureaux, and

initiatives included the provision of village halls, playing fields, and community

centres that could be used by young people. In its Annual Report 1966-67, the

Council noted the challenges ahead:

It is likely that the next two or three years will see some fairly

fundamental changes affecting our way of life. There is the Royal

Commission considering the structure of local government, the

problems of industrial development in a county which is largely

dependent on agriculture and the tourist trade, the place of voluntary

movements within the developing welfare state…the better

opportunities for education at all levels are already encouraging young

people…to set their sights on higher standards of social, recreation

and cultural activities.[485]

Concerns that were expressed included rural industry and youth employment,

sustaining communities, and economic survival. The 1960s seems to have been a

challenging decade for the county's resources. Research offered here shows that as

far as the development of services for young people in the rural areas of Devon were

concerned, the picture is largely one of continuity rather than change in the years

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[484] *House of Commons debate*, 6 February 1964, www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=1964-02-06a.1318.2, accessed 10 October 2016.

[485] *Community Council of Devon Annual Report 1966-67*, Forward, (CCD Archives, Exeter).

after the *Albemarle Report.* The County Education Department oversaw existing

provision rather than attempt to innovate or radically change what was already in

place, and relied on the strong networks built by organisations such as the YFCs and

those that were faith-based. Challenges from a declining rural economy and poor

infrastructure have been introduced in this chapter and these will be addressed

again in the next section, which explores an initiative for young people in a coastal

area of North Devon.

Coastal Infrastructure and Conflicting State Policy

In spite of Government departmental awareness of the specific challenges

that Devon faced and its reliance on agriculture, fishing and tourism, the county was

disadvantaged even further. In May 1960, the North Devon coastline was the first

area of the county to be designated an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. Despite

having much to recommend it as a tourist destination, the 1963 *Reshaping of British*

Railways (Beeching) Report decimated the economic prospects of the seaside towns

along the coast by closing the branch lines from Barnstaple and making holiday-

makers' journeys potentially difficult. Tourism was a vital source of employment in

the area and, as already pointed out, the *Local Employment Act* of 1960 had

recognised the north of the county as needing assistance even before the rail links

were cut. After becoming a State designated Development Area in 1966, the region

gained some financial aid for industrial growth and enhanced employment

opportunities. Nevertheless, there were local concerns around a shrinking economy

and population drift, particularly the movement of young people away from North

Devon. In the 1960s the local authority structure comprised the Barnstaple

Municipal Borough Council, the Town Councils of Ilfracombe and Lynton &

Lynmouth, and a scattering of rural district councils across the area. By the early

1970s, the region was rationalised under the auspices of North Devon Council, but road access to the area was not improved until the 1980s.

The plight of seaside communities across Britain was under scrutiny by policy makers during the 1960s as holiday travel patterns moved away from rail and coach and became increasingly dependent on family car ownership. By the early 1970s, around a sixth of Devon's three million visitors favoured its north coast but concerns around environmental conservation in this Coastal Preservation Area led the local authority to discourage car travel. By limiting parking facilities and demonstrating a reluctance to undertake key road improvements official attitudes to landscape preservation were in direct conflict with the expressed desires of holiday-makers and local businesses.[486]As well as the issues of poor infrastructure and conflicting State policy, the North Devon tourism industry relied on a coastline that although beautiful, was also dangerous. In the early 1960s, local hotels and tourist businesses were aware of the dangers and keen to promote the area as a popular and safe holiday destination. So when the initiative was taken to establish an innovative and effective solution the community responded.

The Devon Police Surf Lifesaving Club was established on Puttsborough Beach in1962 in response to a high number of drowning incidents, and serving officers were recruited and trained as lifeguards to patrol the beaches, save lives, and keep swimmers safe. The police worked with the community and visited schools to get local teenagers involved and to train them as lifeguards. One of their recruits was fifteen-year-old Brian who was interviewed for this research. He had already enjoyed tremendous physical freedom, wandering on the beach at a very early age, and had learnt to surf competently.   Brian joined the Police Club so he could be

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[486] John K. Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 90.

covered by their insurance (no risk assessments were carried out), and trained one

morning a week on Woolacombe beach throughout the summer alongside other

recruits.[487] The trainees used the Australian model of lifesaving with reel, line and a

belt around the front swimmer who was hauled in to safety. They learnt resuscitation

techniques and were drilled to respond quickly to save lives, which they regularly did

even at such a young age. There was an unwritten code among the local surfers to

look out for anyone needing help and on beach patrol after helping in his family's

hotel Brian often helped to move swimmers out of dangerous waters using just his

surfboard:

> I was in the sea as many hours in a day that I was working, so I
>
> developed friendships with loads of travelling surfers. The number of
>
> drowning incidents dropped, hardly any after we started patrolling...if
>
> there was no lifeguard around the surfers would help.[488]

By 1963 the North Devon Surf Life Saving Club was formed, becoming identified as

a local community club rather than as a police-led organisation. Gradually police-

sourced funds were subsidised by local business support from hotels, family bed and

breakfast enterprises, campsites and other organisations that cared about safety and

needed tourism to flourish. The Club also ran fundraising initiatives such as

barbeques, beach safety demonstrations, and other social events, and along with

regular club subscriptions the community sustained a growing surf lifesaving club

that increased in membership, equipment and effectiveness. Another interviewee

Jim, when asked about early funding for equipment and payment for some of the

lifeguards, remembered that:

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[487] Interview, Brian, 6 March 2013.
[488] Ibid.

Some of the early funding came from trusts. Wills Tobacco Company

sponsored our first line and reel at Woolacombe and we used to pass a

collecting tin around when we did our demonstrations. We never even

thought the government would fund us....we had to fight for

everything.[489]

Several interviewees contributed to this research on the early days of the

North Devon Surf lifesaving movement, and it is interesting to take the spirit of this

primary evidence alongside archived written Devon and Cornwall Constabulary

records. Interviewees spoke enthusiastically about 'their' club, and how strong

community bonds were formed by a shared love of the sea and a desire to prevent

the regular drowning incidents. Jim responded to a public meeting called to discuss

the concern following a series of fatal accidents on the beach. His decision to get

involved came about 'following the death of a local lad and later a young

holidaymaker staying in our house.'[490] Another interviewee, Keith, recalled that their

motto was:

Vigilance and Service….we took it seriously….We learnt rescue and

resuscitation techniques, and there were around two hundred rescues

a year. With the competitions at home we met all kinds of people from

all over the world and rescue methods developed. We had new ideas.

We were very competitive and we wanted to be the best we could be.

We won the national championships at Puttsborourgh....that was

good.[491]

In 1966, at the age of twenty, Brian became Captain of North Devon Surf

Lifesaving Club (NDSLSC), and the club flourished and grew and became so

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[489] Interview, Jim, 13 April 2013.
[490] Ibid.
[491] Interview, Keith, 5 April 2013.

successful that in 1968 it split into two clubs based at Woolacombe and Croyde, both of which are still active today. National and international competitions were held and this meant that Brian met surfers and surf lifesavers from all over the world. Not only did surfing and lifesaving techniques benefit from this exchange of ideas, but this also generated the local production and retail of surfboards and other equipment. It was clear from these interviews that club members were non-compromising in their attitude towards disciplined training and carrying out lifesaving operations. They patrolled local beaches to watch out for potentially dangerous situations. They frequently pre-empted emergencies by paddling out on their boards to swimmers who were unaware of dangers from currents and rocks. When needed they were able to quickly offer well-planned and practised response rescue as well as resuscitation when necessary, and at quiet times talked to beach users about safety in the sea and awareness of local conditions. They planted signal flags at strategic points to mark out safe areas in which to swim, but regularly had to be vigilant about bathers ignoring the markers or failing to understand their significance. They felt that they had full ownership of their club.

However, recording the 1973 celebrations for the tenth anniversary of the formation of the North Devon Club in 1963, the Annual Report of the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary Surf Life Saving Club clearly showed that the police force was still claiming the initiative as their own:

> Not only has the club trained serving officers and cadets for patrol work and awards, but has also been instrumental in furthering the growth of other surf life saving clubs. Many of the clubs now existing in Devon were assisted at their inception and are still aided by police officers.[492]

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[492] *Devon and Cornwall Constabulary*, *Surf Life Saving Club* records, NDRO B485/11/9.

There are no records available to support this claim, but it is reasonable to assume that serving police officers could also be surfers and offered help and advice in other parts of the county in accordance with their commitment to preserving life. [493] At the end of the decade, the North Devon club's chairman, secretary, treasurer and club captain were all serving police officers, and when the club building needed updating in 1969, the Divisional Commander submitted a request to the Assistant Chief Constable for £500 to cover the costs, which was granted.[494]

This relationship between State agency and local community raises many points of interest for this thesis. The interviewees were proud of their achievements and many of them remain involved in the local clubs either actively or offering loyal support. When interviewed, they spoke about the members as a whole, without any mention of who were serving policemen. A single-issue group like the North Devon Surf Lifesaving Club became a cohesive and enthusiastic enterprise because of a strong central motivation that bound volunteers and serving police officers together in a common purpose. The records of the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary reflect a continuing involvement until well into the 1980s and their rhetoric matches the pride of the community and admiration for the achievements of the surf lifesavers, whether local civilians or police. There is also mention of wives and families of serving policemen being supportive and involved, and this signifies a community bound in a common interest.[495] The local coastline was an official Area of Outstanding Beauty and the economy needed the tourism. Whether a member of the police force or not, the surf lifesavers all wore the club's beach uniform of red and yellow, signifier of equality and a sense of common purpose and interdependency.

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[493] Interview with Pam Giles, Devon and Cornwall Police Heritage Trust, 13 March 2019.
[494] *Devon and Cornwall Constabulary*.
[495] *Devon and Cornwall Constabulary*, *Surf Life Saving Club* records, NDRO B485/11/9.
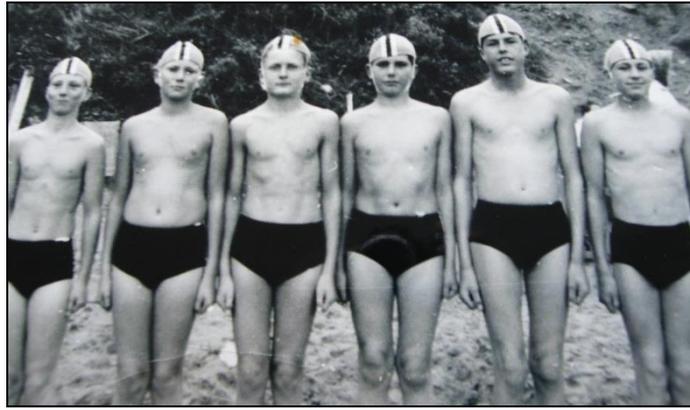
Figure 17: Young recruits for the North Devon Surf Lifesaving Club, 1963.[496]

The North Devon Surf Lifesavers offer a contrasting narrative to the urban and rural

stories of youth engagement already considered. There is no evidence that serving

police officers helped other clubs to develop in Devon, and their relationship with the

local community on the north coast was strong and sustained. It is important to avoid

making sweeping assumptions but with the challenges posed by inadequate

infrastructure and a shrinking economy, the sense of autonomy and independence in

this region is understandable. The police force as State agent enabled and guided

the formation of the North Devon surf lifesaving movement, and set up the structure

and discipline in line with the Australian model that had already been adopted in

North Cornwall. They worked alongside young surfers and other community

members towards a common purpose whilst undertaking the same risks, and with

the same dedication. Police engagement on the North Devon coast was a model that

was encouraged and sustained, as evidenced by continuing funding from the Exeter-

based Devon and Cornwall Police Headquarters. It appears from these records that

the original initiative came from a strong grassroots drive by officers based locally

who would have lived in the coastal communities and been very aware of the

dangers. Unofficial and informal voluntary action by surfers, some of whom were

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[496] Photograph from a private collection.

serving policemen, to assist swimmers in difficulties needed to be supported in a disciplined and structured way.

The significance of place and time profoundly underpinned the interviewees' early lives and shaped their later life experiences. They remain rooted in the North Devon surfing community, and when talking about the development of their club in the 1960s they highlighted the pride in their ownership and stake-holding responsibilities. The police regarded their involvement as not only useful for engaging their own local force but also young people from the community. The *Annual Report* noted in 1973 that the initiative had become 'a field of community service by police officers but also a source of contact with young people.'[497] It is clear from interviewees that individual pride in their achievements bound both youth and police agency. Strong community bonds were formed through a shared love of the sea and a commitment to the preservation of life. The responsibilities taken on at such an early age seemed to be offset by the empowerment that rigorous training and preparedness offered them, and gave these young surfers a sense of identity and belonging to something meaningful.

Conclusion

There is evidence in local authority records that social connection through new and evolving communities of shared identities, formed by young people enjoying new environments, were encouraged and inspired by the impact of the *Albemarle Report.* This was illustrated in the development of Pixies Holt on Dartmoor as a centre for young people to explore rural activities and challenge themselves physically and mentally. As shown in Chapter Three, this proved particularly popular with those living in the urban area of Exeter, both for the young people themselves

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[497] *Devon & Cornwall Constabulary, Surf Life Saving Club Annual Report 1973*, NDRO/ B485/11/8.

and for volunteer teachers. Devon County Council Education Department promoted this idea to head-teachers. For example, in School Circulars there were regular reminders of the importance of outdoor adventure and challenge for young people. In June 1965 the County Council demonstrated commitment by confirming that teachers involved in approved voluntary out-of-school activities would be fully insured, and these initiatives included sailing and canoeing.[498]

The June 1965 School Circular also gave a reminder to head-teachers of the invaluable opportunities that the Ocean Youth Club (OYC) could offer young people.[499] This scheme provided sailing trips to learn seamanship and navigation on short and long voyages between Portsmouth, Brixham, Plymouth and Falmouth. The spirit of the *Albemarle Report* had inspired the founder of OYC to apply for a grant of £1,000 from the Experimental Fund of the Ministry of Education in 1960 after the report's publication.

Figure 18: One of the original vessels used in 1960 by young people learning with the Ocean Youth Club. (OYC website)

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[498] *Devon County Education Committee, School Circular 65/2, June 1965*, p.3. DRO6549A.
[499] Ibid.

OYC's Fiftieth Anniversary brochure published in 2010 identified the *Albemarle Report* as a milestone in its history of fostering the spirit of adventure latent in young people:

> The 1960 *Albemarle Report* helped to make this possible because it brought government recognition to schemes that would complement the work of the Youth Service and it opened doors to contact with influential people who now accepted that youth schemes were worthwhile.[500]

The strategy taken by Devon County Council after the publication of the *Albemarle Report* in 1960 offers a stark contrast to the approach taken by Surrey County Council. The failure to collect data meant that the local authority in Devon was unable to strategically plan in the way that Surrey had. The county area youth officers in the east, west, south and north of Devon regularly reported to the County Youth Committee but no evidence has been found to suggest that these officers collected data on how many members the clubs in their areas had.[501] This would have been vital information to assess how the county could comply with the Albemarle recommendations. The county's Education Department oversaw local clubs and groups through a network of committees and sub-committees and gave grants when funding was available. Those who resisted County 'interference' continued to fund initiatives from their own communities but retained complete autonomy. Other faith-based groups such as those managed by the Methodist network had an established regional structure of provision and youth leader training and were absorbed into the county network. Bill Osgerby has pointed out that at a local level, voluntary youth organisations guarded their independence jealously and

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[500] *Ocean Youth Club*, http://www.oytsouth.org/pdfs/50th.brochure.pdf, accessed 7 August 2019.
[501] *Reports of the County Youth Committee,* 12 July 1960, 8 November 1960, 17 February 1961, DRO/DCC/150/4/1/58.

vigorously resisted incursions by officialdom, and this may be at the root of the lack of data collection in Devon in the 1960s.[502] A diversity of ideologies and concerns was at the root of independent and voluntary youth organisations like the surf lifesaving initiative in North Devon, a model of State agency that benefited both the Police Force and the local community and fitted the ethos of the *Albemarle Report*. The tension between the Voluntary Sector and the State is evident in such Youth Service collaborations, particularly in geographically isolated areas. All communities were critically related to complex State systems through economic and other societal links, but, 'although these links may present constraints, they need not determine form.'[503] This is crystalized in a statement by Devon County Council in 1968 that, in the development of services for young people, there had been 'no attempt to impose from above any rigid system of uniformity, for such an attempt would be wholly alien to the British way of life.'[504]

This chapter has explored primary documentary and oral research sources in order to discover how youth services developed in rural and coastal Devon during the years after the 1960 *Albemarle Report*. The examples reveal a range of pragmatic approaches that endeavoured to make the most of limited resources. The specific challenges posed by the various geographical landscapes meant that the County Education Department was open to accepting a viable network of provision through the 1960s that was largely rooted in existing faith-based and single-issue clubs and groups in the county's communities. Through local government agency the State maintained a pretence of scrutiny through a system of committees and local reporting that often failed to collect meaningful data. The records of these meetings

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[502] Bill Osgerby, *Youth in Britain Since 1945*, (Blackwell, Oxford, 1997), p.143.
[503] Anthony P. Cohen (Ed), *Belonging: Identity and Social Organization in British Rural Cultures*, (Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 12.
[504] DCC, *County Youth Service Handbook,* p.15.

and discussions demonstrate frustration at the lack of resources, but also an inherent expectation of the limitations of central governance that was slow to provide funds to develop services for young people in Devon. In contrast, interviews with faith-based leadership in the rural areas reveal a capacity to get things done with community help, and this was also in evidence in the coastal area in the north. The culture of independence meant that organisations in Devon were able to adapt to the needs of young populations, and this was expressed in a published work by Fred Milson, the Methodist senior youth worker in 1963:

> Youth group work aims to provide democratic experience –
>
> membership in a community where majority decisions are fairly
>
> decided and loyally carried out.[505]

Milson implies in his book that the *Albemarle Report* had failed to go far enough in seeking a flexible approach to engaging all young people. Grassroots youth workers were aware that young people needed to feel that their needs were met, and their voices heard. In everyday practice in rural and coastal spaces, Devon's youth workers developed a workable model, based on shared resources and supportive networking between established youth service providers. Interviewee Alan summed this up in his approach:

> I worked with the members doing things together. I felt that was the
>
> right way. There was awareness with responsibility – we had
>
> ownership. We all felt we were part of it. We took responsibility and
>
> we all grew through experience and not text books.[506]

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[505] Frederick W. Milson, *Social Group Method & Christian Education,* (Chester House, London, 1963), p. 119.
[506] Interview, Alan, 5 April 2014.

