Investing in Lives

The History of The Youth Service in Northern Ireland (1844-1973)

(Prof) Sam McCready and Richard Loudon

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Lives

Looking back over the years

To Anne and Angela
Thanks for your support over all these years

Professor Sam McCready
Sam was a member of 44th Cubs, Malone; 107th BB; St. Nicholas and St. Thomas's Youth Club. Graduated from Queen's University Belfast in 1972 and then completed a postgraduate Diploma in youth and community work in Westhill College, Birmingham (1972/73). First youth work job was as a detached youth worker in East Belfast, with the Ballymacarrett Youth and Community Project (1973-75). From here went to University of Swansea to complete a postgraduate Diploma in Applied Social Studies (Community Development) and then gained employment as a Community Services Officer with Castlereagh Borough Council for 3 years until moving to the Ulster University (formerly Ulster Polytechnic) in 1979 as a lecturer in Community Youth Work. Completed MEd in Manchester University in 1986 and was awarded a professorship in Community Youth Work by the Ulster University in 2014.

Sam is married to Anne and has three children (Rhiannon, Paul and Philip) and five grandchildren (Rebecca, Kadyn, Rachel, Jake and Meadow).

Richard Loudon
Richard was a member, then an officer in the 70th BB. Was leader in charge of Cregagh Methodist Youth Club from 1964-71. Changed career from Aeronautical Engineering and graduated from Westhill College as a Youth and Community Worker in 1973. Worked in Project Bangor, SEELB before joining the course team delivering the Diploma in Youth and Community Work at the NI Polytechnic (later UUJ). Obtained a BA in Psychology (OU) and a Masters in Social Research Methods (UUJ). Career since 1975 has centred on providing appropriate training for professional youth and community workers and he has also provided support and consultancy for voluntary agencies and community groups including Contact Youth Counselling and Extern. Was external examiner for: Moray House, Edinburgh; St. Martin's, Lancaster University; St. Patrick's College, Maynooth; University College Cork. He has been a member of the Corrymeela Community since 1976.

Richard is married to Angela and has four children (Mark, Topher, Suzy and Emma) and ten grandchildren (Joe, Hannah, Sean, Eva, Lucy, Jack, Sam, Angie, Joni and Charlie).

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FOREWORD

The origins of this publication lie in a request to the Youth Council, during early 2014, to contribute a short history of youth work in Northern Ireland to a journal which sought to identify the histories of youth work across Europe. Locally Professor Sam McCready and Richard Loudon kindly agreed to undertake this task.

The contribution to the European publication acted as a catalyst for the Youth Council to bring to fruition a more comprehensive publication which would act as the first definitive history of the youth service in Northern Ireland. Given the rapidly changing landscape, within which youth work is delivered here, it was considered timely to capture the depth and variety of our service and, by disseminating it widely, seek to enrich both the youth service of today and of the future.

The Youth Council initiated a collaboration with the Ulster University to produce a history of the youth service in the context of the North of Ireland, tracing its roots back to 1844. Our respective bodies have worked in close partnership and are proud to publish this first volume covering the period 1844 to 1973; we will continue this co-operation to produce a second volume which brings the Northern Ireland youth service story up to the present day.

The timeline split reflects two of the most significant watersheds for the youth service across Northern Ireland - the establishment of the statutory youth service in 1973, and the current transformation (2015) of the youth service as a result of the implementation of the Department of Education's new policy, "Priorities for Youth", coupled with the major changes in education structures here.

The narrative, researched by the authors Sam McCready and Richard Loudon, pays tribute to those individuals and organisations who have shaped the youth service by their dedication and commitment in many varied settings. Their actions have had a significant long-term impact on the lives of many hundreds of thousands of young people, characterised by a partnership between adults, overwhelmingly volunteers, the community and young people. Given the immense investment of time and effort by thousands of youth workers for over a century, it is reasonable to pose the question - has the youth service in Northern Ireland been given the recognition it richly deserves?

The Youth Council's strapline is "Investing in Youth Work", with the underlying rationale being that this is ultimately "Investing in Lives"; Investing in the lives of our young people, the volunteers and paid staff, together with communities from a myriad of settings and backgrounds that should each be entitled to the same developmental opportunities.