Chapter Five will explore the key aspects of community, gender, social control, and

State agency and consider the role these played in the choices made by key agents

designing and implementing services for young people in Devon.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE YOUTH SERVICE IN DEVON: THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE
"The concept of the Youth Service as being able to provide most things for most young people is possibly something of an anachronism."[507]

The Youth Leader

At the heart of any response to the recommendations of the *Albemarle Report* was the individual agency held by youth leaders, whose efforts were made against wider challenges in society that impacted on young people's expectations and life choices. The generation gap became more marked in the post-war period as conventionality underwent a revival and the degree of separation widened between parents and their children. Distinct generational cohorts became more apparent as young people enjoyed experiences that the previous two war-bound generations could only have dreamt of. The interviewees for this research recalled their own experiences as young people that included travel overseas, moving away from their roots for new employment and training opportunities, and an awareness of their own agency and independence. Communities of place were not disappearing in Devon where there was both continuity and change, but they were responding to shifting notions of gendered and familial roles and the changing nature of life opportunities. In order to fulfil their responsibility to recruit and sustain attendance at their youth clubs and centres, youth leaders were expected to adapt to diverse roles, offering moral guidance and emotional support and setting a clear and consistent example of behaviour within ever-shifting boundaries. At the very start of the response to the *Albemarle Report,* Ray Gosling critiqued its failure to give any consideration to the 'relations between the youth leader…and the young person' because in his own experience he had navigated overlapping duties as role model, moral judge and

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[507] John Eggleston, *Adolescence and Community: the Youth Service in Britain,* (Edward Arnold, London, 1975), p. 202.

guide, emotional supporter and friend. [508] Gosling saw that it was not only funding

that was needed but skills that enabled youth leaders to set up clubs and groups

along democratic lines that effectively catered for the leisure, recreation, and

education of its members. He knew from experience that if they had a communal

sense of responsibility and agency, young people would respond with pride in the

club that they helped to build and sustain.

The prescriptive approach in the *Albemarle Report* was partly taken in

response to highly publicised youth rebellion, as exemplified by the actions of Mods

and Rockers and other 'delinquents,' but during the 1960s contrasting popular

cultural youth movements evolved. Church attendance by young people declined

during the decade as they questioned and challenged embedded institutional

ideologies. Some were aware of, and even radicalised by, influences from civil rights

and anti-war movements, and actively sought peace and spirituality, rejecting

organised Western religion and exploring ideas from Eastern beliefs. Even highly

prominent pop groups changed musical direction to embrace a new image as

manifested in the Hippie trope, seeking meaning and values that centred on

community and notions of 'love.' Although they may have appeared to be rejecting

the social arrangements of the previous generation, young people were seeking their

own life course transitions on their own terms.

The accelerating social and cultural changes taking place during the 1960s

challenged youth leaders to remain relevant to their club members, particularly in the

management of activities to encourage both physical and emotional well-being.

Devon County Council was mindful of the spiritual and moral influence that youth

leaders had on their club members and in 1965 recommended a book by

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[508] Ray Gosling, *Lady Albemarle's Boys,* (Young Fabian Publication, January 1971), p.14.

Reg (R. W. J.) Keeble that was commended by Lady Albemarle, and suggested ideas and material for the training of future youth leaders.[509] Keeble, previously Principal Youth Officer at the Inner London Education Authority, was by then the Secretary of the Moral Education Study Group in Devon which was made up of teachers, head-teachers and youth leaders. It included the Field Officer of the Methodist Association of Youth Clubs who also represented the Devon Youth Leadership Training Committee. An article in the *Youth Service* magazine in 1963 had asked 'How Good is the Social Side of My Club*?*' questioning whether the ethos of Youth Service practice followed a normative framework based on Christian values.[510] Outreach youth leaders in urban areas of deprivation in particular were engaging young people through a non-directive approach that avoided the trope of 'vicar type' youth leadership. This description was not only used by Ray Gosling in *Lady Albemarle's Boys,* published in the Fabian newsletter in 1960, but was also mooted by young people themselves during interviews for research in Cardiff which found a considerable distrust of 'missionary' activity.[511] Additional findings of this research found that although a third of the girls and a fifth of the boys interviewed had attended a religious service during that week, they did not necessarily want any stress on religion during their time at their youth club.[512] The reliance on faith-based clubs and the use of church premises could account for any conflict of interest and youth club members no doubt wanted their leisure time to be different from school where the national curriculum included religious instruction and daily Christian assembly. There was clearly continuing confusion in the way youth leaders were designing their activities: on the one hand they were engaging with 'unattached'

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[509] R. W. J. Keeble, *A Life Full of Meaning,* (Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1965), Introduction.
[510] J. A. Simpson in the publication *'Youth Service'* in July 1963, quoted in Keeble, p. 83.
[511] A. Crichton, E. James and J. Wakeford, 'Youth and Leisure in Cardiff, 1960,' *The Sociological Review,* 10, 1962, pp.203-225, (University of Keele), p. 219.
[512] *Youth and Leisure in Cardiff*, p. 220.

young people on their own terms, in a non-directive way; but on the other hand working within the accepted norms of society that included moral and spiritual boundaries. Keeble's book endeavoured to embed the importance of Christian values and ethics in youth leaders' frame of reference, noting that the *Albemarle Report's* statement that people who expect learning from the Youth Service, 'are often puzzled about the contribution made by a purely social side.'[513]

This dilemma remained unresolved at the end of the decade: a 1971 discussion paper for a study to be undertaken in Devon to explore the role of moral education recognised that a 'merely authoritarian approach to moral education is no longer possible.'[514] Although the commissioned report has not been sourced in the local records archive, this initiative demonstrates the challenge of combining moral education and codes of conduct in non-directive youth work. Outreach youth workers in deprived urban areas tended to adopt an approach that 'avoided the implicit direction of policy or authority agendas and desired social outcomes,' but risked being accused of being too much like their clients.[515]

The Community Funded Youth Club

The failure of Devon County Council to gather or archive data means there are no records available of where youth clubs and groups existed in the 1960s across the county, or how they were managed, housed, or funded. Without this data assumptions must be made that the premises used to run youth groups and clubs across Devon were a mix of church and village halls, and other shared or redundant community spaces. An estimate in 1966 that eighty percent of buildings being used as youth clubs in London were neither suitable, adequate nor properly equipped

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[513] Keeble, *A Life Full of Meaning*, p. 216.
[514] *Report of the Moral Education Study Group*, Devon Papers on Current Issues in Education, 1972, (Personal papers of Alan who was interviewed for this thesis).
[515] Tim Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets*, p.40.

reveals the level of the problem, and raises questions around the provision of suitable buildings in less well-off areas of the country like Devon.[516] However, the sustainability of autonomous rural initiatives was possible provided buildings, human resources and funding were available, and the example of the Blackdown Hills Mission indicates that this was achievable with community and voluntary support. The hegemony of religious ideology sustained the youth club there both spiritually and financially through community donations, investments, and the sale and lease of land owned by the Mission. Although it depended on the moral obligation and goodwill of its local population, by the mid-1970s a decision had been made to 'use covenanted giving envelopes' rather than rely on benevolence.[517] Attracting young people to activities held on church premises was problematic, particularly in towns with other diversions, as has been shown in Chapter Three. The *Callard Report* mentioned that some church-based clubs in Exeter had experimented with being an 'open' club where young people with no affiliation were encouraged to join. However, the report also pointed out that young people were reluctant to be drawn into Christian commitments and were naturally suspicious as to the motives of church work. The report was based on research of thirty-nine youth clubs in Exeter, out of which twenty-seven were based in church premises.[518] The concept of a truly independent club thriving only on member subscriptions was unlikely: for example, the surf lifesaving club in North Devon described in Chapter Four demonstrates how, although the community regarded the club as theirs, the police continued to influence and partly fund its development into the 1980s. The interviews reveal how the

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[516] Lesley Sewell, 'Looking at Youth Clubs, London,' published by the *National Association of Youth Clubs* in 1966. http://www/infed.org/archives/nayc/sewell_looking.htm accessed 12 April 2017.
[517] Ron White, *The Hills Rejoice*, p.106.
[518] Miss P. Callard, *The Summary Report of Exeter Youth Enquiry*, (University of Exeter, 1963), DRO xB/EXE301.57 UNI/Pamphlet 362.7/EXE

initiative was also helped financially by sponsorship from local businesses and community goodwill.[519]

According to Bob Leaper, Professor of Social Administration at Exeter University during the 1960s, four out of every five people in England and Wales lived in urban areas.[520] Because of their high population densities, these conurbations received the bulk of large-scale public infrastructure investments and welfare services during the post-war years.[521] In spite of this, in her recent study of youth clubs in Liverpool and London, Charlotte Clements found a mixed response to the promise of central funding after the publication of Albemarle in 1960. In its annual report that year, the Liverpool Boys Association was cautious in its approach, anticipating that 'the part the State intends to play will still fall far short, from a financial point of view, of our total requirements.'[522]

Similarly, evidence for this thesis has exposed an inherent assumption that insufficient central government funds would percolate to Devon, meaning that youth provision would continue to be dependent on established institutions such as the church and uniformed groups. This expediency became embedded in established practice over time and was inevitably manifested as an accepted strategy by the County authority. Tim Caley points out that this made sense because voluntary groups had been around far longer than the Youth Service, and it was 'much cleverer to have the voluntary sector on your side, rather than as your enemy.'[523]

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[519] Interview with Jim, 13 April 2013.
[520] R.A.B. Leaper, 'The Idea of Community in Town and Country,' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review, Vol.52, 208,* Winter 1963, p.378. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30088580 accessed 14 May 2019.
[521] Neil Brenner, 'Urban Governance and the Production of New State Spaces in Western Europe, 1960-2000,' *Review of International Political Economy*, 11, August, 2004, p. 459.
[522] Quoted in Charlotte Clements, *Youth Cultures in the Mixed Economy of Welfare: Youth Clubs and Voluntary Associations in South London and Liverpool 1958-1985*, p.61, https://kar.kent.ac.uk/54856/1/134clements%20Thesis%202016.pdf, accessed 30 July 2016.
[523] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets*, p. 127.

As well as public support, volunteers often held strong local political power through their county and city councillors. Voluntary organisations were often able to access funds from their own central organisational resources, and they were able to apply for charitable trust fund grants because of their known reliability and integrity: for example, the YMCA in Exeter was able to compete and succeed in this process in order to extend and update their premises. Local authorities were able to grant funds to clubs and groups on application, but these were not guaranteed and competition from youth organisations across Devon meant that this source was overstretched and unreliable, making community donations and subscriptions vital. In the 1963 *Callard Report* on Exeter's youth service, it was noted that expenditure by the city authority had risen from £1,305 between 1960 and 1961, to £8,403 over the following year, yet this still only represented approximately a halfpenny rate of the city's rateable assessment. In addition, much of what was being provided for young people was based in church premises where direct financial assistance had been under £300 each year.[524] The sustainability of youth provision in the county after the *Albemarle Report* was rooted in a mixed economy model: a blended mix of support from private and public enterprise that blurred boundaries between local authorities, institutions including trusts and commercial sponsorship, and indirect funding through the community and voluntary sector.

The Role of Youth Clubs in Devon

Research for the *Callard Report* found that attendance at youth clubs tended to drop when young people left school and went to work, and this raises questions about what young workers did in their leisure time. One of the youth clubs listed in the Exeter University directory was that affiliated to the General Post Office

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[524] Callard, *Exeter Youth Enquiry, Summary Report 1963.*

(GPO).[525] No records about this work-based initiative have been archived but during the 1960s young school leavers from the age of fourteen were recruited by organisations as workers and apprentices and it is feasible that some of them would offer opportunities for them to meet socially. In a pamphlet on leisure produced by the Devon County Council Youth Service in 1968, several such organisations were recruiting. For example, Willeys Foundry and Engineering Works were offering apprenticeships to sixteen year old boys, and there were similar opportunities for girls and boys at Heathcoat textile mills in Tiverton, Wiggins Teape Mills at Ivybridge, and the Exeter offices of Ambrosia dairy products. School leavers were invited to train in a number of roles in textile production in Newton Abbot.[526] Willeys Foundry was a major employer in Exeter, and a local man recently recalled his time there:

> I worked for two years as a patternmaker's apprentice from '66 to '68.
> It was a busy "shop", the pattern shop. My dad was the Foundry
> chargehand, spending all his working life in the trade and being
> elected several times as Labour councillor for Whipton Ward. Both my
> uncles worked in the foundry, pouring metal and fettling, or grinding off
> imperfections after casting. Also, (we had) the most wonderful sports
> club just down Water Lane, made up of a couple of Nissen huts glued
> together. You could go there for a pint and a game of snooker. Willey's
> really did look after their employees, and you don't get this type of
> employment nowadays, where no-one's job is for life now.[527]

Large-scale employers in the rural areas of Devon such as Ambrosia and Heathcoat had their roots in the nineteenth century and, like Willey's Foundry in Exeter,

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[525] Leaper, *Directory*.

[526] *Devon County Council Youth Service, Leisure Opportunities for Young People in Devon, 1968,* Pamphlet. DRO P301.57/DEV/DEV.

[527] Exeter Memories, http://www.exetermemories.co.uk/em/willeys.php accessed 19 May 2019.

encouraged their workers to socialise with each other. This raises questions about the varied roles of youth clubs in Devon. Corporate provision meant that workers saw each other after work and were given space to meet, enjoy themselves and ultimately work well together. In the rural areas of Devon organisations like Ambrosia, which added value to dairy products by making milk-based deserts, helped to sustain local agricultural communities and built their foundations on inter-generational staff loyalty and cohesion.[528]

The Young Farmers Clubs (YFCs) played an important role in rural areas by offering social engagement and activities and helping to improve agricultural practice through inter-club competitions and skills training including livestock care, sheep shearing, ploughing and maintaining agricultural equipment. Funding came from the central YFC Federation, with some grants from the local authority, and also commercial sponsorship: for example, South West Electricity Board and the Co-Operative Society.[529] The YFCs' aims were clear: to advance the education of its members and their knowledge of agriculture, home crafts and country life; to bring together the young people of the district to develop their self-reliance and individual responsibility, and to train members to play their full part in the life of the movement and of the community.[530]

The Surf Lifesaving movement in North Devon and the YFCs engendered close teamwork, pride and discipline, and had strict codes of conduct and an inherent sense of belonging, which perhaps went beyond youth clubs that were only rooted in leisure and fun. Surf lifesaving involved risk, and inter-dependency and

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[528] Devon Life Magazine, *Discovering Ambrosia, 24 September 2014*, https://www.devonlife.co.uk/food-drink/food-and-drink-features/discovering-ambrosia-1-3706651 accessed 19 May 2019.
[529] *Devon Federation of Young Farmers Clubs: 50 Years 1932-1982, p.50-51*, (Devon YFC, 1982), Private collection.
[530] *National Federation of Young Farmers Clubs, Rules*, Add51/Bradworthy15. DRO2696G.

trust between the members was critical. In saving lives, they helped the local tourist industry and were rewarded by sponsorship from grateful hotel owners.[531] In fact, the team members gave demonstrations of their lifesaving technique on the beach to promote beach safety and display their skills, and collected donations at the finale.[532] Young Farmers learnt the skills that would ultimately improve agricultural practice, helping to ensure their members remained in the rural parts of Devon and rooted in the land. The socialising aspect of the clubs aided this process by providing space for young people from farming communities to meet and build relationships that would sustain generations to come. The role of the Devon Federation of YFCs in lobbying central government on rural issues was also an important aspect of grassroots activities and rural youth found a common purpose in their power to sustain rural populations. Post-war food security had been the underlying motivation for the role of the National Farmers' Union to develop a close relationship with the State through the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Farming and to influence policy making. This 'special relationship' meant that during the 1960s any counter-productive militancy on behalf of the farming community was avoided in order to sustain its powers of negotiation with the government.[533]

The development of pressure groups like the NFU and National Young Farmers Clubs (NYFC) during the 1960s evolved from the post-war strengthening of the voluntary sector. These influential organisations were led by individuals 'whose careers moved between the voluntary and political/statutory spheres' and who secured a route for grassroots volunteers to have a voice.[534] The Board of Education

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[531] Interview with Brian, 6 March 2013.
[532] Interview with Jim, 13 April 2013.
[533] History of the National Farmers Union, www.nfuonline.com/about-us/history-of-the-nfu accessed 10 April 2019.
[534] Matthew Hilton and James McKay (Eds), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the Big Society*, (Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 116.

had been empowered in the post-war years to give financial help to farming and a joint advisory committee was formed between the Board, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the National Federation of YFCs. Because the NYFC was providing a countryside youth service, the advisory committee made possible the appointment of an organiser for each county but failed to fund their salaries. By the 1960s the Devon YFC was struggling to sustain its funding. The Devon County Education Department made grants available but these had decreased from £600 a year during the 1950s to £450. This compared unfavourably to other county grants such as in Suffolk which received £1,000 a year in spite of having a county-wide membership of twenty-five percent of that in Devon, which in 1962 had the largest membership in the country. Hampshire, which had fifty percent of Devon's membership, received the same grant.[535] The disparity caused anger and frustration at the time, but the County Council's resources were overstretched and the *Albemarle Report* had increased their responsibilities for developing youth services in the towns. In addition, the Community Council of Devon had been founded in 1961 to support initiatives in the rural areas which included the provision of village community buildings that would have assisted youth groups as well as other local organisations.

Funding throughout the 1960s was a precarious process of local and county fundraising initiatives, small grants from the County Education Committee and the Devon NFU, and member subscriptions. By the early 1970s the County Council had agreed to pay the Devon YFC County Organiser's salary and this warranted an acknowledgement in their 1982 Report as a notable development.[536] Funding issues continued to arouse protest throughout the decade. At the end of the 1960s, the Devon YFC Federation, after consultation with its members, opposed the one

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[535] *Devon Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs: 50 Years 1932-1982,* booklet compiled by T. Wilson to mark the Golden Jubilee of the Federation (Gifted by David Baker), p.44.
[536] Ibid., p. 68.

hundred percent rise in the National Federation of YFC subscription rates and demanded 'a closer link with the membership, a greater service for the ordinary member, an end to the subscription spiral, a limit of the National Federation of YFC increase in spending.'[537] Devon's membership outnumbered most other counties in the country, and their competitive drive and pride ensured a constant level of voluntary involvement in spite of the shrinking rural population.

As described in Chapter Three, young people who joined one of the uniformed clubs also learnt discipline and skills. Medical groups such as the Red Cross and St Johns' Ambulance, gave their members frontline experience on hospital wards and in first aid situations. These organisations and those where cadets were affiliated to the army, navy and air force were primed to enlist, or at least be exposed to future occupational possibilities. By working alongside police officers, young surfers in North Devon may also have been inspired to join the Force: male and female cadets between sixteen and nineteen years were able to attend the Devon and Cornwall Police Training College at Middlemoor in Exeter. These cadets were encouraged to walk the Ten Tors challenge and complete the Duke of Edinburgh Award and were attached to different areas of community service such as working with children or older people in the community. It was not compulsory to join the Force at nineteen but as part of the qualification to do so young cadets had to be able to save lives and swim well. The police inaugural oath during the 1960s included the duty to save and preserve life which gave the surf lifesavers an advantage if they did want a career in the police. This also substantiates and

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[537] Ibid., p. 59.

explains the role of the Force in the development of the surf lifesaving club in North Devon.[538]

Faith-based youth clubs and groups were provided and sustained as part of the church's role in their communities and extended Christian values to future generations at a time when congregations across Britain were declining. Callum Brown's study of the decline of churchgoing in the 1960s notes that between 1963 and 1969, Anglican confirmations per head dropped by thirty-two percent and ordinations by twenty-five percent, while Methodist membership fell by twenty-four percent between 1960 and 1975. This was a shock to the churches because falls in attendance during the interwar period were 'reassuringly reversed in the 1950s,' and the 1960s decline was led predominantly by young people.[539] This moving away from church attendance heightened the importance of initiatives in rural areas that offered social engagement for young people on church premises. This community provision drew in family members who provided support and helped both financially and by practical involvement. In a similar way to uniformed organisations, the design of activities at faith-based clubs was based on normative ideas of what young people's lives should be like and implicitly instilled both values and standards of behaviour. The role of youth clubs and groups in influencing behaviour and preventing delinquency was at the core of the way youth clubs were run not only in rural areas, but also where there was poverty, deprivation, or overcrowding. Organisations like the Surf Lifesaving and Young Farmers Clubs held their own standards and expectations of behaviour and these were sustained by groups' implicitly agreed boundaries and members' desire to fit in and belong. Delinquency

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[538] Interview with Pam Giles, *Devon and Cornwall Police Heritage Trust*, 13 March 2019.
[539] Callum Brown, 'What was the Religious Crisis of the 1960s?' *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 34, 4, December 2010, pp.468-479. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9809.2010.00909.x accessed 12 January 2019.

was largely seen as an urban problem based on assumptions of self-policing in small, rural communities. Indeed, the numbers of juvenile offenders in Exeter between 1948 and 1950 were sixty-two (aged eight to thirteen) and seventy (aged fourteen to seventeen) per thousand, whereas in the whole of the rest of Devon the numbers were fifteen and twenty-six.[540] Varying Police Force practices such as warnings rather than arrests could account for the contrast, but the importance of familiarity and self-regulation among rural communities was spoken about in interviews. For example, Reverend Ron at the Blackdown Hills Mission recalled that 'everybody knew everybody else....the parents all knew each other so if anything was going on it would have soon got back to the parents!'[541]

Gender, Class and Youth Clubs

When Jane was interviewed for this research about her involvement in the development of the North Devon Surf Lifesaving Club, she recalled that, despite being a stronger swimmer than some of the male members, she was barred from taking part in competitions because of her gender (Figure 1).[542] She regarded herself as tough as the boys, training with them in all weathers in the freezing salt water pool on Ilfracombe beach without wetsuits and taking pride in being part of the club. When she was eighteen, Jane passed the Royal Lifesaving Society's Bronze Medallion and later gained the silver award. While at college, Jane took part in the first women's outdoor group to be trained at Plas y Brenin National Mountain Centre in Wales, which is still well-known for its rigorous training, particularly for mountain rescue teams.[543] Whilst there she learned to rock climb, canoe, horse ride, and tackle treacherous hiking routes in Snowdonia. Jane defied and challenged the

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[540] Callard, *Exeter Youth Enquiry, 1963*.
[541] Interview with Reverend Ron, 22 August 2013.
[542] Interview with Jane, 9 April 2013.
[543] Plas y Brenin National Mountain Centre in Wales, https://www.pyb.co.uk/, accessed 20 June 2013.

accepted norms of female acceptability, which during the 1960s were 'complex, contradictory and many-faceted.'[544]

Figure 19: "We weren't supposed to take part in competitions. When we were training with the reel and line we could only be in the line, and we weren't allowed to be the front swimmer wearing the line belt."[545]

Another interviewee, Brian, confirmed Jane's experience: girls were prevented from joining lifesaving competitions in the 1960s and when the whole club protested at the South West Championships in 1967, they were blacklisted and barred from taking part. Gradually wider pressure to change increased and eventually in 1970 girls were allowed to compete.[546] Jane's experience illustrates the paradox of being female in this period, and gender was sometimes a challenge for club leaders. Research carried out in 1964 by the London Union of Youth Clubs found that girls' and boys' activities, whether managed separately or together, needed to be carefully planned to accommodate common interests of both. A report written by Jalna Hanmer reminded youth leaders that the purpose of youth clubs was to help young people with their development and that the position of women leaders needed to be

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[544] Elizabeth Wilson, *Only Halfway to Paradise: Women in Postwar Britain 1945-1968*, (Tavistock, London, 1980), p. 3.
[545] Interview with Jane, 9 April 2013. Photograph from a private collection.
[546] Interview with Brian, 6 March 2013.

more carefully considered.[547] However, fewer women were being trained and were in a minority not only in youth clubs, but 'in local authority field officer positions, statutory and voluntary committees and administrative positions throughout the Youth Service.'[548] The report called for a change in attitudes as well as equal funding across gender, and although the rhetoric was not explicitly around patriarchal assumptions, it was inherent in the findings and formed the final conclusion of the report. Hanmer's argument is substantiated by Devon records: in 1968 all six of the Area Youth Officers based in strategic parts of the county were male, and the issues around making club activities suitable for girls were not addressed in any of the primary local authority sources researched.[549] Even by the mid-1970s few women held key roles in the Devon County Youth Service: for example, out of the eighteen Youth Tutors appointed at key secondary schools, only one was a woman.[550]

Some club activities were clearly designed with a gendered bias: for example at the Totnes Young Farmers Club in 1960, 'talks for the boys on grass management and care of the hair for the girls,' were the activities reported.[551] Gendered activities endured throughout the 1960s and were reinforced by stereotypical assumptions. A pamphlet produced in 1966 by the National Association of Mixed and Girls Clubs, written and researched by Miss E Lesley Sewell, emphasised that a club was a

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[547] Jalna Hanmer, feminist activist, academic and researcher was born in 1931, and gained a BA in Sociology and Social Institutions at the University of California, Berkley, in 1956. She moved to the UK in 1959, working on a variety of social research projects. (Jalna Hamner Collection, Leeds University), https://explore.library.leeds.ac.uk/special-collections-explore/477017, accessed 2 April 201).

[548] Jalna Hanmer, *Girls at Leisure: a Study for the London Union of Youth Clubs and London Women's Christian Association, 1964*, p.72.

[549] Devon County Council, *Leisure Opportunities for Young People in Devon: County Youth Service Handbook 1968.* DRO DEVON D05038232x.

[550] Devon County Council Education Department, *Sharing and Growing: a Short Account of the Growth and Activity of Community Colleges in Devon*, 1977. Private collection.

[551] *Totnes Young Farmers Club, 1st March 1960.* DRO 2696G Add61/Totnes 2.

community and that boys and girls should take an interest in each other, and be made aware of each other's' activities:[552]

> Are they sufficiently conscious of the club as a community to take some interest? For example, if a girl, in the progress of the football team or the furniture made by the boys in their woodwork class. Or, if a boy, in the girls' netball results or in the fact that the girls have a cookery class on a Wednesday evening?[553]

Although encouraging the social mixing between girls and boys, Sewell's internalisation of the gendered norms that reinforced stereotypical language and attitudes, underlined the continuation of separate activities. Jalna Hanmer pointed out in her report that many in the Youth Service seemed to disagree on what constituted adequate association between girls and boys. Girls when interviewed for the research felt that a club programme should be rooted in association with boys and the low value given to the music and dancing that girls enjoyed seemed to be related to a distrust of potential flirtatious encounters.[554] It was also apparent that girls who had not participated in sport in other clubs were keen to when offered, but often what was on offer were 'boys' activities' such as football. More girls than boys ended their association with youth clubs as soon as they left school and went to work, and perhaps if they had been given more agency and autonomy this statistic would have been challenged. Hanmer felt that girls were not as highly regarded by youth leaders as boys in clubs and that 'if their wish to associate is undervalued and

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[552] E. Lesley Sewell (known as Lesley) was General Secretary of the National Association of Mixed and Girls Clubs from 1953 until 1966, joining the organization in 1940 as Deputy Organizing Secretary. Sewell is remembered for her development work. http://www.infed.org/archives/nayc/sewell_looking.htm, accessed 12 June 2018.

[553] L. Sewell, *Looking at Youth Clubs, London, National Association of Youth Clubs, (*1966), p.6.

[554] Hanmer, *Girls at Leisure,* p.68.

even at times actively opposed' then relationships between boys and girls were left unaddressed.[555]

Bernard Davies points out that because males were given priority in order to target and engage unattached boys and prevent delinquency, girls failed to gain the same level of attention. The continuing male domination of the developing Youth Service contributed to the 'growing perception of girls and young women as problems' and to the continuing marginalisation of work with them throughout the 1960s.[556] The emergence of mixed clubs and groups and coeducational schools further marginalised girls' needs in the design of activities and facilities. A report in 1963 by the London Federation of Boys' Clubs on the value of segregated clubs considered the different needs of boys and girls. Demonstrating inherent assumptions that a sixteen year old girl may already be thinking about marriage, the report noted that:

> The boy upon arrival at the club asks 'What's on?' while the girl wants
> to know 'Who's here?'….the girl depends on her personal
> relationships.[557]

The implication that any interest in the opposite sex came only from girls is indicative of the double standards held, with girls expected to be perfect in their behaviour and demeanour. Carol Dyhouse points out that in the 1960s girls were seen to be behaving in ways which challenged traditional authority and standards of propriety. Although both sexes regularly reacted against what they saw as paternalistic interference in their private lives, the girls' demands for greater self-determination

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[555] Hanmer, *Girls at Leisure*, p.68.
[556] Bernard Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State: a History of the Youth Service in England 1939-1979,* (Youth Work Press, Leicester, 1999), p.65.
[557] Ibid, p. 95.

and independence spelled trouble.[558] A study by Angela McRobbie and Jenny

Garber found that girls suffered the double injunction of having fun while not 'getting

yourself into trouble.' The moral framework worked more heavily against girls than

against boys: while boys could spend a lot of time 'hanging about,' the pattern for

girls was more firmly structured between being at home and going out. The

consequences of getting known as one of the 'wild oats' to be sown was drastic and

irreversible for girls.[559]

When mixed groups met in club buildings girls were largely regarded as

passive supporting characters for their vigorous male counterparts, but once outside

inclusivity seemed possible. The Dartmoor initiative developed by the Borough

Youth Leader offered Exeter's young people opportunities to escape an environment

where gendered characteristics were implicitly endorsed. Taster days were

introduced where teenagers could choose from a range of new activities which

included pitching a tent, sub-aqua diving, abseiling, and canoeing. Girls were

encouraged to fully participate in the activities and interviewee Ellie took advantage

of all that was on offer, eventually volunteering as a youth leader and later

qualifying.[560] Gendered activities in youth clubs during the 1960s reflected wider

attitudes embedded in education: a survey of almost 600 co-educational secondary

schools found that fifty percent of them had some subjects only open for boys, and

forty-nine percent had subjects exclusive to girls.[561] Sue Sharp points out that the

school curriculum often deprived girls and boys of their freedom of choice by

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[558] Carol Dyhouse, *Girl Trouble: Panic and Progress in the History of Young Women,* (Zed Books, London, 2013), pp. 7-8.
[559] Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber, 'Girls and Subcultures' in Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (Eds), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain,* (Routledge, Birmingham, 1993), p. 213.
[560] Interview with Derek and Ellie, 5 October 2013.
[561] Sue Sharp, '*Just Like a Girl: How Girls Learn to be Women,*' (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1976), p.149.

assuming that they would not want to study certain subjects and by arranging the timetable on the basis of those assumptions.[562] It seems that youth club activities were organised with similar assumptions, which were held by both youth leaders as well as teachers. Davies states that this began to change when the insufficiently inventive and proactive nature of youth work with girls was beginning to be recognized, but during the 1960s the developing youth service failed to create the conditions in which all young people could develop their personal abilities fully. Any new approaches that opened up to girls' collective needs and possibilities as young women, had to await the re-emergence of feminist thinking and organising during the 1970s.[563]

The tripartite model of secondary education during the 1960s streamed children from eleven years old and reinforced inequality and class-based differentials. The 1963 *Robbins Report* on higher education reported that, of grammar school leavers with a given measured ability at the age of eleven, the proportion obtaining the qualifications for entry to higher education varied widely according to their social background.[564] Children of manual workers were on average far less successful than children of the same ability in other social groups, largely because they left school earlier. The proportion of children of manual workers who stayed on to the age when the General Certificate of Education at Advanced level was normally attempted was smaller than the proportion of middle-class children. As a result, the proportion of middle-class children reaching degree level was eight

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[562] Ibid.

[563] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 97.

[564] The Robbins Committee convened in February 1961 to review the pattern of full-time higher education in Great Britain and advise on what principles its long-term development should be based, whether there should be any changes in that pattern, whether any new types of institution are desirable and whether any modifications should be made in the present arrangements for planning and co-ordinating the development of the various types of institution. The *Robbins Report* was published in 1963. www.Educationengland.org.uk/documents/robbins/robbins1963.html accessed 28 May 2019.

times as high as the proportion from working-class homes.[565] The social implications of this class-based education system during the 1960s impacted on the role of the developing Youth Service. Youth clubs attempted to engage young people of all classes, but this was challenging when many were leaving school early and becoming wage earners. Their expectations of leisure activities were often different to young people who were staying on at school and going on to further and higher education. Diversity of aspirations and expectations made youth leaders' work more challenging. Young working people had money to spend on alternative diversions and those staying on at school had less to spend and possibly the pressures of homework and exam preparation. These are broad assumptions and the interviewees for this research did not refer to class in relation to their experiences. However, Anna made the point that she did not join a youth club because she did not like authority and intimated that she had had enough of this during the daytime at her grammar school that was preparing her for higher education at university.[566] The assumption that university students would look elsewhere for their social education was embedded in the *Albemarle Report* and revealed its inherent class-based bias.[567] There was no suggestion in Anna's interview that she avoided youth clubs because of the likelihood of mixing with working-class members and this is evidenced by her enjoyment of coffee bars and pubs. Interviewees were not asked specifically about their perception of class or how it impacted on their social world as young people. Because interview questions demand the verbalisation of consciousness, the introduction of notions of class may not have been helpful in their remembering how they felt at the time. Inconsistences and contradictions in class

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[565] *The Committee on Higher Education (Robbins) Report 1963,* pp. 50-51.
[566] Interview, Anna, 16 November 2015.
[567] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State,* p.45.

consciousness are 'likely to be particularly characteristic of adolescents' and any awareness of class was more likely to be implicitly expressed through other forms of social and cultural action.[568] Some conclusions can be made in the way the interviewees responded to the qualitative framework of questions: for example, the values of the surf lifesavers and the young farmers were based on respect and loyalty rather than class. The 'insistent celebration of youth' was seen in the 1960s to be challenging long-held beliefs that were enmeshed in institutions. However, young people were 'imposing meaning on their own immediate experience of inequality and subordination' in their own lives, although this may have been associated more directly with generation rather than class.[569]

Schools, Teachers and the Changing Community

The role of teachers and the place of schools in Devon are both factors to consider when studying the development and implementation of the Albemarle recommendations in accordance with the vision that an imaginative building programme would evolve:

> We therefore regard a generous and imaginative building programme
> as essential to rehabilitate the Youth Service and to equip it for the
> expansion that is called for. We should like to see the Architects and
> Buildings Branch of the Ministry of Education, through its development
> group, giving the design of premises for youth work, as it does already
> to the of school and college buildings…There is need for research and
> experiment in the provision of efficient, pleasing but economical
> buildings for the special purposes of the Youth Service, and not only

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[568] Graham Murdock and Robin McCron, 'Consciousness of Class and Consciousness of Generation,' in Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (Eds), *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, (Routledge, London, 1993), pp.192-207.
[569] Ibid, p.202.

for the very large unit. The needs of potential users must be studied,
and buildings designed to house the type of activities and interests of
an evolving Service.[570]

The *Albemarle Report* had envisioned the rapid development of youth wings as an integral part of school premises, but this institutional change was largely unrealised in Devon during the period. As this thesis notes in Chapter One, the 1959 *Crowther Report* regarded schools and teachers as key agents in the moral and social development of adolescent minds in the transitional period between education and work. The postponement of the raising of the school leaving age from fifteen to sixteen during the 1960s reduced the opportunity for influencing young people's attitudes and aspirations within their time in education, making the role of youth clubs especially important.

However, in Chapter Three it was shown that broad assumptions about the way after-school activities on school premises would develop during the decade were misplaced, but some teachers volunteered to get involved in youth clubs' activities. Interviewee Derek recalled how teachers were involved with groups of young people taking part in the outdoor activities at Pixies Holt on Dartmoor.[571] Some of these volunteer teachers were motivated to develop adventure clubs for their own schools and through this kind of individual agency teachers helped to erode any separation between the roles of Education and the Youth Service. However, Derek found this process slow going in Exeter and in the wider county, remembering that when he took up his new role in 1965 the relationship between

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[570] Ministry of Education (1960) *The Youth Service in England and Wales* (*'The Albemarle Report'*), para.224, London: HMSO, http://infed.org/mobi/the-albemarle-report-the-youth-service-yesterday-and-today/ last accessed 10 November 2019.
[571] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.

school and the youth clubs was new compared to what was already happening in Surrey.[572]

The transitional nature of this period in Devon is evident in the primary, archival and published sources and in the interviews undertaken for this research, and as Derek pointed out, many of the initiatives put in place during the 1960s laid the foundation for further developments in the 1970s.[573] This period saw a gradual move towards a fully comprehensive school system that aimed to democratise education, but counties like Devon were under-resourced and even nationally the Ministry of Education was slow in releasing funds for school building works.

The continued use of outdated buildings meant the dynamic for change slowed during the 1960s, but there were features and reports on youth service building design which included new ideas on equipment and furniture that would appeal to young people. The *Ministry of Education Building Bulletin* published in September 1961 was devoted to the subject, and a further article in the August 1963 edition used the Withywood Youth Centre project in Bristol as an example of good practice, hailing a slogan of 'bricks and mortar, plastic and Formica.'[574] This inspired the *Times Educational Supplement* to run details of the project's floor plans and design details, resulting in 'the rapid spread of Withywood clones' around the country.[575] (Figure 20)

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[572] Ibid.
[573] Ibid.
[574] Quoted in Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets,* p. 14.
[575] Davies, *From Voluntarysm to Welfare State*, p. 62.
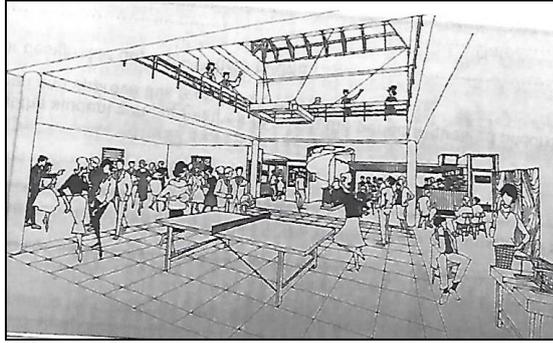
Figure 20: The design for the Withycombe Youth Centre in Bristol, featured in the Ministry of Education Building Bulletin in 1963[576]

At the Exeter Borough Education Committee meeting on the 15 October 1963, in response to the *Callard Report* on the lack of services in the city for young people, it was minuted that the 'solution of problems emphasised in the Report would be greatly facilitated if the early provision of premises for youth centres ….could be allowed.'[577] A level of frustration was discernible at local level, but a gradual change in the attitude towards a national Youth Service building boom meant that emphasis could shift to the 'stimulation of an interest in multi-use buildings and a search for greater value for money' as mooted in the House of Commons in April 1968.[578] In response to the growing interest in the aesthetics of design in youth club buildings, in November 1967 the weekly periodical *Education*, the trade journal of the local education authorities in England and Wales, carried a three-page supplement on *Buildings for Social Education*, revealing a new emphasis on the needs of the wider community.[579]

In response to 'expectations of a more open and participatory society,' Devon County Council issued draft proposals on the formation of community colleges in

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[576] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets*, p.15.
[577] *Exeter Education Committee Minutes 15 October 1963, Service of Youth Sub-Committee*, Page 61. DRO/5378-0/ECA/19/112.
[578] Quoted in Davies, p. 64.
[579] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p.64.