In Volume 2 of this important work (1973 to present day) there will be a more significant human dimension given that there is the opportunity to interview and engage with individuals who worked on the front line of youth service during the last 4 decades, together with access to a greater variety of records from the period.

In conclusion, the Youth Council wishes to express its appreciation to:
The Ulster University, the authors, all those who assisted in the creation of this history in any way, Walter Rader who provided invaluable guidance in this initiative, and our Youth Council staff, in particular Karen Witherspoon and Mandy Cunningham.

David Guilfoyle
Chief Executive, YCNI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the following people who contributed in various ways to this publication:

Sr. Mairead Bradley; Kate Campbell; Father Colm Campbell; Roger Courtney; John Cross; Paul Curran & Staff of Clubs for Young People; Mary Devine; Terry Doherty; Michael Doherty; Margaret Gregg; David Guilfoyle; Noel Hearst; Frankie Hood; John Kee; Lexi Kennedy; Rev. David Kerr; Jane Lappin; Adele Lappin; Ernie Martin; Liz McArdle; Harry McCammon; Felicity McCartney; Cherith McClay; Leighann McConville; Paddy McDermott; Brian McMenamin; David McMullan; Susan Morgan; Sr. Clare O'Mahoney; Walter Rader; Chuck Richardson; Natalie Robinson; David Rock; Robin Roddie; Stan Smith; Graeme Thompson; June Trimble; Paddy White; Derick Wilson; Karen Witherspoon.

HISTORY OF YOUTH WORK TIMELINE

1844 - 1920

1844 Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) formed
1855 Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) formed
1860 YWCA Ireland established
Army Cadet Force established
1861 The setting up of Girls' Clubs and local and regional federation unions for the welfare of girls working in factories
1870 British Red Cross Society formed
1875 Girls' Friendly Society London formed
1877 Girls' Friendly Society Ireland formed
1880 Girls' Club Union established
1883 First Boys' Brigade company (Glasgow) formed
1884 National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) opened
1888 First Boys' Brigade company in Belfast formed
1890 Catholic Young Men's Society formed
1891 Church Lads' Brigade (London) formed
1893 First Church Lads' Brigade company formed in Dublin
The Girls' Brigade (Ireland) formed
1895 First Church Lads' Brigade company formed in Belfast
First Church Girls' Brigade company formed
1900 Catholic Boys' Brigade formed
1904 First Girls' Club formed on the Shankill which would become Belfast Girls' Club Union
1907 First Scout troop formed in Belfast
1908 The Scout Association established
Belfast Girls' Club Union formed
Belfast Association of Boy Scouts formed
Na Fianna Éireann established
1910 Girl Guiding Ulster opened
1911 The National Organisation of Girls' Clubs England formed
Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant formed
1914 YMCA Ireland established
1916 Easter Rising and Proclamation of an Irish Republic
1920 Government of Ireland Act

1921 - 1959

1921	Lynn Committee on education established by new Northern Ireland State
1923	NI Education Act (from Lynn Committee)
1924	Drumalla House opens (Belfast Girls' Club Union)
1928	Clanna Bride - Catholic Guides of Ireland opened
1928	St John Ambulance Cadets formed
1929	The Young Farmers' Clubs of Ulster opened
	First Church Girls' Brigade company formed Belfast
1931	The National Organisation of Girls' Clubs renamed National Council For Girls' Clubs
	Hostelling International NI (Youth Hostel Association) opened
1933	Bantreoraithe Catoloilici na hEirrean - Catholic Guides of Ireland name change
1935	King George V Jubilee Trust established
	Down and Connor Youth Clubs opened
1938	Recreation Act (NI)
1939	Board of Education issues Circular 1486 "In the Service of Youth" (England and Wales)
	NI Youth Welfare Committee established
	Standing Conference of Youth Organisations (SCOYO) formed
1940	Circular number 1516 "The Challenge of Youth" (England and Wales)
	Army Cadet Force opened
	Federation of Boys' Clubs established
1941	Churches' Youth Welfare Council formed (Church of Ireland, Methodists and Presbyterians)
1942	National Association of Girls' Clubs established in England
	First Girls' Brigade company formed in Belfast
	Comhairle le leas Oige established
1944	NI Federation of Girls' Clubs formed
	Education "Butler" Act ('Youth Service' identified as integral part of Education)
	Youth Welfare Act
	National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs
	Presbyterian Assembly Youth Committee formed
1946	Outward Bound Trust established
1946	Mencap (for people with a learning disability) opened
	Youth Department of Methodist Church in Ireland opened
1947	Education Act (NI) passed
	Youth Welfare Physical Training and Recreation Act (NI) passed
1948	Ministry of Education appoints first Inspector in Youth Work (Con Smith)
1950	Royal National Institute for Blind (NI) established
1952	St John's Ambulance Brigade opened in NI
	Save the Children Fund opened in NI
	Macra na Tuaithe, a junior section of the Irish Young Farmers Organisation formed
1953	Name change for Federation of Girls' Clubs to Federation of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs
1954	Irish Methodist Youth & Children's Department opened
1956	Duke of Edinburgh's Award for Boys established