1966, and a working party produced further reports in 1967 and 1970.[580] However, there had been local attempts at achieving more inclusivity before then. For example, a community-led model had been established in 1952 in South Molton, in the north of the county when a community association was formed by interested local people who aimed to emulate the Cambridgeshire Village Colleges.[581] By 1958 some eight hundred adult students and school leavers were enrolled in sixty classes across thirty-two rural villages and hamlets as well as in the town itself. Not only were school staff involved, but there was a steady development of training for part-time teachers. One of the teachers on this programme established a youth club along the participatory lines of the community college and after the county council appointed a dedicated youth tutor, further social education initiatives aimed to engage school leavers with innovative skills, with an approach that was 'not directive or paternalistic.'[582] From the records, the South Molton initiative seems to have been the only model of its kind in the county during the 1960s, but there were clearly moves during the decade to emulate the emphasis on community. The 1977 Devon County Council publication highlights the challenges of sustainability and reveals the council's familiarity with the 1968 *Gulbenkian (Younghusband) Report.* This report had raised the importance of community in helping local people to decide, plan and take action to meet their own needs with the help of available outside resources. Community helped local services to become more effective, usable and accessible

[580] Devon County Council Education Department, *Sharing and Growing: a Short Account of the Growth and Activity of Community Colleges in Devon*, published in May 1977, p.7, (Donated from private collection).

[581] Henry Morris (1889-1961) was the Chief Education Officer in Cambridgeshire for over 30 years from 1922. In 1924 he wrote the now famous Memorandum which led to the founding of the Village Colleges. The movement seeded a change towards "community education" in many parts of Britain and abroad. This change was based on the belief that education should be a lifelong process. He called it "raising the school-leaving age to 90." http://henrymorris.org/about-henry-morris, accessed 12 October 2017.

[582] Devon County Council Education Department, *Sharing and Growing: a Short Account of the Growth and Activity of Community Colleges in Devon*, published in May 1977, p.9, (Donated from private collection).

to those whose needs they were trying to meet, the report stated and raised the importance of taking account of the interrelation between different services in planning for people, and forecasting necessary adaptions to meet new social needs in constantly changing circumstances:

> Community work is essentially about social change; about the redistribution of power and scarce resources; about the inertia of large institutions; about conflicts of interest between different groups in a community….and about the extent and the kind of decisions that people wish to make, or contribute to making, themselves.[583]

As an illustration of the relative progress made in the face of the inertia of large institutions, it is interesting to reflect on how change manifested itself over a decade in Totnes. As noted in Chapter Four, in 1966 the youth leader based at Dartington expressed his frustration regarding the lack of co-operation from the headmaster at the local secondary school. By the early 1970s this had changed as the school had a Youth Tutor to specifically co-ordinate after-school activities. This development did not necessarily indicate a universal conviction about community education because some observers felt that involvement with the community had 'seeped in from outside rather than burst outwards from within.'[584] The Youth Leader saw that rural youth work could never be successfully undertaken without regard to the wholeness of village life and was frustrated by the inertia demonstrated at the secondary school. A few years later the picture was very different, and the County Council's 1977 report reflects on the progress of Totnes secondary school towards embracing community

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[583] *The Gulbenkian Report: Community Work and Social Change 1968*, p. 60. The Gulbenkian funded report, also known as the *Younghusband Report*, shaped an environment where social work and community work was taken seriously. It crystallised its commitment to helping communities, especially the most vulnerable, to support themselves. https://gulbenkian.pt/uk-branch/about-us/story, last accessed 8 December 2019.

[584] Devon County Council Education Department, *Sharing and Growing*, p.9.

involvement. The Youth Tutor was now working with a dedicated Adult Tutor, and the adult community education courses, totalling over forty, were being programmed in partnership with the Dartington Estate in order to avoid duplication. Between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s, Totnes School had emerged from an inward-looking educational provider for eleven to eighteen year olds, to a Community College that was serving a wide rural area of over twenty thousand people, of which only six thousand were living in Totnes itself. The outreach initiatives managed by the mid-1970s were governed along the lines of community consultation and agreement and the appointed Youth Tutor's role was to develop and support all the youth groups in the College's catchment area and to link with organisations across generational lines. The success of this work is reflected in the Devon County Council's 1977 publication:

> The intricate nature of the youth and adult tutors' involvement with the
> community had led in many situations to the breakdown of the
> boundaries between traditional youth and adult activity.[585]

As well as the need for new, modern school buildings, a series of central government investigations between the mid-1960s until the 1970s examined the intransigency of educational institutions, and reviewed the way that secondary schools were governed. Head-teachers continued to hold power within each school and although governance had been addressed through central directives, the 1977 *Taylor Report* noted that real change had been slow to materialise:

> By and large it is in the structure and composition of managing and
> governing bodies that change has been most marked in recent years.
> Redefinition of function has not proceeded at the same pace, possibly

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[585] Ibid., p. 37.

because the changes in structure and composition are, in many cases, only very recent.[586]

This is made evident in the booklet published by Devon County Council's Education Department in 1977 which placed on record the evolution of inclusive social education in the area since 1960.[587] This publication gave an account of the growth and activity of community colleges in the county and revealed much about the progress of secondary education towards a 'human organisation sensitive to people with needs' that included school leavers and adults of all ages.[588] The *Albemarle Report* had envisioned the building of new secondary schools with youth wings taking place across the country during the 1960s, but the Devon evidence shows how this was not realised until the next decade, confirming interviewee Derek's comment that 'buildings came later.'[589] By the early 1970s negotiations with local communities were taking place as school buildings dating back to the nineteenth century were gradually replaced. In Winkleigh in Mid-Devon, for example, after community consultation the outdated primary school building was managed by a local association and volunteers from the youth club worked with the management committee to improve the facilities. Similar models were created in Chagford and Okehampton that involved the re-purposing of school buildings and the participation of local communities in their management and development.[590] Through the 1960s local people in the seaside town of Teignmouth urged the County Council to provide a youth centre and this was finally actioned in 1972 as the school leaving age rose to sixteen, after almost a decade of debate. The secondary school building programme

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[586] *The Taylor Report: A New Partnership for Our Schools,* HMSO, June, 1977, para 2.23, http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/taylor/taylor1977.htm, accessed 21 May 2019.
[587] Devon County Council Education Department, *Sharing and Growing,* p.37.
[588] Ibid, p.7.
[589] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.
[590] Devon County Council, *Sharing and Growing*, p. 31.

to accommodate the extra pupils included an integrated youth wing. The role of the school's youth tutor was to 'work closely with the school' and after-school leisure activities included adult evening classes which were to be accessed by members of the community from the age of sixteen.[591] A similar development took place in Ivybridge which, during the 1960s, increasingly became a dormitory town to Plymouth. As the town grew, the provision for young people was overstretched and the County Council responded to local concern:

> Local anxiety about the lack of social facilities for young people alerted
>
> the College staff to investigate possibilities.[592]

As an interim provision the school's sixth-form building was made available as a temporary evening youth centre until a bespoke facility was built, and the 1977 *County Council Report* highlighted the future opportunities for 'widening its usefulness and its participatory style while maintaining a sympathetic and non-directive approach.'[593]

In the report's conclusion, the issue of community and youth provision in working-class areas is mentioned in relation to a sense of alienation. This was evidenced in Exeter during the 1960s when the Borough Youth Officer worked in Beacon Heath, deemed a 'rough area'. He liaised with St James secondary school to keep problem teenagers out of trouble and developed the Knight Club as a separate youth centre near the school.[594] In the Exeter Council's City Architects Department Capital Building Programme March 1967, funds were set aside for new build or refurbishment work at youth centres in Countess Wear and Whipton.[595] From the

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[591] Ibid, p. 35.
[592] Ibid, p. 27.
[593] DCC, Ibid.
[594] Interview, Gill, 16 November 2015.
[595] *Exeter City Council Minutes, Youth Service Sub-Committee Meeting Minutes, 1966-1970,* DRO/G3.

research interviews it is clear that youth provision in Beacon Heath depended largely on volunteer help and was designed with the local need in mind. The new building for St James School was developed during the 1960s when the girls and boys schools were amalgamated. It is not clear from the records why the youth club was developed in a separate building, but this does raise speculation regarding the planning time-lag from conception to realisation. Funding streams allocated several years before actual school rebuild left interim periods vulnerable to fresh funding constraints and shifting school design priorities. From the city council records it appears that funding for a youth club in Beacon Heath was allocated several years before any building took place and it seems reasonable to assume that St James School was envisioned and planned in the late 1950s, before the *Albemarle Report*.[596]

Deprivation and alienation were not only city issues and the 1977 *Devon County Council* report noted the unique concerns regarding the north coast. This centred on the higher than average unemployment in Barnstaple, the area's main town, which had experienced 'much delinquency.'[597] Efforts had been made by the local youth workers there to encourage young people to attend extra-mural classes, and the town's evolving technical college was offering vocational training and links with local employers. The College offered courses including carpentry, bricklaying, auto engineering, science, and technical drawing. Over the years, the College expanded and additional buildings were added. In 1969, the College became one of the country's first Tertiary Colleges, providing a Sixth Form for North Devon's newly formed comprehensive schools. The concept of tertiary education aimed to provide a single establishment meeting educational and vocational skills needs for all young

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[596] *Exeter City Council Minutes,* Ibid..

[597] Devon County Council Education Department, *Sharing and Growing: a Short Account of the Growth and Activity of Community Colleges in Devon*, published in May 1977, p.16.

people, their communities, and local employers.[598] The 1977 report particularly noted that there was deep concern 'with the need to offer sustained support to adolescents and to create situations where confidential help can be freely sought and readily given.'[599]

At the end of the 1970s the National Youth Bureau commissioned Reg (R. W. J.) Keeble to collate and publish material on the development and workings of community education. This new emphasis on community that Keeble had helped to develop in Devon was far removed from the 'prescriptive paternalism' of the past and based on the 'undaunted belief in the extraordinary possibilities of ordinary people.'[600] The separateness of services for young people, as envisioned in 1960 by the *Albemarle Report*, gradually evolved into wider services for whole communities in Devon not only as a result of changing social attitudes and needs, but also driven by expediency in Devon and a need for better value for money. The evolution of community colleges in the county and their future development was summarised in the concluding section of Devon County Council's booklet published in 1977, and entitled *Questions From the Future*:

> The Community College is ....a principle, an attitude of mind,
>
> a set of relationships, a group of resolves and a web of educational
>
> resources....learning from life and for life and needs to become more
>
> open and participatory.[601]

This new open and participatory model was largely founded in the increasing awareness of social and political issues in the post-war period, the strengthening of the Voluntary Sector including pressure and single issue groups, and evolving

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[598] Ibid, p.16.
[599] Ibid.
[600] R. W. J. Keeble, *Community and Education: Some Relationships and Some Issues*, (National Youth Bureau, Leicester, 1981), p.1.
[601] Devon County Council Education Department, *Sharing and Growing*, p. 56.

welfare and social rights. Education and the media helped to democratise information and understanding and empower citizens to become more acutely aware of their rights, believing that 'they had a right to articulate their worries and concerns.'[602]

Keeble held that one of the most powerful new elements in the process of change in communities came from the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). This 'rich, energetic and highly influential agency' placed a new emphasis on the working life of young people as well as in the development of their social education and life skills. However, Keeble also acknowledged the suggestion by Bernard Davies and others that the MSC put more weight onto the social control function, leaving less room for personal growth and making the role of the youth leader less defined.[603] Other agencies were also undergoing change towards a more open and inclusive community of service users, including the police service which was consulting members of their communities about their perceptions of their neighbourhood in a 'spirit of working with them for the common good.'[604] At universities, student networks of community volunteering during the 1960s were channelled through independent Student Community Action (SCA) groups but from 1968 the National Union of Students oversaw a transition from traditional social 'service' to community 'action' which aimed to raise the level of consciousness of students with regard to local issues. The Student Community Action Resources Programme (SCARP) sought to co-ordinate student activities to identify with local people, open up learning

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[602] Peter Shapely, 'Civil Society, Class and Locality' in Hilton and McKay (Eds), *The Ages of Voluntarism*, pp.94-113.
[603] Keeble, *Community and Education*, p.80.
[604] Ibid, p.116.

and resources to their communities, and establish closer links between students and local organisations.[605]

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the ways that youth leaders managed societal changes in their attempts to fulfil the recommendations of the Albemarle Report. These changes impacted on the way that youth clubs and groups were organised and sustained, and remained relevant to young people in their communities. If youth club memberships were to increase to the numbers envisioned in the 1960 Report, youth leaders had to adapt their practice and offer a service that motivated their members to attend and keep on coming. Youth leaders often struggled to negotiate the balance between the physical, emotional, and spiritual needs of their club members and maintain boundaries around pastoral care. The gaps between youth work practice and theory left many youth leaders frustrated and unsure. Tim Caley discovered some 'unwritten rules' of youth club engagement and activity where organized and planned club activities went hand-in-hand with various interventions that were either 'on the wing' or built into the programme based on 'evidence of need, targeted to specific individuals and implemented with determination and skill.' Successful youth work practice was always 'voluntary and on young people's terms.'[606]

Expectations of the success of those organising youth clubs were driven by local and central government and parents and other members of the community. The much-vaunted generational conflict of the 1960s had much popular appeal but many youth clubs and organisations in Devon during this time depended on the support of family and community. David Kertzer's work on the concept of 'generation' as a

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[605] Ibid, p.118.
[606] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets*, p.103.

sociological problem notes that this is not an appropriate tool for dividing societies. History does not present itself as a 'simple series of chronologically distinct slices but rather as a variety of overlapping forces.'[607] Not all parents disapproved of young people in the 1960s, and many young people were working hard and building families in the same way as generations before them. Kertzer also points out that there is no neat correspondence between generational differences and age differences, but notions of generational conflict theory have been adopted as shorthand for the 1960s.[608] Gerard de Groot has claimed that differences of opinion over the definition of 'happiness' defined the generation gap of the period, but this idea ignores the subtleties of change and the inevitable energy of young people to define their lives on their own terms.[609] Complaints of cultural deterioration and declining respect in State rhetoric and media reports were not new: similar claims in the nineteenth century have been highlighted by Geoffrey Pearson,[610] and as Tim Caley realised, the demonization of young people has a long history.[611]

The chapter has also explored how issues of gender in the developing Youth Service in Devon were being negotiated and whether underlying perceptions of class were evident in the after-school choices young people were making. The role of schools and teachers within changing communities in this period was also revisited in this chapter because the original Albemarle vision of new youth club buildings evolved into a more broad community-wide reality of new buildings that served all generations. This was a significant story in Devon during the 1960s, one rooted in the apparent pragmatic adaptability of the local authority. In spite of the mixed

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[607] David L. Kertzer, 'Generation as a Sociological Problem,' *Annual Social Review*, 9, 1983, pp.125-49.
[608] Ibid., p.139.
[609] Gerard J. de Groot, *The Sixties Unplugged: a Kaleidoscopic History of a Disorderly Decade*, (Harvard University Press, 2008), p.11.
[610] Geoffrey Pearson, *Hooligan: a History of Respectable Fears*, (Macmillan, London, 1983), p.54.
[611] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets*, p.66.

network of youth clubs and organisations across the county that had remained unregulated by the local authority, and the uncertainties by central government regarding raising the school leaving age, in 1966 the first steps were taken to prepare proposals for the formation of community colleges across the county.

In understanding the management of change in Devon during the post-Albemarle development of the Youth Service, it is important to encompass the wider shifts between State and grassroots enterprise. The supposed tension between 'old' and 'new' were re-negotiated by 'bottom-up' inclusion of ordinary people who were consulted and listened to through community activism. Studies by Virginia Berridge and Alex Mold have attempted to fix this 'in-between' process between voluntary and community social movements and the State during this period, where the 'old' and the 'new' drew from each other. The dynamics of such a process, they claim, are difficult to categorise.[612] However, the redistribution of power and the democratisation of education and learning were critical to the future empowerment of young people, but inevitably made the role of a Youth Service less distinct. Chapter Six will evaluate the advances that had been achieved by the *Albemarle Report*, and will assess the impact of the 1969 *Fairbairn-Milson Report on Youth and Community Work in the 70s*. This report was the result of a three-year review, and aspired to provide a Youth Service with a viable structural, as well as inspirational, map for the 1970s.[613]

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[612] Virginia Berridge and Alex Mold, 'Professionalisation, New Social Movements and Voluntary Action in the 1960s and 1970s,' in Hilton and McKay, *The Ages of Voluntarism*, pp.114-134.
[613] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p.124.

CHAPTER SIX
A GOLDEN AGE AND A TURNING POINT?
'What does youth work achieve then?'[614]

This chapter will assess the achievements of the 1960 *Albemarle Report*, and explore the aims of the subsequent 1969 *Fairbairn-Milson Report, Youth and Community Work in the '70s*. It will argue that youth work is a 'social construct whose creation has to be understood in the context of the wider political, economic and social conditions in which it developed.'[615] The key primary source for this chapter is the Devon County Council Education Department's publication *Sharing and Growing: A Short Account of the Growth and Activity of Community Colleges in Devon* published in 1977, which has been referred to in previous chapters. This resource provides an insight into the way local and national narratives on youth services overlapped.

The question *'What does youth work achieve, then?'* was posed by Prime Minister Edward Heath in 1973 to a group of youth officers and workers who attended his office to lobby him on the benefits of youth work. They drew his attention to the lack of recognition and value placed on the work, and sought his support for future development. According to Tim Caley, after Heath posed his question there was apparently an ominous silence and a lack of a coherent answer.[616] However, this uncertainty was hardly new; Denis Howell had also expressed his confusion in 1968 even though he had been a member of the Albemarle Committee.[617] He was Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Department

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[614] Edward Heath, Prime Minister, at a meeting with a group of youth officers and workers in 1973, quoted in Tim Caley, *Keeping Them Off The Streets*, p. 9.

[615] Bernard Davies, 'Defined by History: Youth Work in the UK,' <u>History of Youth Work in Europe, Relevance for Youth Policy Today,</u> Vol.1, (2009), https://pip-eu.coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership/the-history-of-youth-work-in-europe-volume-1, accessed 6 June 2019.

[616] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets*, p.9.

[617] Bernard Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State: A History of the Youth Service 1939-1979,* (Youth Work Press, Leicester, 1999*)*, p. 110.

of Education and Science from 1964 until 1969, but was apparently confused by the shifting nature of what the Youth Service should achieve.[618] However, Bernard Davies points out that core features of ways of working with young people have been formulated and refined over time which always results in an 'unfinished' definition of a distinctive practice which is called 'youth work.' In all human endeavours of this kind 'contradiction, debate and revision are permanent features, with the product inevitably problematic and contested, never final.'[619]

John Eggleston claimed that, although the Youth Service was clearly an instrument of social control, 'it may also be defined as an agency that is helping to bring about certain agreed forms of social change' and these changes may be primary objectives, or secondary outcomes that arise through association.[620] Examples of this can be seen in the development of the Young Farmers Clubs and the Surf Lifesaving movement in Devon. These initiatives were founded in a spirit of independence and community loyalties, but their growth and sustainability were dependent on the lobbying power of the National Farmers Union and the underlying dedication of the police to the preservation of life. As well as the individual benefits of association and belonging, the wider economic and social impacts on communities were important secondary outcomes. The implicit social control through inherent discipline, pride and adherence to codes of behaviour were self-regulated and accepted through the need to belong. This was an important factor in the rural and coastal communities of Devon that were experiencing low employment levels, declining economies and population drift. From community-led to church-run groups and clubs, organisations for young people in Devon provided leisure activities,

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[618] Denis Howell, https://www.parliament.uk/biographies/commons/denis-howell/997/, accessed 19 June 2019.
[619] Davies, 'Defined by History.'
[620] John Eggleston, *Adolescence and Community: The Youth Service in Britain*, (Edward Arnold, London, 1975), p. 37.

learning experiences, personal development opportunities, and a chance for social contact. The *Albemarle Report* aimed to professionalise this process in an effort to standardise the way young people's services were organised and supported. It also re-established a commitment to the Youth Service at central government level for the long-term sustainability of its provision, and reminded local authorities of their obligations to young people in their cities, towns and rural areas.

Raising the Status and Expectations of Youth Workers

This thesis has shown how different organisations offered activities, skills and social opportunities to attract young people to youth clubs, while adapting to local need and within limited resources. In their attempts to engage the 'unattached' young people, 'open' clubs experimented with music, dancing and coffee bar environments that offered a different approach to single-issue and uniformed organisations. In Chapter Three, for example, it was shown how the Exeter YMCA applied for funds to extend their facilities and attract young people who avoided the 'vicar-type' arrangement that Ray Gosling had railed against in 1961. Gosling championed the concept of young people participating in the organisation of their clubs, and disliked the Albemarle idea of professionalising the Youth Service that he thought would result in a didactic model that would alienate its members. In an obituary of Gosling on his death in 2013, Tony Taylor acknowledged Gosling's experimental Leicester Youth Venture for the 'unclubbables' in the early 1960s which was self-programming, organised by and for young people who felt they had ownership of their club. Gosling challenged contemporary Youth Service practice, seeing the potential in young people: 'from an organised world of their own will

emerge an organised world of their own, governed by themselves integrated into responsive society.'[621]

Figure 21: Ray Gosling at the time of the 1960 publication of the Albemarle Report
(Photo: The Independent Newspaper)

The idea of this participatory model led to a disagreement between Ray Gosling and Bernard Davies, with Gosling arguing that the Albemarle emphasis on training a vanguard of qualified youth leaders was too prescriptive and at odds with the need to prioritise young people's self-organisation. Davies defended the creation of a highly skilled Youth Service work-force, and the tensions revealed in their argument continued to 'resonate around professionalism, leadership, young people's autonomy, the prescriptive and the spontaneous.'[622] However, some of the interviews made for this research revealed evidence of youth work practice that combined both spontaneous and prescriptive approaches. Youth workers planned the organisation of their clubs and groups, but also informally adapted to the day-to-day needs of their members, which often resulted in the informal participation by them. For example at the Pixies Holt Outdoor Centre on Dartmoor members could choose the activities they wanted to do and were encouraged to help organise and support other members. In the outreach work that the Exeter Youth Officer carried out, with the support of the university chaplain, Derek used his initiative to engage

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[621] Ray Gosling, *Lady Albemarle's Boys*, (Young Fabian, 1961), p. 18.
[622] Tony Taylor, *Ray Gosling, Broadcaster, Activist and Youth Worker 'on the Side of the Underdog' 1939 -2013,* https://indefenceofyouthwork.com/2013/11/25/ray-gosling-broadcaster-activist-and-youth-work, accessed 19 June 2019.

informally in conversation with groups of young people in the city's coffee bars. Like

him, Tim Caley in Sheffield realised that youth outreach workers were largely left

alone to make up their plans and strategies as they went along; club managers

although supportive, were far from proactive.[623] The oral research on the post-

Albemarle period in Exeter provides primary evidence that the local Youth Officer

had to work spontaneously, using his earlier experience to build and develop the

city's Youth Service through networking and sharing resources and listening to

young people themselves. Although Derek ensured that as many youth workers as

possible were given the opportunity to study good practice and gain qualifications, he

cultivated a needs-led approach. There were no quantitative targets for this work,

and Derek was given a free rein, with the responsibility of a regular report-back

system to the Director of Education and the Youth Committee who oversaw the

budget and sanctioned his work plans.[624] This was very much the experience of Tim

Caley in Sheffield who often doubted whether his detached work practice matched

up to the standards suggested in the *Morse Report*.[625] The report had acknowledged

that above all young people needed to be 'seen and treated as whole persons' and

that it was vital that more detached youth workers offered friendship and help.[626]

The *Albemarle Report* had promoted standardisation of Youth Service

provision in an attempt to raise the quality of delivery. However, tensions between

taught practice and the day-to-day experience of youth workers in the field meant

that supportive management was imperative. Caley's reflection illustrates the

dilemmas that many youth workers may have shared regarding what could feasibly

be achieved. The post-Albemarle emphasis on engaging the 'unattached' placed

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[623] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets,* p. 50.
[624] Interview with Derek, 5 October 2013.
[625] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets,* p. 54.
[626] Mary Morse, *The Unattached*, (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1965), pp.222-223.

pressure on the youth workers to recruit, support their members both practically and emotionally, and manage the sustainability of their clubs and the support of the local community. The *Morse Report* included evidence of this from its researchers who raised questions regarding relationship boundaries between a young person and a youth worker. Sometimes the youth workers were overtaken by tiredness, irritation or even exasperation and there was a need for 'someone to whom they could turn to be reassured that such feelings were natural and inevitable – someone who could act as a safety valve for their feelings of frustration.'[627] This is evidenced in the interview with Gill who helped Derek run a lunch-time and after-school club in Beacon Heath. She recalled that he had felt unsupported by his local authority, and he intimated during his interview that there was a lack of understanding of how difficult it was to engage challenging young people.[628] There appeared to have been some reluctance towards change in some of the negotiations Derek was involved in, but it was clear that help from enthusiastic volunteers considerably aided his work.[629]

Ray Gosling had pointed out in 1960 that young people were not a homogenous group and it was important to take into account the differences between them: students' leisure-time revolved around their college and university environment; those not wanting to join a club included 'lone wolves' or those with attachments to a particular hobby or relationship who wanted to be left alone; those young people who favoured uniformed groups because of the training they offered; or those who pursued interests such as sport or politics. The remaining group of young people wanted opportunities for socialising and enjoying their leisure time.[630] A research study carried out by the Department of Education and Science in 1969

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[627] Ibid.*,* p.202.
[628] Interview with Gill, 16 November 2015.
[629] Interview with Derek, 5 October 2013.
[630] Gosling, *Lady Albemarle's Boys*, p.16.

aimed to explore the practical issues that youth workers were dealing with, and gain

some perspective on the developing post-Albemarle Youth Service. The researchers

for this report, Margaret Bone and Elizabeth Ross, interviewed over a hundred young

people between the ages of fourteen and twenty, to find out their attitudes to their

local clubs. It was found that ninety percent of young people thought that the youth

leaders at the clubs they were attached to were interested in young people's ideas.

Eighty-four percent of unattached young people felt the same, but rather more of

them thought that people who ran youth clubs 'were trying to push their ideas on

you.'[631] The research findings also noted that, although the young people

interviewed generally talked about their local clubs in favourable terms, at some

point they found it no longer relevant to their interests and pleasures.[632] There were

many reasons for this, including the fact that seventeen percent of the 'unattached'

were married or engaged.[633] The complexities of group behaviour were also

highlighted in the findings; club membership fell when friendship groups broke up.

Leaving school, finding paid employment, moving onto further or higher education all

impacted on youth club affiliations, and the autonomy of young people to choose

meant that youth workers needed to experiment with fresh ideas, and monitor and

review any changes in membership. For Tim Caley, a trip to the Youth Service

Information Centre at Leicester College resulted in a 'treasure trove of books,

magazines, pamphlets, information packs and resources,' as well as contact details

for innovative outreach programmes across the country. Caley also discovered that

between 1967 and 1970 the Information Centre had produced over forty-five

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[631] Margaret Bone and Elizabeth Ross, *The Youth Service and Similar Provision for Young People*, (published in 1972, HMSO), p. 67.
[632] Ibid., p. 69.
[633] Ibid*.,* p. 213.

publications giving details of experimental youth projects that had been influenced by the *Morse Report*.[634]

A few years after Bone and Ross explored young people's experiences of the Youth Service, Eggleston's research attempted to produce meaningful quantifiable data from a range of anecdotal material to establish the motivations underlying club affiliations. He was also interested in the attitudes of young people towards their youth workers, and whether they felt that they had any power over the way their club was run. His research found that the social as well as geographical environment in which the clubs operated impacted on the way young people responded to questions about club loyalty. Proportionately more members of the rural clubs who were interviewed adopted a 'more responsible attitude to those of any others,'[635] meaning a high degree of loyalty and a sense of responsibility to the club. This is reflected in the evidence from the rural areas in Devon, both in the faith-based and Young Farmers clubs. Eggleston puts this down to lack of social awareness but, as has been explored in previous chapters, small community familiarity and self-policing played a part as did the practical issues of lack of choice and transport. Difficulties in finding the words to express dissent was noted in the Bone and Ross research, which found that when interviewed, 'young people feel it is right to approve of the idea of youth clubs in the same way as it is right to approve of education or democracy.'[636] Eggleston found that members were 'too individualistic, too disparate, and too idiosyncratic to exist in pure and simple categories,' making the role of the youth leader a difficult balance between the demands of the organization and those of its members.[637]

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[634] Caley, *Keeping Them Off The Streets*, pp. 47-48.
[635] Eggleston, *Adolescence and Community*, p. 113.
[636] Bone and Ross, *The Youth Service*, p. 68.
[637] Eggleston, *Adolescence and Community*, p.134.

Eggleston observed the importance of volunteer youth workers who, whilst possibly lacking professional qualifications, exercised real leadership. If they were successful and wished to stay there would be pressure to become professional, to take recognized training courses.[638] However, a decade after the *Albemarle Report*, Eggleston observed that the experimental areas, the 'new and de-structured areas,' may well have given rise to a de-structured and de-professionalised concept of leadership. The model of 'the ephemeral leader may become the dominant one and his "non-professionalism" instead of being a disadvantage may be seen as being highly advantageous.'[639] Derek, Youth Officer in Exeter, and Alan, Methodist Youth Leader in Devon, both recalled the need for experimental methods in their practice.[640] Alan had 'worked with the members doing things together. There was awareness with responsibility: we had ownership and we all felt we were part of it.'[641] The safe traditionalism implicit in the *Albemarle Report* appeared to be evolving into more recognized, adventurous radicalism, brought about by the ambiguities and uncertainties in the leaders' role. Although the Report instigated a substantial youth club building programme, the emphasis on the 'unclubbables' or 'unattached' had led to different approaches to engaging young people.

The conventional wisdom of the Youth Service that it was 'abnormal not to be clubbable' led to the provision of 'coffee bar-type initiatives that were assumed to be a milieu closer to that of the unclubbables' cultural expectations.'[642] Derek collaborated with the Exeter YMCA because of their range of initiatives and experimented with an 'open', non-affiliated coffee bar in the city centre to engage

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[638] Ibid., p.143.
[639] Ibid., p.144.
[640] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.
[641] Interview Alan, 5 April 2014.
[642] Eggleston, *Adolescence and Community*, p.148.

unattached young people.[643] In his account of his career of over forty years working in the Youth Service, Tim Caley recalled how important experimental youth work became after the *Albemarle Report*, as the aim shifted from encouraging young people to attend a youth club, to engaging with them on their own terms, and wherever they 'hung out' with their friends. The detached youth worker needed particular expertise in making contact and Caley was warned that he might 'spend the first year making contacts and the second year regretting them' and the process took time.[644] Derek had confessed to being slightly daunted by the process when joining the Mods and Rockers in their coffee bars of choice in the city, prompting him to take the university chaplain with him as moral support.[645] Caley wondered whether the non-directive approach was founded in the desire of youth workers to be unlike teachers or other social-work-type professionals who represented the State, and because their role was not clearly defined:[646]

> Academics and theorists are viewed with some suspicion by youth
> work practitioners. The gold standard of youth work currency is
> fieldwork, grassroots, coalface experience not degrees diplomas or
> certificates.[647]

By the end of the 1960s the Albemarle concern with delinquency, vandalism, and discipline had evolved into a wider emphasis on the social context in which young people were living – as youth workers had found through their detached work. However, Ray Gosling's appeal for the autonomy of young people was still being fought for: when a group of rebel students occupied the Hornsey College of Art and attempted to establish a radical reconstruction of art education, they noted that:

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[643] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.
[644] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets*, p. 51.
[645] Interview, Derek.
[646] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets,* p.39.
[647] Ibid., p.38.

It was in the small seminars of not more than twenty people that ideas

could be thrashed out. Each person felt personally involved in the

dialogue and felt the responsibility of respond vociferously….If only

such a situation was possible under normal conditions.[648]

It was hoped that this experiment would form the basis of discussion between

students and staff, but the opportunity became lost in the aftermath of public scorn

and bitter media reporting, including the response: 'Does any bunch of twopenny-

halfpenny kids think they can turn us upside down? They'll learn.'[649] Young people

were questioning the way education was being taught, finding that even art colleges

expected their students to accept things as they were, and to be 'conformists rather

than constructive revolutionaries, people well adapted to live in stable times but not

in an era of rapid social change.'[650] The entrenched paternalism in education

demonstrated by this incident contrasts to the changes in approach that had evolved

in the Youth Service during the 1960s. The *Albemarle Report* had laid down a

commitment by central government to support and fund a service fit for purpose,

dedicating funds to do so and raising the status of youth work and youth workers.

Eggleston's research found that practitioners had developed adaptable and relevant

day-to-day approaches to engaging and supporting young people, based on real

lived experience. Effective youth workers were found to be adaptable with 'natural'

skills of sensitivity, 'capacity for feeling, ability to organize under stress, honesty

about ignorance and failure, clarity of perception and a willingness to act in

uncertainty.'[651] These traits were evident in Derek's and Alan's interviews for this

[648] Quoted in Frederick W. Milson, *Youth in a Changing Society*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1972), p. 123.
[649] *The Hornsey Film: a student revolt as lived by the rebels themselves 1970*, https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-the-hornsey-film-online, accessed 24 June 2019.
[650] Milson, *Youth in a Changing Society,* p. 125.
[651] Eggleston, *Adolescence and Communit*, p.153.

thesis. They recalled how important it had been to listen to the young people they met, adapting their day-to-day practice to encourage a sense of self-respect and empowerment by being involved in the decision-making process.[652]

In spite of the hard work of Youth Service workers, by the end of the 1960s, a third of young people in England and Wales remained unattached to a youth club or group, aggravated by the rise of fifteen to twenty year olds from three million to over four million between 1961 and 1966 that stretched already inadequate services.[653] A further demographic challenge was the increasing plurality of the population as Commonwealth citizens from the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia made Britain their home. Concerns about integration were based on the 'coloured' populations that were particularly concentrated in cities like London. The 1967 *Hunt Report* on 'Immigrants and the Youth Service' was the culmination of a fact-finding study initiated by the Committee of the Youth Service Development Council in 1965. The report, while urging communities to maintain an open-minded approach to new arrivals, also reinforced some well-entrenched and limiting stereotypes of young Black and Asian people.[654] Bernard Davies claims that the report even came close to suggesting that 'a significant cause of the prejudice and discrimination encountered by Black and Asian groups was their assertion of their own distinctiveness.'[655] However, although the report accepted that segregated clubs might endure because of a natural need for young people to be with people they identified with, there were risks with long-term separate provision:

If one were to accept that the youth service should provide separate

facilities for each racial group then one might just as logically accept

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[652] Interviews with Derek 5 October 2013, and Alan 5 April 2014.
[653] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 89.
[654] Ibid., p. 99.
[655] Ibid.

that racial groups should live in separate communities of their own –

and if one accepts this, the road to apartheid is wide open.[656]

Any concerns regarding the mixing of gender and race were swept aside:

We do not belittle the problem, nor the feeling that lies behind this

attitude. We are, however, quite clear that the possibility of an

increase in mixed marriages is an outcome of our declared policy on

integration, should be faced frankly and accepted.[657]

However, by 1969 it was found that strong cultural ties between young immigrants

were making full integration impossible, despite efforts to develop multi-racial youth

groups.[658] There had been tensions and hostility between young members where

cultural divides proved difficult and the rise of Black consciousness impacted on

young people from Black communities who preferred to develop clubs that reflected

their own identity. Davies points out that Black and Asian groups and organisations

began to define their own prescriptions for action which 'usually contrasted, indeed

conflicted sharply, with the *Hunt Report's* integrationist solutions,' but inevitably led

to models of separatism rather than segregation.[659]

The *Albemarle Report* recommendations to provide fully trained youth workers

succeeded in doubling the youth workforce over ten years and established a

committee system to negotiate salaries and conditions for full-time youth workers in

both the statutory and voluntary sectors.[660] It also acknowledged part-time staff, and

made training more accessible; this was illustrated in Chapter Three by the work

carried out in Exeter by the Borough Youth Officer, who helped young people to

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[656] From an article in *The Youth Service*, quoted in Davies, p. 100.
[657] *Report of the Youth Service Development Council, The Hunt Report, Immigrants and the Youth Service 1967, para.60.* https://archive.org/stream/op1269439-1001/op1269439-1001_djvu.text, accessed 30 June 2019.
[658] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p.103.
[659] Ibid.
[660] Ibid*, p.120.

become volunteer youth workers and leaders by using practical experience and study to qualify.[661] Although the Albemarle vision of new school buildings with youth wings to connect in-school and after-school activities was largely unfulfilled in Devon after Albemarle, the flexible training that evolved allowed teachers to qualify through active learning. In Exeter, this practice was championed by a youth officer who was able to build the capacity of the city's Youth Service workforce by developing skills and enthusiasm. The importance of human agency became increasingly important as central government funds for buildings failed to materialise, and the commitment of individual teachers formed the foundations of later development of community colleges.