1960 - 1969

1960 Albemarle Committee Report (England and Wales)
Ocean Youth Trust NI established
The Prince's Trust established

1961 White Paper on the development of the Youth Service in NI encouraged local authorities to take a more active part in Youth Work
Irish Boys' Club Congress in Limerick
National Association of Youth Clubs (name change from Federation of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs)

1962 Youth Welfare, Physical Training and Recreation Act (NI) (established a Youth and Sport Council that replaced Youth Committee)

1964 Campaign for Social Justice in NI began
British Red Cross (NI) opened

1965 Girls' Brigade NI formed (amalgamation of Girls' Brigade Ireland, Girls' Life Brigade and Girls' Guildry)
Corrymeela Reconciliation Centre opened in Ballycastle
International Voluntary Service (IVS) opened in NI

1966 Duke of Edinburgh's Award established in NI

1967 Voluntary Service Belfast (VSB) formed

1968 NI Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NIACRO) opened
Civil Rights Campaign in Northern Ireland

1969 Youth and Community in the 70s report (Milson/Fairbairn)
Start of "The Troubles"
Community Relations Act NI
NI Community Relations Council established
NI Adventure Playground Association established

1970 - 1973

1970 Macrory report

1971 Internment (Operation Demetrius)

1972 Social Action programme (Anti-Poverty) conceived by Europe
Stormont prorogued - Direct Rule introduced
National Union of Students opened
Presbyterian Youth and Children's Office opened
Holiday Projects West established
Education and Libraries (Northern Ireland) Order

1973 Recreation and Youth Service (NI) Order (Youth Welfare Advisory Committee established to offer advice on Youth Policy not only to government but to voluntary sector and ELB's)
An In-service Diploma in Youth Work course in NI Polytechnic established for 20 unqualified youth workers

INTRODUCTION

The origins of this book began in a request to the Youth Council for NI from a research group within the European Union for an article on the history of the youth service in Northern Ireland. The EU research group was making a comparative study and reviewing the status of youth work in all the EU member states. It had obtained broad information about the youth service in the UK, but sought particular focus on each of the parts of the UK, particularly Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. The Youth Council for NI commissioned Professor Sam McCready and Richard Loudon to provide the Northern Ireland information.

The article finished with the following words*:*

"The best way to describe the picture of the youth service in Northern Ireland is that it is a complex mosaic where resources and provision can vary from community to community depending on a varied demographic. It is either diverse or disparate depending on your viewpoint, but there are significant numbers of youth workers engaged in working with young people and a significant number of young people involved. The political climate continues to be problematical but this frequently leads to innovative methods in responding to the needs of young people living in a contested society."[1]

While this article was part of a comparative study of youth work within the member states of the EU, it was felt that there was merit in producing a more comprehensive record of the history of the youth service in Northern Ireland. The publication is structured into four chapters as follows:

- 1844 - 1920 : The roots of the service, beginning with the founding of the YMCA, the first global youth organisation, in 1844. The nurturing of these roots by the various pioneers and founders during the years before the state of Northern Ireland was established in 1920.

- 1921 - 1959 : The development of the youth service in the new state of Northern Ireland in parallel to the work in England and the south of Ireland. The growth of uniformed organisations such as Boys' Brigade, Scouts as well as non-uniformed Boys' Clubs and Girls' Clubs. The increased support of government was epitomised by Albemarle 1960.