Although Albemarle had urged experimentation in youth work, it had not been prescriptive about how this might be structured. The Youth Service Information Service was established as a result of the Report's recommendations in order to collect, collate, and disseminate information and research about young people, youth work policy and practice, and relevant training.[662] It opened in 1964 at the Leicester National College where youth leader training was based and was headed by Alan Gibson who explained at the time:

> This new arm of the service should be of great benefit to leaders,
> management, organisers, administrators, trainers, students and
> members alike by acting as a clearing house for the quicker
> transmission of knowledge and the fruits of experience.[663]

This service provided practical ideas and examples of experimental youth work that gave youth workers resources to support their own practice. Tim Caley found this resource invaluable when he started out in his youth work career in a challenging

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[661] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.
[662] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p.120.
[663] Ibid, p. 77.

area of Sheffield. He pointed out that Albemarle had reiterated that the Youth Service was not merely a means of 'keeping young people off the streets,' but that its primary function was social or pastoral, offering places of association which young people may, or may not, accept on their own terms. He also highlighted the fact that 'the role of a youth worker 'was one of public enlightenment,' as Lady Albemarle later described it. Her Committee's Report was intended to 'reverse past policies of neglect towards youth provision.'[664]

The Re-awakening of Local Authority Responsibility

The Albemarle Committee laid the blame for the neglect of the Youth Service on the lack of an alliance between youth work and education that impeded collaborative policy making, and inevitably led to the inertia of both central government and local authorities. Under-funding was highlighted as the underlying cause, but central government and Local Education Authorities (LEAs) were also hampered by proposed changes in education along comprehensive lines, and the uncertainty around the raising of the school leaving age. The *Albemarle Report* re-awakened LEA responsibility for the statutory Youth Service and for the training of youth workers, but 'no direct funding was provided by the Department of Education and Science to meet their obligations.'[665] However, in Devon in November 1967 the Devon County Council Education Committee resolved to increase the number of full-time youth service staff and to develop some secondary schools as community colleges, thus eroding the boundaries between education and youth provision.[666] Bernard Davies points out that the drive towards inclusivity by turning schools into comprehensives led to the opening up of sporting, cultural, technical, and social

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[664] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets*, p. 14.
[665] Eggleston, *Adolescence and Community,* p.26.
[666] *Devon County Youth Service Handbook 1968: Leisure Opportunities for Young People in Devon*, (DRO P301.57/DEV/DEV).

facilities to the communities.[667] In a later publication by Devon County Council

Education Department this trend was shown to have spread throughout the county,

along with the instatement of dedicated youth tutors in most of the new community

colleges.[668] Devon's LEA was part of a national steady growth of full-time

teacher/youth leader and youth tutor posts: by mid-decade, it was estimated that

'such posts constituted twenty percent of all youth service appointments, with LEAs

apparently offering them increasingly to qualified teachers.'[669] By 1965 about sixty

percent of teacher-training students were taking up the option of combining their

study with youth work and applying for teacher-youth leader posts. In 1969 the

Department of Education and Science was given powers to provide grant aid directly

to voluntary youth organisations, but local authorities financed youth provision

through their existing block grant arrangements.

Eggleston regarded the five years after the publication of the *Albemarle*

Report as the expansionist era for buildings and training, and the years 1965-1972

as the experimental phase when innovative initiatives were regarded as more urgent

and viable.[670] This second era encouraged LEAs to develop collaborative models of

working and to support voluntary agencies in their person-centred approach to

engaging young people. This invigorated action was evidenced in Exeter on the

appointment in 1965 of the city's first Borough Youth Officer. This demonstrated a

civic commitment to engaging 'unattached' young people and building an effective

qualified Youth Service workforce. The Youth Officer became the link between the

local authority and the city's voluntary organisations, building capacity through

collaboration. As grant applications for new youth club buildings failed it became

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[667] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p.113.
[668] Devon County Council Education Department, *Sharing and Growing: A Short Account of the Growth and Activity of Community Colleges in Devon*, 1977. (Private collection).
[669] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State,* p.112.
[670] Eggleston, *Adolescence and Community,* p. 27.

increasingly necessary to share existing premises and resources. Evidence of funding challenges both in Exeter and the wider areas of Devon has been explored in this thesis to establish how local authorities used expedient measures to comply with Albemarle as far as possible within tight financial constraints. Action may have seemed hesitant and ineffective to some extent when considering the primary sources from the 1960s, particularly when considering the way that Surrey County Council managed its Youth Service. However, the differences in geography and economic resources between the two counties shed light on the challenges that Devon County Council had to overcome. The 1960s was a decade when State commitment to youth work was secured and consolidated, but not all local governance agencies were able to start from the same level of competence and resources as Surrey.

Thirty-six LEA's and seventy-three voluntary organisations contributed to John Egglestone's research, drawn from the Year Book of the Youth Service in England and Wales, 1970-1971, compiled by the Youth Service Information Centre. Questions about youth provision in their areas were asked, and Eggleston explored the responses to establish the inherent values, ideology, aims, and organisational mechanisms. His findings suggested that the *Albemarle Report* remained the 'most convenient and certainly the most reliable guide to the official ideology and values of the service,' despite the more recent publication of the *Fairbairn-Milson Report*. Eggleston concluded that the emphasis of youth organisations remained focused on the 'highly traditional, conformist and high status aspects of cultural socialization and integration.'[671] He questioned the validity of perceptions of what was considered 'right' in the context of personal development and qualities in young people, and

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[671] Eggleston, *Adolescence and Community*, p.63.

appeared to regret the way that youth activities continued for the most part along traditional middle ground values and were 'unconcerned with change in the established order of society.'[672]

This suggested to Eggleston that there remained in the Youth Service an underlying fear of innovation, which might give rise to a 'demand for participation or involvement by the young that is in conflict with the positions occupied by the adult leaders or local and national committee members.' Many of these, he surmises, were 'senior local citizens who may be unwilling to continue their support if such "deviant" behaviour is sanctioned or even tolerated by the club.'[673] A notable feature of the research findings was the absence of any statements originating from members themselves, Eggleston claimed, echoing the points raised by Ray Gosling over a decade before.[674] This appears to imply that, although Albemarle had resulted in significant structural change to the Youth Service, youth worker training had failed to equip them with the flexibility to engage young people themselves in participating in the running of their clubs. However, the interviews for this thesis contradict this assumption and offer a challenge to Eggleston's findings, particularly as his research questions may have been closed and prescriptive rather than 'open.' Anecdotal responses are difficult to weave together to 'produce any single, overarching model' of peoples' experiences but failing to do so, Jon Lawrence claims, ignores the importance of hearing their voices on their terms.[675] Eggleston observed that, although the evidence suggested that mainstream values had not changed, almost all statutory and voluntary bodies were then involved in forms of community action that involved radical strategies and approaches that would have been undreamed of

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[672] Ibid., p.65.
[673] Ibid., p.66.
[674] Ibid., p.69.
[675] Jon Lawrence, *Me, Me, Me, The Search for Community in Post-War England*, (Oxford University Press, 2019), p.162.

ten years previously. The Youth Service Information Centre had collated information about more than 200 experimental and de-institutionalised projects so that youth worker practice could benefit from collaboration and learning from other Youth Service initiatives.[676]

Similarly, Tim Caley, starting out on his career as a Youth Leader, regarded the *Albemarle Report* as a catalyst in reversing past policies of neglect towards youth provision, and ten years later in Sheffield both the youth centres he worked in were called 'Albemarle Centres.'[677] Many of these, such as the Shrewsbury Club in Everton, Liverpool and the Mayflower Centre in Canning Town, London started out as 'Albemarle Clubs.'[678] Often youth clubs had been run in damp and neglected buildings, but because of the impact of the Albemarle Report, the importance of design for new youth buildings began to be taken seriously by architects.[679] Buildings and youth leader training were tangible and quantifiable results of the Report's success, but others are more difficult to pinpoint and evaluate. The research carried out in Cardiff in 1962 to assess the effectiveness of the city's Youth Service after the *Albemarle Report*, took a large sample of over 4,000 young people in the city and questioned them about their leisure activities. It was found that fifty percent of these respondents went regularly to their local youth club. Although membership declined as they became older, the research concluded that clubs drew in young people who already had a high degree of other social activity and stayed at home less that the average.[680] These social activities were based in a mixed economy of provision from commercial enterprises such as cinemas and dance

[676] Eggleston, *Adolescence and Community*, p.149.
[677] Caley, *Keeping Them Off The Streets*, p.15.
[678] P. J. White, 'Youth Centres: the Place for Me, 27,' August 2003, *Children and Young People Now*, www.cypnow.co.uk, accessed 24 August 2019.
[679] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets,* p.15.
[680] A. Crichton, E. James and J. Wakeford, 'Youth and Leisure in Cardiff: the Effectiveness of the Youth Service, 1960,' *The Sociological Review, Vol.10, 1962*, p. 203,

venues, to voluntary sports clubs and community or family-based gatherings. In a city the size of Cardiff there was plenty of variety for them to choose from, but many were attending evening classes and sixty percent of respondents played some kind of sport in the summer.[681] The aspect of sport in the mix of youth club activities on offer ranged from boxing to table tennis, and some organisations like the YMCA in Exeter had their own football team.[682] Mark Abrams' research established that ten percent of the teenagers in his sample regularly played sport, and some schools responded to this.[683] For example, in Torquay the secondary school board of governors at Westhill allowed the local Football Association members to use their gym after school hours to train youth leaders as football coaches, which implies that some youth clubs were active in including this in the range of activities offered in their areas.[684]

A Youth and Community Service for the Future

A review of the progress of the Albemarle recommendations began as early as 1965, with committees formed to explore specific aspects of the Youth Service including community service and the inclusion of young immigrants. In 1967 the Fairbairn and Milson subcommittees were established by the Youth Service Development Council and spent over two years carrying out their review process. Andrew Fairbairn was given the remit of examining the Youth Service's relationship with schools and further education, and Fred Milson, Methodist minister and the Head of Youth and Community Service Department at Westhill College in Birmingham, focussed on the Youth Service's relationship with the adult community. Fairbairn was described at his death in 2007 as being 'one of the very few creative

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[681] Ibid., p. 211.
[682] Tom Browne, *A History of the YMCA Exeter,* (YMCA Community Projects, 2018), p.116.
[683] Mark Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer*, (London Press Exchange, 1959), p. 17.
[684] *Torquay County Secondary Schools, Meeting of Governors 13th December 1961, Westhill County Secondary School.* DRO 2633C/EFM/47.

and inspirational chief education officers working for local education authorities and under his influence the schooling in his city of Leicester became synonymous with all that was best in schooling.'[685] Milson's long experience with training youth workers and the role of faith-based leadership in enabling young people to be active members of their communities, led him to champion new participatory approaches to learning, acknowledging that the 'shift of emphasis from paternalism to partnership….is both significant and important.'[686] This approach is evidenced in the minutes of a meeting held by the Exeter Methodist Circuit Youth Council in February 1967 when Reverend Douglas Hubery, General Secretary of the Methodist Education Committee, visited the city to talk to about 'the new teaching method to be employed from 1968 onwards.'[687] Interviewee Alan confirmed that 'in the churches we were using an experiential approach,' and he was able to influence the move to non-directional, participatory work with young people in his roles as Training Officer of the Methodist Association of Youth Clubs, Chairman of the Devon Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations, and a member of the Devon Youth Leadership Training Committee.[688]

Fairbairn's committee submitted their Report in the summer of 1968, with Milson's published a few months later. A consolidated version of both reports was finally published as the long-awaited report, *Youth and Community Work in the '70s* in July and delivered to Denis Howell, Minister for the Department of Education and Science.[689] Bernard Davies points out that one of the main hurdles to overcome was

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[685] Tim Brighouse, Guardian Obituaries, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2007/nov/01/guardianobituaries.schools, accessed 7 July 2019.
[686] Fred Milson, *Social Group Method and Christian Education*, (Chester House, London, 1963), Forward.
[687] *Exeter Methodist Circuit, Youth Council Minute Book 1953-1973, Minutes 8 February 1967*. DRO 308OD/8/8.
[688] Interview with Alan, 5 April 2004.
[689] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State,* p. 119.

the Report's advocacy of a closer partnership between youth work and formal schooling, and further education. The Fairbairn sub-committee came to the conclusion that the 'concept of youth service as a separate system should be allowed to atrophy,' but for the Milson sub-committee this was wholly unacceptable, claiming that schools should be part of the community and not *the* community, and that youth provision should not be wholly institutionalised within buildings.[690] Debates regarding the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen also impacted on Fairbairn's motivation for secondary education curricula to embrace the infiltration of youth service activities. Milson accepted that community provision based in schools was already increasing, but held that youth work should move away from being building and membership-oriented.[691] However, the Youth Service Development Council Committee 'seized on the notion of the active society, a society in which every member can be publicly active' and rooted its final recommendations on the 'evidence of work we have seen done in existing communities.'[692]

Youth and Community Work in the '70s was published against a backdrop of political clashes between socialist and conservative notions of educational reform. Wider discussion centred on economic and social equality and the environmental constraints that impeded the right of young people to access the same opportunities for learning and 'acquiring intelligence.'[693] A number of politicians, academics and writers from the political right produced a series of publications, commonly termed 'Black Papers' on education, between 1969 and 1970. The papers argued for the retention of selection for secondary education, accusing the introduction of comprehensive schooling of being responsible for the decline in the standards of

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[690] Ibid., p. 125.
[691] Ibid., p.123.
[692] Ibid.
[693] Jeremy Nuttall, *Psychological Socialism: The Labour Party and Qualities of Mind and Character, 1931 to the Present,* (Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 111.

literacy and numeracy, falling standards of behaviour, and the danger of pupils being unduly influenced by left-wing teachers.[694] The initial response to the publication of the report was 'a ten month silence,' during which time the Labour government left office without having taken a decision. Following an announcement by the new Conservative government that the Youth Service building programme was to be abolished, *Youth and Community Work in the 70s* seemed in jeopardy.[695] Denis Howell, Labour Shadow Minister for Education and Science, spoke passionately in the House of Commons in July 1971 regarding the lack of State commitment and funding:

> I beg to move, that this House deplores the cancellation of local sports club grants and the reduction of grants to British international sports teams; it further condemns the present suspension of the scheme for grant aiding local youth club capital projects and the rejection by Her Majesty's Government of the report, *Youth and Community Work in the 70's,* and believes that these decisions will undermine the provision of local community services for which there is an increasing need.[696]

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[694] *Black Papers,* https://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095510219, accessed 14 July 2019.
[695] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 130.
[696] House of Commons debate 15 July 1971, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1971/jul/15/sport-and-youth-services, accessed 10 July 2019.
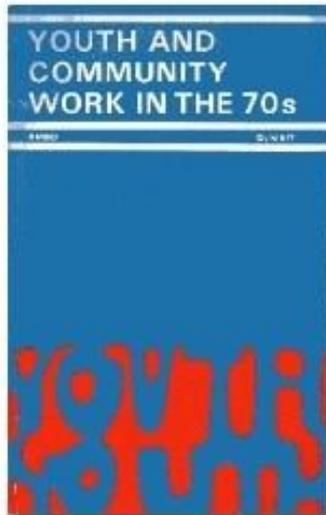
Figure 22: *Youth and Community Work in the 70s*, (Fairbairn-Milson Report), published by the Youth Service Development Council in July 1969.

The transition from a Labour Government to a Conservative Government meant that the Youth Service was once again under threat of losing impetus after decades of consolidation:

> The report received a great welcome throughout the Youth Service.
> Every training college of youth leaders re-jigged its whole policy on the
> basis of the recommendations of the report, and every youth leader
> was being trained for youth work in the community as a whole. The
> Secretary of State for Education and Science has completely rejected
> the whole report, and this has caused a tremendous lowering of morale
> throughout the Youth Service. People do not know what sort of
> decisions to make. Youth colleges and local authority youth
> organisations are based on what was said in the report, but the
> Government have rejected it and put nothing in its place.[697]

Finally, a written response to the debate in the House of Commons stated that:

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[697] House of Commons debate, *Sport and the Youth Service,* 15 July 1971, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard.commons/1971/jul/15/sport-and-youth-services, accessed 10 July 2019.

> The Government do not think it would be right to change the nature of
> the service in England and Wales radically by setting up a youth and
> community service with not very clear responsibilities.[698]

Margaret Thatcher, the new Conservative Secretary of State for Education, was mindful of the potential costs of undefined community services 'with not very clear responsibilities.'[699] She subsequently abolished the Youth Service Development Council, whose members had worked hard to develop the report and the Youth Service nationally.[700]

Tim Caley's fledgling career in detached youth work was just starting and he recalled that the Report was published during the time of 'student unrest and political revolutions and protest' and had met with little sympathy from the government. The vacuum created by central government left local Youth Service planners, practitioners and trainers with only the inconsistencies and contradictions of the original report to guide them and youth workers were left to deal with the day-to-day challenges.[701] However, Caley recalls that the *Fairbairn-Milson Report* resonated with him because it validated the view that there was a need to get away from the concept of the 'club is the youth service,' particularly as outreach work had proved invaluable in engaging target and priority groups:

> The report fundamentally reinforced social education, partnership and
> new approaches that saw the youth club as a base of operations that
> legitimised….detached and community youth work styles of operation
> and delivery. For me, this was just what I needed to hear.[702]

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[698] Quoted in Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 130.
[699] Caley, *Keeping Them Off The Streets*, p. 43.
[700] Ibid.
[701] Ibid.
[702] Ibid., p. 44.

An increasing number of local authorities favoured the youth and community solution, and indications were that the statutory sector was re-establishing its focus more closely on school-based youth work linked with adult provision.[703] In Devon, the county council acknowledged that 'increasingly, education is becoming community oriented, or at least community minded….expectations of a more open and participatory society are frequently expressed.'[704] Eggleston's research found that many of the statutory and voluntary agencies had responded to this new approach and that many LEA's had renamed their provision 'Youth and Community Services.' In addition he found that the concept of the school as a community resource appeared to have reduced some of the unacceptability of the school as a location by young people.[705] Reduced funds for capital expenditure had contributed to the LEAs' enthusiasm for combining youth and community provision, and the 'sheer economics of the situation' and the increasing expectations of access to education had encouraged a widening of the traditional use of schools.[706] Two Devon Working Party reports had asserted that community colleges should serve the interests and needs of the community in which it was situated, and other local agencies such as the university, Workers Education Association, and a range of voluntary groups already active in their area contributed learning and development opportunities.[707] In a 1968 review by the Devon County Youth Advisory Committee it had been proposed that expansion of the number of community colleges in the county would mean that 'they were responsible for the development of leisure

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[703] Eggleston, *Adolescence and Community*, p. 17.
[704] Devon County Council Education Department, *Sharing and Growing: a Short Account of the Growth and Activity of Community Colleges in Devon, 1977*, p. 7.
[705] Eggleston, *Adolescence and Community*, p. 22.
[706] DCC, *Sharing and Growing*.
[707] Ibid., p. 8.

provision in their catchment area.'[708] As Denis Howell would raise in the House of

Commons a few years later, funding LEAs effectively to fulfil their obligations would

be contested, and by the mid-1970s this was particularly true in Devon. This was

expressed in the County Council's booklet on community colleges in 1977:

> Schools do not at present receive any allowance for the greatly
>
> increased wear and tear on equipment, or the increased demands on
>
> technicians' time….Perhaps in a more nearly ideal world Community
>
> Colleges would never have been set up until all these obvious
>
> provisions had been secured….with resources barely adequate for a
>
> modest beginning and which have not sufficiently grown to meet the
>
> very rapid expansion that has taken place in activities.[709]

What Does Youth Work Achieve Then?