- 1960 - 1969 : Post-Albemarle the movement towards a professional service for youth work with full-time staff and adequate buildings. The civil unrest which heightened the sectarian divisions and affected the nature of youth work.

- 1970 - 1973 : The establishment of a statutory youth service. The setting up of the first professional training course for youth workers in Northern Ireland. The growth of a professional youth service.

[1] Loudon and McCready forthcoming Council of Europe

1 Investing in Lives

Chapter 1

1844-1920
Finding the Roots

CHAPTER 1

1844-1920 : FINDING THE ROOTS

Introduction

The Youth Service of today can be traced back to the pioneers and practice of the past. As this is the story of the history of youth work in 'Northern Ireland' we begin with a brief historical context.

"Two Lands on One Soil"

The 19th century was a time of political turmoil in Ireland. At the start of the century there was hope and expectation within the political establishment in Britain that the Act of Union between Britain and Ireland, which followed the 1798 rebellion in Ireland, would offer a fresh start for Ireland as part of a United Kingdom with power centralised in Westminster. However, the Union with Britain was opposed by many people in Ireland who supported Home Rule. While a large number of Protestant dissenters had supported the 1798 rebellion and opposed the Act of Union, increasingly, political opinions mirrored the two main religious identities: Protestant and Catholic. The Protestant community in Ireland was overwhelmingly against Home Rule and for the Union. Many of the arguments against Home Rule were economic, as many people considered the Union benefited the economy particularly in the industrialised north. The slogan "*Home Rule is Rome Rule*" epitomised the view of many Protestants that Catholics in general, and the Catholic Church in particular, would dominate (as the Church of Ireland had done previously) if Home Rule for Ireland took place. The majority of Catholic opinion preferred some form of Irish national autonomy or independence to rule from Westminster.

Centralisation of decision-making in Westminster, contested land ownership and tenants' rights, Catholic Emancipation and the Irish Famine of the 1840s that radicalised many people, were among many issues which divided and polarised society. There were attempted risings in various parts of Ireland. Disturbances often occurred between Protestant and Catholics and various groups were formed to support particular positions, for example the Catholic Association to promote Catholic Emancipation, land reform and Home Rule non-violently; the Fenian Movement to promote the same objectives by violent means; the Catholic Ribbonmen to attack rural landowners and their property and animals; and the Orange Order (which had been set up towards the end of the 18th century) and the Apprentice Boys of Derry to oppose Home Rule and promote a British Protestant identity. Attempts to establish and develop a united Land League and tenants' rights movement could not be sustained with such strong competing political loyalties and conflicts.

In the latter part of the 19th century the growing prosperity of Belfast attracted many Catholics in search of work. This created further sectarian tensions as Catholics and Protestants competed for jobs. Both groups recognised that a Home Rule Bill and a devolved Irish government would create a Catholic majority in Ireland and end the privileged position of Protestants who were members of the established church (Church of Ireland). On 3rd June 1886 a Catholic navvy

sneered to a Protestant co-worker that under an Irish Government, Protestants would never get hired, even in Belfast[2]. Along with the fear of again being under the control of an authoritarian hierarchical church and damage to the economic prosperity of Ulster, this represented the very worst fears of Protestants about Home Rule and the story quickly spread throughout Belfast. This led to further clashes between Protestant and Catholic labourers in the shipyards.

On 28th September 1912, over 500,000 Unionists signed the Ulster Covenant pledging to defy Home Rule by all means. These means included taking up arms against the British Government.

The struggle for and against Home Rule continued throughout the 19th century. There were three Home Rule Bills, the third, which was officially titled *The Government of Ireland Act 1914*, was postponed because of the First World War.

On Easter Sunday 23rd April 1916 the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), with a force of some 1,200 launched the rebellion in Dublin, which became known as the "Easter Rising", which lasted a week before it was put down. The execution of the leaders of the Rising changed the attitudes of many ordinary people towards the rising, and its leaders became martyrs.

Finally in 1920 after extensive negotiations, the Government of Ireland Act was passed through the British parliament. Northern Ireland became a separate legal entity from the Republic of Ireland on 3rd May 1921. In 1922, Southern Ireland was granted dominion status as the Irish Free State, while six of Ulster's nine counties were given the right to remain in Union with Great Britain.

"As a solution to the 'Irish Problem' it proposed that Ireland be partitioned with a devolved parliament based in Dublin for twenty six southern counties and a similar body in Belfast for six of the northern counties. While Sinn Fein (SF) totally rejected the proposals, Ulster Unionists decided to accept the Act. In particular they believed that the six counties, which were to make up Northern Ireland, would be the largest area they could control without fear of a Catholic majority. Furthermore with their own devolved administration they considered they stood a better chance of resisting any further attempt by the British Government to seek to unite the island of Ireland."[3]

Frank Wright in his book *Two Lands on One Soil*[4] describes the north of Ireland in the 19th century before Home Rule as becoming *"an ethnic frontier"*. In other words the two communities, 'Nationalist' and 'Unionist' became opposed national peoples in conflict for the same land. After the 1920 Act, six counties of Ireland became Northern Ireland, with its own parliament within the UK, and these same two communities were bound in perpetual tension, where each maintained different cultures and aspirations.

Young people in the new Northern Ireland state, controlled by a perpetual Unionist government, tended to go to different churches (Protestant and Catholic), which were the social hubs of their respective communities, be educated in separate

[2] Beckett, J .C. 1981
[3] Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN) University of Ulster (sourced August 2014)
[4] Wright F. 1996

schools, play different sports, and did not encounter each other until later in life, if at all.

Attempts to establish an integrated education system with the creation of the Irish National School system of education in 1831, in which the National Board was *"to look with peculiar favour"*[5] on applicants for schools jointly managed by Catholics and Protestants, was opposed by influential elements in both Catholic and Protestant churches which put pressure on the government to allow aid to schools under the management of individual churches. The pressure was so effective that by mid-19th century, only 4% of national schools were under mixed management; a figure that changed little over the following decades.

The youth services that did exist at this time were largely religious or voluntary and based on providing recreational or religious/moral activities. Youth organisations focused on 14 to 20 year-olds. The school leaving age in the early years of the Northern Ireland state was 14 years, so it was considered that formal education would provide for the needs of young people up to 14 years. In much of Ireland, particularly in the Republic of Ireland, young people were required to play an important role on the farm. In the increasingly urbanised Northern Ireland, young people often started work in the mills, factories or shipyards from age 14, or were employed in domestic service to the increasing middle-class.

This is the political backdrop to our story whereby education and youth services were part of, and had to contend with, a very divided and contested society, in which the needs and aspirations of young people were not high up on the political agenda.

Origins of Youth Work

The origins, and then the growth, of work with young people can be traced back to Victorian Britain and, in particular, urban settings which were seen to be suffering the ravages of industrialisation and dislocation that tugged at the sense of religious and humanitarian duty of the pioneers of the youth service. At the same time, the series of Factory Acts during the 19th century restricted the hours that young people could work, increasing their leisure time. Increased urbanisation also led to a strong conviction that the countryside and out-of-doors became to be invested with a sense of self-evident value, compared with the debased nature of urban life.

What we refer to as the 'founders' of youth work and the youth service, were a set of individuals who demonstrated a charismatic zeal and enthusiasm for establishing organisations for young people. These individuals were driven, on the one hand, with a desire to promote particular religious and/or moral views, and/or develop healthy young people to serve in the armed forces, but, on the other, often with a strong drive to offer experiences and opportunities to young people who were being harshly treated by a system that exploited their labour and offered them little hope. These pioneering individuals were driven by a sense of religious, moral and social duty with a compassion for the welfare of those young people.

[5] Hyland A. 1995

Early youth work practice probably lends itself to criticism that these pioneers, who came from the upper and middle classes, were more inclined, through the organisations they established, to simply help young people to become better prepared to be part of the political, economic and religious structures that they approved of. But what emerged from what was created by these charismatic pioneers are the modest beginnings of an architecture of a type of service and organisation that, in various guises, is still around today.

This first chapter highlights a number of key individuals (eg. Williams, Smith, Baden-Powell, Russell, Stanley, Pethick, Carpenter, Montague and Pelham), whose determination to establish organisations for young people locally, nationally and internationally, reflected their own social, political and religious convictions. Their form of intervention and approach to the activities and programmes that they offered young people tended to reflect their view of the world and the society they found themselves in. These origins have left an important legacy in Ireland, north and south.