The shift in State ideology towards a community cross-generational model,

indicated in *Youth and Community Work in the '70s,* supports Bernard Davies'

statement that youth work should be understood in the context of wider political,

economic and social conditions.'[710] The Report described contemporary society as

constantly in the process of change, and highlighted the alienated feelings of young

people 'in a property-owning society in whose values and priorities they do not fully

share or indeed wish to share.'[711] In his outreach work in Sheffield, Tim Caley found

that when working with disadvantaged young people he was confronted by an

overwhelming range of social issues. Although Fred Milson had pointed out that the

Youth Service had never been intended as a social work rescue agency, it did

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[708] Devon County Council, *Youth Service Handbook, Leisure Opportunities for Young People in Devon 1968*, p.13. DRO P301.57/DEV/DEV Pamphlet.

[709] Devon County Council, *Sharing and Growing*, p.11.

[710] Bernard Davies, 'Defined by History: Youth Work in the UK,' *History of Youth Work in Europe, Relevance for Youth Policy Today,* Vol.1, (2009), https://pip-eu.coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership/the-history-of-youth-work-in-europe-volume-1, accessed 6 June 2019.

[711] Quoted in Davies, From *Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 128.

provide an educational and pastoral service for many youngsters 'who have had a rough deal, and were often victims of a meritocratic society.'[712]

In his book, *Youth in a Changing Society*, published in 1972, Milson claimed that young people were among those most affected by rapid social change because during the process of making a commitment to the future, they must 'somehow choose between the competing versions of past and present.' In Britain they were inheriting a 'chaos of disordered values' between what was considered right and wrong.[713] He asserted that socializing agencies like school, home, and church were slow to change and often failed to respond quickly enough to support young people effectively. Many of the old bureaucratic structures of power were no longer appropriate for an educated populace.[714] Inter-generational respect and listening depended on changing attitudes, Milson claimed, and 'changing attitudes, as we know, is usually a long and often a painful process.'[715]

As Tim Caley set forth on his new role as a detached youth worker in Sheffield, feeling liberated after being 'released from the tyranny of the youth club's bunch of keys,' he studied his vague job description:

> The worker will be expected to develop relationships with young people living in or relating to the Kelvin Flats area. These will be used to further the development of young people either through direct work with adolescents or as a result of changes made by working with the adult community and agencies affecting the lives of local people.[716]

Measuring youth work outcomes was a process yet to be invented, Caley found, but there were incidents where his friendly engagement with troubled youths on the

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[712] Caley, *Keeping Them Off The Streets,* p. 42.
[713] Milson, *Youth in a Changing Society*, p. 33.
[714] Ibid., p.107.
[715] Ibid., p.109.
[716] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets,* p.45.

local estate was successful in defusing danger and maintaining order. He felt that it

was important to give the voices of young people a chance to be heard in their local

community and to get involved in designing improvements to their environment.

Caley's role was to engage young people in leisure activities but he was also

mindful of enduring public concerns about their presence on the streets, and the

need for him to be seen as maintaining social order within the community as a

whole. The pastoral nature of youth work, he found, meant that the welfare issues

that were presented by the young people he encountered went beyond the

limitations of engagement in meaningful activities. The blurring of the boundaries

between providing diversionary opportunities and giving emotional and practical

support and guidance heightened demands on youth workers to fulfil a wide range

of responsibilities. The social pressure Caley encountered in the early 1970s and

the vagueness of his role were indicative of attempts at the time for local authorities

to work towards a more effective integration of social welfare disciplines. Since the

publication of the *Seebohm Report* in 1968, there had been attempts to create a

unified service across local health and social services, but Jane Lewis points out

that the Seebohm Committee had paid little attention to defining the role and tasks

of social workers who appeared to be expected to deal with the whole gamut of

presenting problems.[717] In a similar way, Tim Caley found that, like him, other

'detached' youth workers had not been employed through a coherent policy or

strategy on the part of the local authority, exposing youth workers to risk of

professional exhaustion.[718]

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[717] Jane Lewis, *The Voluntary Sector, the State and Social Work in Britain: The Charity Organisation Society/Family Welfare Association since 1869*, (Edward Elgar, 1995), p.129.
[718] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets,* p. 49.

In a lecture at Exeter University in 1971, Bob Leaper, Professor of Social Policy,[719] pointed out that 'the relationship of youth and community work to education or to social work is still uncertain.'[720] The universal integration of disciplines and the development of effective social policy were critical, Leaper stressed, but he acknowledged that the determinants of social policy continued to be complex. Speaking before an audience that included undergraduates studying their BPhil degree in social work (which combined academic social studies and applied social work), he pointed out that the university would be working with county and city social services in collaboration on 'an increasing number of joint enterprises.'[721] The reference to 'community' in future youth work had blurred the normative structure of social welfare services that had endured in the post-war years, but whose sustainability was under scrutiny. Cumulative economic crises were 'redefining the political and cultural as well as the economic terrain on which youth work was operating.'[722]

Some inter-departmental collaboration was being practised by the mid-1970s, as evidenced by Caley, who was pleasantly surprised that his role as outreach youth worker had become part of a social welfare partnership. When he was transferred by Sheffield City Council to work with young people on a large pre-war council estate in the north of the city, he was encouraged by the positive reception he received from the Family and Community Services area team, who

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[719] Professor R. A. B. Leaper, 1921-2015, (CBE, MA Cantab, Dip Public Administration Oxon HHC), became a familiar figure in Exeter as Professor of Social Policy at University Exeter from 1970 to 1986. He went on to become Visiting Professor of Social Policy at Surrey University between 1986 and 1996. He returned to Exeter as Professor Emeritus at the Postgraduate School of Medicine at Exeter University, 1996-2001. He was Chairman of the Manpower Services Commission, England, 1975-1986; Centre for Policy on Aging, London, 1980-1988; Exeter Age Concern, 1990-1995; Training for Employment, England, 1994-1998; and Vice Chairman National Council Social Service, London, 1970-1975; https://prabook.com/web/robert_anthony.leaper/644838, accessed 21 July 2019.
[720] R. A. B. Leaper, *The Determinants of Social Policy: an Inaugural Lecture delivered in the University of Exeter, 11 November 1971*, p. 23.
[721] Ibid.
[722] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State,* p.128.

welcomed him as a 'potential ally and new resource in their work with children and families on the estate.' He also found himself attending a City Council committee meeting at the Town Hall to explain his work. David Blunkett, local ward councillor and chairman of the Family and Community Services Committee, had invited Caley, who noted in his autobiography how impressed he had been to be consulted by the city council on his views and work with young people.[723]

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the economic and political environment in which the *Youth and Community Work in the 70s* (*Fairbairn-Milson) Report* was produced and published, as well as some perspective on the social changes that were impacting on the way youth services were delivered. The aims of the 1960 *Albemarle Report* were specific: to place responsibility on central government, to reinvigorate a universal Youth Service by making LEAs accountable, to professionalise youth workers and standardise their training, and to encourage capital investment by making funds available for building suitable club houses for activities. Earlier chapters have shown how LEAs responded to their responsibilities to fulfil the recommendations of Albemarle and how their progress was monitored by central governmental agents. The *Youth and Community Work in the 70s Report* received a very low key reception compared to the impact of *Albemarle*. The specific aims produced in 1960 were clearer than the work of Fairbairn and Milson which ultimately asked the wider question: *What kind of society do we want?*[724] It aimed for a participative society in which community was at the heart and young people were regarded as 'young adults' rather than teenagers – a word used during the 1950s and 1960s as signifier for 'trouble':

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[723] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets*, p. 68.
[724] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p.123.

There can be….no lasting answers to the dilemmas of youth work

without a radical rethinking of the position of young people in society,

and of adult attitudes to the young….those who want nothing more

than a quiet life should think again.[725]

Bernard Davies points out that these were brave words that contrasted sharply with the nervous reassurances which the *Albemarle Report* had given in its discussion of youth work values which failed to challenge the core concepts of the Youth Service.[726] A change of government and gathering political and economic concerns meant that the Youth Service was once again in limbo, with predictions that funding levels would go from 'bad to worse.'[727] However, as the provision for young people entered the 1970s, for youth workers such as Tim Caley, who were able to work instinctively and respond to young people's needs, opportunities for collaborative and imaginative youth work were abundant.

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[725] Quoted in Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p.126.
[726] Ibid.
[727] Ibid, p.130.

CONCLUSION

"The question now should not be ought there to be a Youth Service but can this country any longer make do with one so plainly ill-equipped to meet the needs of the day?"[728]

This thesis has explored the development of the Youth Service both nationally and in Devon during the years between the publication of the *Albemarle Report* in 1960 and the *Fairbairn-Milson Report* in 1969. The initial State policy aimed to reverse the decline of services for young people and the later report sought to review progress and consider the future role of the Youth Service. Bernard Davies claims that the impact of the *Albemarle Report* was variable across the country and this thesis has responded by exploring local primary documentary and oral sources to establish to what extent youth services in Devon changed as a result of the Report's aims.[729] The county's geographical spaces were chosen because broad assumptions made about the needs of young people were exemplified in the rural, coastal, and urban areas of this south-west region. In Chapter Three it was shown how in Exeter, as in other urban areas, new housing estates lacking in community spaces and separated from kinship networks were seen as contributory factors in juvenile delinquency and vulnerability to negative influences. Chapter Four explored the ways in which lack of employment opportunities, poor infrastructure, and inadequate public transport in the coastal and rural areas led to physical and emotional isolation and population drift. The *Albemarle Report* highlighted the many barriers to developing young people's potential and skills caused by a lack of opportunity and the disruption of communities. As shown in Chapter One, the institutional imperatives of maintaining economic and social stability placed

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[728] *The Youth Service in England and Wales, Report of the Committee Appointed by the Minister of Education in November 1958, Presented to Parliament by the Minister of Education in February 1960, (The Albemarle Report),* para. 138, (HMSO, London).

[729] Bernard Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State: a History of the Youth Service in England 1939-1979,* (Youth Work Press, Leicester, 1999), p. 55.

emphasis on the compliance of accepted norms and values, and implicitly made the socialising of the young of paramount importance. Interest in the young was problem-based and contradictory: The Introduction to this thesis explored the ways in which State rhetoric claimed that young people were both 'troubled' and 'trouble,' both victims of a world of chaos and active participants in creating social unrest. Their increasing numbers and apparent lack of respect, their susceptibility to the influences from popular culture and consumerism were all debated and reported in the media.

This final chapter will draw some conclusions about the impact of the *Albemarle Report* in Devon and assess how far it accomplished its aims. These included a socially based solution that engaged and influenced young people through a reinvigorated network of clubs and groups run by well-trained youth workers and leaders in buildings that were fit-for-purpose. It also sought to raise the profile of the Youth Service after previous reports, debates, and initiatives to improve the situation had failed because of central ministerial inertia. The *Albemarle Report* challenged both central and local government to take action, claiming that young people had been neglected by a service that was failing two-thirds of fourteen to twenty-one year olds and which offered only outdated and inadequate facilities. Historiography has highlighted the indomitable character of Lady Albemarle herself that helped to force her committee's report through the legislative process at an unprecedented speed. This determination challenged a government that had failed to accept responsibility and had for too long retained the principle of non-interference, relying only on local government discretionary action. The place of local governance and its response in Devon was explored in Chapter Two. Here, low levels of available funding and a well-established network of clubs and groups

largely run by volunteers and charitable organisations had created an *ad hoc* system that was ill-equipped to meet the needs of young people. Criticising the many ministerial failures, the *Albemarle Report* stated that the Youth Service had not been given the treatment it hoped for and thought it deserved, and had 'suffered in morale and public esteem in consequence.'[730]

That the Youth Service *deserved* better treatment was a rallying cry for action to make up for lost time in supporting a generation whose experiences growing-up had included bombsites and food rationing. The idealism of youth and their refusal to adhere to accepted norms of behaviour were not necessarily contradictory, the *Albemarle Report* suggested, while sanctioning shopping, fashion, coffee bars, jiving and jazz as significant popular cultural activities that offered young people an outlet for fun and creativity.[731] The 'Albemarle Effect' was evident in the provision of café-style youth meeting places both in Exeter, and in the rural Blackdown Hills in East Devon, where environments were created that would appeal to young people. The *Albemarle Report* was rarely referred to in either oral or documentary primary sources, but its ethos can be detected in the 1968 *Devon County Council Youth Service Handbook.* This claimed that 'voluntary effort remains a vital element, in the county's Youth Service,' and described how 'over the past seven years' the county committee structure that underpinned the local authority support and management of Devon Youth Service had been created.[732] A commitment had also been made at county level to increasing funding for voluntary organisations, expand the number of appropriate youth club buildings, and expand the number of Youth Service staff across the county.

[730] *The Albemarle Report*, paragraph 14.
[731] Tim Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets: a Youth Work Story*, (Matador, Leicester, 2019), p. 12.
[732] *Devon County Council, Leisure Opportunities for Young People in Devon, County Youth Service Handbook,* 1968, p.16. DRO/301.57/DEV/DEV.

Although criticised for being authoritarian in tone and accused of widening the fissure between generations,[733] the *Albemarle Report* did express support for young people, acknowledging that it was a sign of 'health' that they 'threw up so strongly such self-respecting a defence against the conflicting mass of public voices.'[734] The Report acknowledged that, after working in stultifying and monotonous factory and office jobs, young people had earned the right to make choices about how they spent their wages and their leisure time. After all, many of them were spending their working hours in jobs 'that required adult industrial and literacy skills and the capacity to work with adults more or less as equals.'[735]

Selina Todd points out that the *Albemarle Report's* insistence that the Youth Service deserved better treatment inferred that working-class teenagers had much to offer the country and deserved to have their aspirations taken seriously - and they were most likely to be members of their local youth club.[736] Research on membership carried out in Cardiff in 1960 in response to the publication of the *Albemarle Report*, found that the number of teenagers who had left secondary schools were by far the largest group attending youth clubs, implying that working-class teenagers were leaving school early but continued to attend youth clubs when in employment.[737] However, those from grammar schools attended clubs less as they grew older, because of the pressure of homework and the availability of school-based activities.[738]

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[733] Frank Musgrove, *Youth and the Social Order*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1965), p. 154.
[734] *The Albemarle Report*, paragraph 124.
[735] Mark Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer*, (London Press Exchange, 1959), p. 13.
[736] Selina Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class 1910-2010*, (John Murray, London, 2015), p. 240.
[737] The school leaving age was raised to sixteen in 1972 as concerns grew regarding lower employment levels which particularly affected young, unskilled workers.
[738] A. Crichton, E. James & J. Wakeford, 'Youth and Leisure in Cardiff,' (University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire), 1960, *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 10, 1962. pp. 203-225.

As shown in Chapter Three, the level of juvenile delinquency in Exeter was significantly above the national average and by the time of the publication of the *Albemarle Report* the number of offences in the city was increasing faster than many other cities, and was mainly concentrated in a pre-war housing estate. Despite the Borough Council's increased spend on youth provision from £1,305 between 1960 and 1961 to £8,403 between 1964 and 1965, this only represented a halfpenny in the pound of rateable income.[739] The appointment of the city's first Youth Officer meant that the capacity of the city's Youth Service could be expanded through networking and sharing resources as funding for buildings became harder to obtain.[740] This strategy demonstrates Exeter's response to the *Albemarle Report*. Because public sector records fail to reveal the discussions and debates around decision making, some assumptions about motives have been made, supported by oral testimony. There was an element of frustration and panic at the County Council as central ministerial officers were sent out to audit progress after the publication of the *Albemarle Report.* At his interview, the retired Exeter Youth Officer recalled his surprise at the lack of sufficient funding after he transferred in 1965 from a similar post in Surrey – a well-funded county that was able to respond to the Albemarle recommendations quickly. By contrast, Devon's local authority seemed ill-prepared and slow, possibly reluctant, to respond.

In the housing estates of Wonford and Beacon Heath in Exeter efforts were made by the Borough Council to address the struggles of young people in finding a place to meet and socialise. Because of existing patterns of juvenile delinquency identified in these areas, the city Youth Officer worked to overcome the challenges. In Wonford, because the estate had been built between the wars with little foresight

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[739] *Exeter Youth Enquiry (Callard Report),* Department of Sociology, University of Exeter 1963, xB/EXE301.57UNI/Pamphlet 362.7/EXE.
[740] Interview with Derek, 5 October 2013.

regarding community buildings, the existing Methodist church hall was used as a base for developing a better Youth Service facility. Contrastingly, the Beacon Heath housing estate was built after the Second World War to rehouse bombed-out families from the St James area of the city centre. By the 1960s, when the secondary school was built there its campus was designed to include a separate purpose-built hall for both community and Youth Service use. The *Albemarle Report's* rhetoric around community and individualism in relation to the stability of young people's lives was over-stated, rooted as it was in a wider unease about links between social change and delinquency. Jon Lawrence reminds us that people have always yearned for meaningful social connection with others, and new communities like those in Exeter fostered ambition, self-reliance, and opportunity.[741] New generations are driven to reframe the future, demonstrating an optimism that challenges conservatism. This was illustrated by the determination of a third of young people who continued to be 'unattached' to a youth club. Individual resistance subverted notions of compliance and control but, although they may have appeared to be influenced by popular culture and consumerism, many of them still held traditional values but wanted autonomy and agency in important areas of their lives. Although generations may have continued to work for the same employer, assumptions that young people in the 1960s would automatically follow their parents into the same kind of work were misplaced. For example, the main employer for the Wonford area in Exeter, Willeys Foundry and Engineering Works, remained viable throughout the decade after the *Albemarle Report*, but the industry overall was in decline, and alternative opportunities may not have been available. Most young people who were in work were substantially better off than previous generations, but the rate of unemployment

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[741] Jon Lawrence, *Me, Me, Me, the Search for Community in Post-War England,* (Oxford University Press, 2019), p.162.

in the South West grew from 1.8 percent to 2.9 percent between 1964 and 1967. In

March 1967 it was pointed out in a House of Commons debate that 39,476 people

were unemployed in the region with only 13,254 vacancies available, many of which

were seasonal and unreliable.[742]

Chapter Four explored the plight of young people in areas of Devon that were

impacted by their geographical isolation, and the interplay between transport,

housing, and employment. Strong communities in the coastal north and the

Blackdown Hills in the east of the county, show how important the Voluntary Sector

was in this environment. The county authority gradually increased the number of

trained youth workers and Area Youth Leaders, and improved the levels of funding

for organisations for young people across the county, but a recent report by the

Rowntree Foundation shows that the issues experienced in the 1960s have

persisted. Poor transport and low wages continue to make young people stay close

to networks of family support, meaning that they are 'trapped in the countryside.'[743]

In Chapter Five the role of the Voluntary Sector in the 1960s was explored as

it worked in close collaboration with the State, remaining separate but maintaining its

intermediary role in responding to local problems and need and providing accessible

support. In Exeter the Council of Social Service, which supported the city's voluntary

and community organisations, was well aware of its role in supporting the welfare of

families.[744] From the mid-1950s through the 1960s none of the Annual Reports of the

Exeter Council for Social Service single out the 'problem teenager' as a specific

issue, but rather emphasised a wider community and family perspective. Virginia

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[742] *House of Commons Debate, 10th March 1967*, https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1967-03-10/debates/b7330992-7bcb-454d-8ca2-721ed0f56a14/UnemploymentSouth-West, accessed 22 September 2019.