The early target for the pioneers was mainly the working class boy and/or the factory girl who were perceived to be in need of help. Many of these pioneers were committed to a religious faith which was their own driving force. There was a clear moral and charitable emphasis focused on those young people seen to be in need by those who felt the need to do something for those less fortunate than themselves. But for Davies (1999) there is an extremely important positive point to be made about these early roots of youth work.

"The emergent voluntary youth organisations could be seen as pioneering an important new expression of philanthropic spirit. By self-consciously requiring their 'workers' to engage directly and personally with young people, they set out to bind giver and receiver very closely together... From the start therefore, and on the grounds that this was how charitable mission was best conducted, 'youth leadership' placed 'relationships' at the very heart of its practice and provision."[6]

Davies indicates here that the relational-driven service that we understand to be at the core of youth work today has its roots in this philanthropic, morally-driven and pioneering work of the mid-19th century**.** Whilst Davies highlights a relational-driven service, the concern for moral and religious improvement of young people is a key underpinning feature. It was largely a response to growth of slum districts in urban areas which offered limited access to formal education to young people. This, combined with bad living conditions and poverty, inspired energetic and public-spirited people, mainly with Church backgrounds, to set up the first youth organisations. In effect, what occurred was the development of provision for young people (mainly boys) that was about giving them food and healthy physical activity, running alongside a regular pattern of life and religious instruction. It was about keeping them off the streets and away from temptation and corruption.

[6] Davies B. 1999

1844 - YMCA founded

In 1844, twelve young men, led by George Williams, (our first example of an early pioneer with a Christian and philanthropic zeal), founded the first Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in London, England. Its objective was the *"improvement of the spiritual condition of the younger men engaged in houses of business, by the formation of Bible classes, family and social prayer meetings, mutual improvement societies, or any other spiritual agency."*[7]

From this beginning other parts of the family of YMCAs emerged throughout England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland where a branch opened in 1854, which gives it a history of over 170 years in the UK. From this beginning, YMCA Movements developed in Australia, New Zealand, India, USA and Western Europe. The 1st World Alliance of YMCAs conference was held in Paris in 1855 confirming the global nature of the movement; and then, in 1878, a headquarters of the World Alliance was created in Geneva, Switzerland which sowed the seeds of the World Alliance of YMCAs of today.

This 1st World Alliance of YMCAs conference developed the YMCAs first mission statement, known as the *Paris Basis* which declared the mission of the YMCA as:

"A world-wide Christian, ecumenical, voluntary movement for women and men with special emphasis on the genuine involvement of young people and that seeks to share the Christian ideal of building a human community of justice with love, peace and reconciliation for the fullness of life for all creation."

In this statement we find a use of language that is comfortable within a modern youth work vocabulary. Through phrases like the *"genuine involvement of young people"* and *"community of justice"* alongside *"Christian ideal"*, *"voluntary movement",* as well as environmental concerns with the reference to the "*fullness of life for all creation*" we have the roots of the modern service traced back to the mid-19th century. Putting this alongside Davies's reference to *"relationships"* being at the heart of the early pioneers of the service, we are beholden to this history for much of what exists today as a youth service.

At this World Alliance conference, the following four values were agreed:

1. *YMCA offers to young men a society which brought together members of different Church denominations without weakening their loyalty to their own Churches.*
2. *Christian discipleship must be related to the whole of life - religious, educational, social, physical.*
3. *The YMCA must see itself as a missionary movement, seeking out young men who were not committed Christians.*
4. *As a Christian society, it must always transcend all barriers of class, race, nationality, and political opinion".*[8]

These highlight the extent that the YMCA also operated very much within a strong evangelical Christian ethos.

[7] Prouty Shedd C. et al. 1955.
[8] Hubery D.S. 1963.

1855 - YWCA founded

The YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association) was set up by Mary Jane Kinnaird in London in 1855. By 1897 there *"were 14 hostels in Ireland"*[9] . From an examination of the early years of the YWCA in Ireland we find that in 1860 a branch of a Prayer Union, a forerunner of the YMCA and YWCA, was formed in Coleraine attended by girls. This probably marks the earliest connection to the YWCA in Northern Ireland as it is today.