[743] Mark Shucksmith, *Exclusive Countryside? Social Inclusion and Regeneration in Rural Areas,* (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, July 2000), p.26.

[744] *Annual Report of Exeter Council of Social Service 1954-55*, (Exeter CVS Archives, Exeter).

Berridge and Alex Mold point out that the 1960s was distinguished by the rise of a

new style of politics and activism leading to social movements that influenced social

change.[745] For example, in Devon the activities of the Young Farmers Clubs

informed the national movement and lobbied for the future of agriculture, and faith-

based organisations such as Methodism influenced national policy making through

individual agency by respected authorities such as Fred Milson. Local organisations

like the Exeter Council for Social Service (ECSS) worked within grassroots

community, but was part of a national movement that ultimately used its hegemonic

power to support and inform wider social policy. The Albemarle Committee had

envisaged a National Council for Service by Young People, but the idea received a

cool reception from the National Council for Social Service because of local

opposition from existing youth volunteering initiatives. In 1967, the State-led Young

Volunteer Force Foundation (YVFF) was launched which aimed to train a youth force

that would spread out across England and Wales to develop grassroots support for

directing young people onto volunteering opportunities. The YVFF succeeded in

some parts of the country and eventually metamorphosed into the Community

Projects Foundation by the late 1960s, raising the profile of young volunteers that

endured, and this will be returned to later in this concluding chapter.[746]

Underlying the rhetoric on engaging 'unattached' 'problem' teenagers in the

Albemarle Report was an attempt to renegotiate the space between resistance and

compliance to accepted norms of society. Stanley Cohen's work on moral panics

raises the point that politicians and others react in terms of their own set of interests,

ideologies and values and the Albemarle Committee had deliberated the issues that

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[745] Virginia Berridge and Alex Mold, 'Professionalism, New Social Movements and Voluntary Action in the 1960s and 1970s' in Matthew Hilton and James McKay (Eds), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the Big Society*, (Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.114-134.
[746] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, pp. 108-109.

were attracting public attention.[747] Young people behaving in a deviant manner

inevitably brought the 'youth question' to the fore, but underlying the rhetoric in the

Albemarle Report there was genuine impatience with the outdated ethos and style of

youth provision.[748] The social policies that evolved during the Albemarle era were

based on fears and anxieties, making their impact and influence difficult to assess,

John Welshman points out.[749] Although the *Albemarle Report* galvanized local

authority action and response, any means of assessing the impact of the work of

youth leaders remained elusive. As Tim Caley found, measuring the change in the

young people he worked with was impossible, especially in the absence of any

follow-up work, control groups, or any qualitative techniques for establishing

'success.'[750] In Exeter, as in other parts of England and Wales, the Youth Service

after the *Albemarle Report* was to continue the existing mixed voluntary and public

sector provision and the report acknowledged the substantial contribution that

volunteers had already made. Collaboration between agencies in supporting families

and young people in Exeter is illustrated in the way that the Youth Officer held

regular meetings with the police at their headquarters, linking young people into

cadet training and recruiting police officers to train as youth workers.[751] 'Bobbies' on

their beat became familiar with local families and it was taken for granted that they

would volunteer to run activities for local teenagers. By gaining a youth leader

training qualification their role and commitment was acknowledged and validated.[752]

It would also help them in any outreach work they did with 'unattached' teenagers

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[747] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: the Creation of the Mods and Rockers*, (Martin Robertson, Oxford, 1972), p. 192.
[748] Davies*, From Voluntaryism to Welfare State,* p. 36.
[749] John Welshman, *Underclass, A History of the Excluded 1880-2000,* (Hambledon Continuum, London, 2006), p. 210.
[750] Caley*, Keeping Them Off the Streets*, p. 52.
[751] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.
[752] Interview, Pam Giles, 13th March 2019, (Devon & Cornwall Police Heritage Trust).

and in building community networks that would be particularly useful when young people committed offences.

One of the primary aims of the *Albemarle Report* was to improve the training of youth leaders and workers and to increase the numbers operating across England and Wales. The subsequent detached youth work undertaken in Exeter during the 1960s not only responded to the Albemarle recommendations but expanded partnerships by networking with agencies in the city. By establishing links and co-operative collaboration, resources, knowledge and experience were shared. This model of working evolved more slowly across the rest of Devon because of geographical distance, but by the end of the 1960s the number of trained youth officers on the ground had increased substantially.[753] As Devon County Council established community colleges as hubs of learning across the county, youth leaders' roles became embedded in the mix of services based on the campuses. Because of Albemarle, the role of youth leader became a professionalised signifier of local authority commitment to young people, and their individual agency became a vital tool in building bridges between their needs and those of the wider rural communities.

Primary and secondary sources have revealed that in Exeter and across Devon an increasing number of youth workers gained youth leader training after the *Albemarle Report.* Although statistical records are not archived, anecdotal evidence has come from both documentary and oral sources. The work of the Exeter Youth Officer gave the impetus for increasing the number of volunteer and paid youth workers to gain qualifications, and the eventual formation of the Devon Youth Leadership Training Committee. This evolving collaboration across city and county

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[753] Devon County Council Education Department, *Sharing and Growing: a Short Account of the Growth and Activity of Community Colleges in Devon,* 1977.

authority boundaries enabled access to training for youth workers across the whole county. Between 1965 and 1966 Devon accelerated their youth training programme and made it possible for youth workers to be fast-tracked and funded to qualify. The catalyst for this achievement appears to have been the energy of the newly-appointed Exeter Youth Officer whose prior experience gave him the confidence and skills to develop a network of 'interested people, youth leaders, and club leaders' to develop the local Youth Service.[754] His role on the Devon Youth Leadership Training Committee provided him with opportunities to encourage youth workers beyond the city boundary to access training.

The *Albemarle Report's* recommendations had proposed a target across England and Wales of 1,300 full-time youth workers to be reached by 1965. By 1968 the target had been surpassed with a total number of 1,500 workers.[755] The achievement in Devon reflects this trend, and the upskilling of youth workers and leaders provided quantifiable results to evidence progress. The expansion of accredited youth worker training also helped the Youth Service gain credibility and status as a cohesive agency that took itself seriously. The creation of the Youth Service Information Centre at Leicester College that Tim Caley had found so helpful, provided contextualised examples of outreach work and experimental projects that supplemented the formal modules of the training programmes. Caley had been excited by the number of publications, films and resources available. The Information Centre also opened up access to conferences and workshops across the country that enabled youth workers to share and develop their practice, and youth workers from Devon would have also been given the same opportunity.[756]

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[754] Interview, Derek, 5 October 2013.
[755] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State*, p. 108-109.
[756] Caley, *Keeping Them Off the Streets*, p. 17.

In Chapter Five the challenges of youth work were explored in light of the many roles demanded of youth leaders and the ways in which clubs adapted to attract young people and offer a service that was relevant to them. The *Albemarle Report* sought a healthy balance between self and society for young people, and although it aimed for higher standards of delivery and public sector commitment, there was opportunity for innovative youth work that inspired and engaged them. In spite of criticism that the institutionalisation of Youth Service provision was backward-looking and rigid, the underlying belief in young people was expressed in the Report:

> Some of the generalisations commonly made about adolescents today….have hardened into some of the most striking clichés of the last decade. That they belong to a generation of teenage delinquents, that they have rejected family life, couldn't care less and have no moral values. However, today's adolescents are much like those of other generations.[757]

Ray Gosling had challenged the passive role assigned to young people as receivers of a service based on the indoctrination of value systems and ideologies that were deemed to be the norm. The education and containment of 'troublesome' young people as implied by the rationalised training of youth workers and leaders seemed to ignore the need for a flexible service based on listening and understanding. The *Albemarle Report* appeared to challenge this, however, regretting that 'there did not seem to be at the heart of society a courageous and exciting struggle for a particular moral and spiritual life, only a passive, neutral commitment to things as they are.'[758] Youth idealism and energy needed to be harnessed, and youth clubs were seen as

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[757] *The Albemarle Report,* paragraph 120.
[758] Quoted in Fred Milson, *Youth in a Changing Society*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1972), p. 35.

providing 'opportunities for challenges of all sorts to the young' that could 'satisfy the sense of achievement for which all hunger and which so many have failed to find in school or at work.'[759] These opportunities were already offered through the Duke of Edinburgh Award scheme that was run from the mid-1950s by schools in Devon as in other parts of England and Wales, and the need for 'venturesome youth work' was stressed by the first Exeter Borough Youth Officer in 1965 when addressing the city's YMCA.[760] Gosling did acknowledge the values and merits of long-established uniform groups that followed strict codes of discipline and structure, and these were also evidenced in the Surf Lifesaving movement in North Devon. The police, Red Cross, army and navy cadets and many other established uniform youth organisations that promulgated the desirability of such attributes not only provided civic awareness and responsibility in their young recruits, but also offered vocational training for future careers. Youth leaders were required to manage the contradictions and tensions between structure and discipline, and the need for young people to fully participate and contribute to their club's activities. The Surf Lifesaving movement in Devon and the Dartmoor outward bound centre illustrate how young people responded to challenge if they felt valued.

During the decade between 1960 and 1970 there was a significant ideological shift in the way the role of the Youth Service was perceived. The *Albemarle Report* was driven by an imperative to take action to reinvigorate a service that had long been neglected by both central and local government and in consequence raised its status as social policy. Some critics perceived this as unwarranted interference in the development of young minds and attitudes, particularly through the rationalisation and control of youth leader training. However, although the trope of rebellious youth

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[759] *The Albemarle Report*, paragraph 61.
[760] Tom Browne, *A History of YMCA Exeter*, (YMCA Heritage Project, 2018), p. 117.

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was evident in media reports and debates, support for the energy and decency of young people who deserved better services was at the heart of the *Albemarle Report.* The unique economic problems of the decade saw worsening unemployment levels, a struggling national economy, and several changes of central government as power and agendas shifted from Tory to Labour and back again. Despite the national political party upheavals, collaboration on the development of the Youth Service between county and borough in Devon appears to have endured; even when the region's Tory domination was challenged in 1966 by Labour's win in Exeter after a heated campaign that included 'some of the wildest meetings' that the Conservative candidate had ever encountered.[761] (Figure 23)

Party conflict between county and city had been little known before. But as the Devon Youth Leadership Training Committee, which included the boroughs of Exeter and Plymouth, was set up in April 1966 just after the momentous General Election, the progress of the Youth Service appears to have continued as before.[762]

Despite the political and economic challenges to implementing social policy during the 1960s a new comprehensive school system evolved that democratised learning and prepared young people for both higher education and work. The Albemarle focus on youth inevitably dealt with young people as a separate section of the population, putting their needs as paramount. But over the next ten years youth policy became part of a wider shift towards an inclusive, participatory society where both youth and adults had agency over their own needs and those of their community.

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[761] *Western Morning News*, 31st March 1966, p.7, (Devon Records Office)
[762] *Exeter City Council, Youth Service Sub-Committee, Youth Service Building Programme 1966-1967*, DRO/G3/ECA/19/116

Figure 23: The *Exeter Express & Echo* newspaper, City Final Edition,
Friday 1st April 1966 (Devon Records Office)

Chapters Five and Six explored how the involvement of teachers in youth work shifted as schools became community learning hubs and boundaries between generations and class became less defined and equality of opportunity, in theory at least, more attainable. This became increasingly important as unemployment grew during the 1970s and access to post-eighteen education and retraining for a transitioning economy was needed. On revisiting oral testimony from this period, Jon Lawrence found that its most striking feature was the 'evaporation of the easy optimism about 'progress' that had dominated the testimony collected in earlier post-war surveys' as it became apparent that the economic boom of the 1960s was over.[763]

Most youth club members would have been unaware of the social policy that was taking interest in their activities, and at least a third of them remained unattached to a youth club despite the many achievements of the *Albemarle Report*. But nevertheless an awareness of the needs of the new generation had been raised

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[763] Lawrence, *Me, Me, Me*, p. 193.

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onto the political agenda, sustained from the early 1970s by the National Council for Voluntary Youth Services (NCVYS) which continued to put pressure on the government to take action on the needs of the Youth Service. By forming the All Party Parliamentary Lobby on Youth Affairs, the NCVYS remained for many decades the independent voice of the voluntary youth sector and aimed to raise the profile of youth work, share good practice, and influence policy. The *Albemarle Report* was pivotal in enabling the Youth Service's transition from voluntary to State responsibility, and it laid down a challenge to end the unwillingness to break new ground in response to the changing needs of young people.[764]

Although in Devon the initial response to the *Albemarle Report* appeared hesitant, this thesis has shown how the county and city councils did succeed in substantially increasing the number of youth leaders and workers and applied, occasionally successfully, for central government funding for the provision of new and updated youth club buildings. Despite these efforts to adhere to the Albemarle recommendations, a certain pragmatism is evident in the way that the County Council grasped the opportunity to embrace the community model and in 1966 issued their draft proposals for the formation of community colleges along the lines already successful in the town of South Molton.[765] A follow-up report in 1967 envisaged a 'method of operation which went considerably beyond the already familiar experience of evening institutes and separate youth centres.'[766] A new emphasis on comprehensive secondary education and adult education for life moved the emphasis from the Albemarle vision of a dedicated service for young people

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[764] Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State,* p. 30.
[765] Devon County Council Education Department, *Sharing and Growing,* p. 8.
[766] Ibid.

towards a model that served the interests and needs of the wider community.[767]

Debates around the raising of the school leaving age continued throughout the decade after the publication of the *Albemarle Report* and this delayed the progress of capital building programmes. Because of the financial dependency of a city or borough council on its county level authority, there would have been tension between Exeter and Devon in negotiations around future school building projects that may have included youth club facilities. The need for domestic rateable income was at the core of the boundary disputes as the city local authority attempted to absorb neighbouring county populations. Shortfalls of trickle-down funding from central government to county council to city authority would have frustrated any forward-planning efforts in Exeter and Devon. Often when reading the local authority records it is easy to imagine a collective sigh of disappointment as committee members recognized familiar patterns of central power precept without guaranteed funding.

However, the progress made to the Youth Service in Devon during the 1960s laid the foundations for new strategies in the 1970s. It was the commitment of human agency that underpins this story and the oral testimony at the heart of this thesis reveals the efforts of youth workers in the urban, rural, and coastal areas of Devon and the enthusiasm of young people themselves during the post-Albemarle decade. This thesis offers a 'bottom-up' approach to understanding how one region attempted to develop a rationalised Youth Service, and how local and national policies evolved into practice on the ground. Agency for change came from local authorities, uniform, voluntary and faith-based organisations, the police, communities

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[767] James Callaghan, Prime Minister, highlighted the Labour ideology in a speech to Ruskin College, Oxford, on 18 October 1976, http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/speeches/1976ruskin.html, accessed 28 June 2019.

and volunteers and from the young people themselves. The *Albemarle Report* challenged the rhetoric of the 1960s that defined young people as a threat to societal values and presented them in a stereotypical fashion in the mass media, with the moral barricades manned by 'bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people.'[768] As Bernard Davies states, for the Youth Service, the 1960s was the 'Albemarle Decade' – the period when State commitment 'was as sustained and strategic as it has been at any time in its history.' As social policy, the *Albemarle Report* demonstrated that 'negativity need not necessarily drive national policy-making even when populist fears are strong and being loudly articulated.'[769]

In 1972, collaboration between Devon County Education and Social Services Departments, the University of Exeter and the voluntary sector organisations across the urban and rural areas of the county developed a training programme for teachers, police officers, voluntary sector and Youth Service workers, health practitioners, and social care workers to learn together and develop their skills in tackling community issues. This collaborative programme aimed to draw together workers across disciplines to share and develop good practice and 'activate all possible resources in support of the common good.' The programme ran until well into the 1980s and succeeded in changing attitudes and perspectives, and it represented a new style of learning and practice, introducing social dialogue and integrated action.[770]

What had changed in Devon as a result of the *Albemarle Report* was a reinvigorated commitment by the County and Borough Councils towards providing

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[768] Cohen, *Folk Devils,* p. 9.

[769] Bernard Davies, 'Decade of Cuts: the Policies that have Dismantled Youth Work,' *Children and Young People Now*, 29 January 2019, https://www.cypnow.co.uk/cyp/analysis/2006294/decade-of-cuts-the-policies-that-have-dismantled-youth-work, accessed 24 September 2019.

[770] R. W. J. Keeble, *Community and Action: Some Relationships and Some Issues*, (National Youth Bureau, Leicester, 1981), pp.115-116.

appropriate spaces for young people and for providing support for existing

community and voluntary initiatives. Although the merger between schools and the

Youth Service evolved slowly over the decade as community models of learning for

all generations developed, both county and city authorities increased the number of

youth leaders, workers, and tutors over the decade to the early 1970s. This top-down

influence, however, was dependent on the organic grassroots nature of development

that engendered local pride and a sense of ownership and belonging. The

negotiations between collaboration and control were finely managed in order to

achieve a Youth Service network that was as effective as it could be within resources

available. The need for a Youth Service was rooted in notions of control and

discipline, emotional and physical wellbeing, economic viability, and sustaining a

sense of community. Between the *Albemarle Report* in 1960 and the *Fairbairn-*

Milson Report in 1969, new expressions of social arrangements and policy had

evolved. The Youth Service, as envisioned by the Albemarle Committee, had set a

template that continued, and continues, to be contested.

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Donald	6 September 2013	Rural, member of Devon Young Farmers, later employed by DCC to run the Duke of Edinburgh Award
Julie	6 September 2013	Rural, met husband Donald at a YFC event, grew up on a local farm
Alan	5 April 2014	Rural and county-wide, Methodist, member of Devon Youth Leader Training Committee, worked with Reg Keeble on the role of spiritual and moral training in the Youth Service
Reverend Ron White	22 August 2013	Rural, developed and ran the local youth club established at the Blackdown Hills Mission Chapel in East Devon
Keith	5 April 2013	Coastal, member of the first surf lifesaving club on the North Coast of Devon
Brian	6 March 2013	Coastal, member of the first surf lifesaving club on the North Coast of Devon
Jim	13 April 2013	Coastal, involved in fundraising and development of the first surf lifesaving club on the North Coast of Devon
Jane	9 April 2013	Coastal, member of the first surf lifesaving club on the North Coast of Devon and campaigned for gender equality in lifesaving competitions
Derek	5 October 2013	Urban, first appointed Exeter Borough Youth Leader, played a pivotal role in increasing youth leader training across Exeter and Devon
Ellie	5 October 2013	Urban, involved in the Pixies Holt outdoor centre on Dartmoor, first as a participant and later as a volunteer.
Gill	16 November 2015	Urban, volunteer youth worker, later paid youth worker
Anna	16 November 2015	Urban, 'unattached' teenager in Exeter

Pam	13 March 2019	Archivist for the Devon and Cornwall Police Heritage Trust and former police officer
SS	8 October 2015	Former Labour city and county councillor for Exeter and Devon
DM	3 March 2016	Former Liberal county councillor

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