Initially the YMCA concentrated on recruiting its membership from the ranks of young middle class businessmen but, realising that the future depended on a new generation, work among boys began in the 1880s. By this time the YMCA had moved from its earlier revivalist phase of the Prayer Union and evangelical meetings to one that put greater stress on character-building.

This first branch of the Prayer Union in the north of Ireland was started *"among the mill girls... and it was characterised by the simplicity and earnestness of the intercourse over the Bible"*[10]. The origin of the YWCA in Dublin is recorded in 1872 when a Prayer Union meeting was held on Bray Head by a Mrs Sullivan, who was appointed as the first YWCA President for Ireland. *"During this time and until 1878 the Association consisted of Prayer Union members only; but in consort with England, we have since agreed that the membership should stand as follows:"*[11] The YWCA Report for Ireland 1887 goes on to list an eclectic membership such as an Evangelisation and Extension Department, Employment Agency, Hospital Nurses' Union, Holiday Clubs, Institute Work and Library Department.

In the 1887 Report the author emphasises that the YWCA endeavours:

"W*henever an opening can be obtained, to reach young people who are workers and earners with encouragement, sympathy and help, which shall not interfere with independence or wound susceptibilities... If we, in our YWCA, do not seek to lighten the burdens of our home-toilers, to lessen to them the terrible struggle of life, and bring the light and rest of true Christian love into their lives, we are false to our chief object of our Association, and worse than all, false to Him who came to undo the heavy burdens and break every yoke."*[12]

The Irish Divisional Council was formed in 1885 and, by then, Belfast, Cork and Enniskillen had become centres for the Home and Institute work of the YWCA and there was a membership recorded in Ireland of 9,000. In 1917 the Irish Division withdrew, *"for non-political reasons"*[13], from the YWCA of Great Britain and at the same time severed its connection with the World YWCA. This was re-established in 1979 when YWCA Ireland was affiliated to the World Movement at the World Council meeting in Athens.

To get a sense of the work of the YMCA in the north of Ireland at this time, the Carrickfergus YMCA, formed in 1873, is illustrative of contemporary youth work. For the centenary of this club, William Milner wrote a brochure which provides a valuable insight into this early work. He records that the first meeting in 1873

[9] Doughan D. and Gordon P. 2007.
[10] Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). 'Report for Ireland May 1887'
[11] YWCA Ibid Opt Cited
[12] YWCA Ibid Opt Cited
[13] YWCA database Ireland www.worldywca.org

was in the house of Mr. JK Mitchell, Governors Place, Carrickfergus, but in 1877 premises were taken in West Street where *"a cafe was organised in a small way"*[14]. This was soon found to be too small and a larger house was rented in High Street and from there the work of the Association blossomed.

The Annual report of 1888 refers to their youth work as primarily through the Café that served dinners and teas. The Annual Subscription for members was *"not less than 5 shillings* (25p) *and 2/6d* (13p) *for under 18's"*[15]. As we trace each annual report we can see that the Café remained a central feature of the work, with Bible classes on a Thursday evening and a Reading Room also featured. New premises (Carlton House), with an adjoining Mission Hall and rooms, were purchased in 1905 to cope with the expanding membership. These premises had a *"lecture hall, dining room, recreation rooms, bedrooms, reading room and a secretary's office"*[16] . In the annual report of 1908 there was a strong reminder that the Carrickfergus branch was retaining the object of the founder which was to *"provide a harbour of refuge for young men, where they would be safe from the storms and temptations of city life."* [17]

From year to year the work developed and the early 20th century annual reports refer to *"Fellowship meetings, a Men's Rally, Bible class for young men, Pleasant Sunday afternoon services, Tuesday evening Gospel meetings, open-air service, Elocution classes, Reading Room, a Literary and Debating Society, the opening of the gymnasium and, (of course) the Cafe"*[18]. There was clearly strong attention being paid to the spiritual needs of the young men in Carrickfergus. The appointment of a gym instructor in 1911 was seen as important in addressing the physical health of its members, whilst at the same time the records show that a chess club was also opened with the *"proviso there would be no smoking when it was in session"*[19]. One assumes the *"no smoking"* also applied when gymnastic classes were being held! A Boy Scout Troop (see the section on Scouting below) was formed with connections to the Association in 1912. In 1914 YMCA Ireland was established.

The first mention of local YMCA work with HM Forces is recorded in the Minutes of October 5th 1914 when it stated *"a tent had been erected at Kilroot Army Camp and was being used by the men"*[20]. According to these minutes Carrickfergus became a bastion town during the first world-war that was essential in the defence of Belfast. At this same meeting it was resolved that a coffee bar be provided in the tent and the management committee was to provide provisions and secure a man to manage this. This support of the war effort was not unusual and there was further involvement of the YMCA in the war effort at this time. The 1916 YMCA annual report records a list of casualties of members from the First World War (the Second World War, 1939-45, also saw the Market Street premises of Carrickfergus YMCA used to accommodate supervisors and key workers employed by Littlewoods parachute manufacturers). Throughout the First World War years, apart from Gospel meetings organised by the Young Christian league,

[14] Milner W.S. 1997.
[15] Milner W.S. Ibid opt cited
[16] Milner W.S ibid opt cited
[17] Carrickfergus YMCA Annual Report 1908 reproduced in Milner W.S. ibid opt cited
[18] Milner W.S. Ibid opt cited
[19] 1911 Annual report of Carrickfergus YMCA reproduced in Milner ibid opt cited
[20] Minutes from Carrickfergus YMCA 1914 reproduced in Milner ibid opt cited

very little youth work activity took place. The YMCA also sent chaplains to serve with the British Army in a wide range of locations overseas.

1861 - Girls' and Boys' Clubs

If the YMCA and YWCA represent our earliest record of what may be termed 'youth work', we then follow a chronological journey of this non-uniformed sector and discover that in 1861 there is a reference in various youth work history archives (*eg. infed.org*) to *"Girls' Clubs in England"*, linked to factories and trades unions established for the welfare of girls working in factories. This work married philanthropy with the social conscience to establish a basis for the development of youth work with girls.

The Girls' Club Union, under the leadership of Maude Stanley, was established in London in 1880 but a trawl through various records related to this work does not record anything for Ireland until 1904. Stanley did not restrict her work exclusively to girls and in 1878 wrote that *"It is plain that there is a great need for places of harmless recreation for the immense working boy population of London, and the clergy would find extraordinary opportunities of gaining a hold over their boy-parishioners by using their parish rooms in the manner indicated."* [21] However, she is principally associated with girls' work. The development of Boys' Clubs followed a similar pattern to Girls' work in that they were associated initially with Youth Institutes and Ragged Schools, which sparked off the Parochial Boys Clubs.

Stanley is also associated with starting the Soho Club and Home for Working Girls (London) in 1880. This grew from developments in the 1860s when meeting places were established by middle-class women with a view to informal supervision of young girls' recreational time aimed at improving their social and moral behaviour. The welfare component of this work came through clubs for those girls working away from home eg. in domestic service, before the Girls' Friendly Society (GFS) was established in 1875.

The GFS was officially established on 1st January 1875 by Mary Elizabeth Townsend, an Irish clergyman's daughter. She was concerned with the fate of many working-class country girls who left home to take up urban employment. Her idea was for '*lady*' Associates to befriend and guide these girls, who were away from home and in domestic service, and the girls would form the Society's members. Girls could join GFS from the age of 12, but from 1882 those from the age of eight could become "Candidates", preparing them for membership. By 1880, the GFS had nearly 40,000 members and over 13,500 Lady Associates. During this year Queen Victoria became the Society's Patron. It was an almost exclusively female organisation being run for women, by women, with the exception of male treasurers, trustees and some senior clergy who held ex officio positions. The Society provided numerous facilities for the young women under its protection, including cheap and good-quality accommodation for those young women working in domestic service or in mills and factories. The first object of the Society was to *"band together in one society woman and girl as associates and a member for mutual help (religious and secular) for sympathy and prayer."*[22]

[21] Quoted in Eager W. McG. 1953
[22] Girls Friendly Society membership card 1897

The Society continued to expand and develop:

"By 1900, GFS had over 150,000 Members and nearly 33,000 Associates in 1,361 Branches. Young women working in domestic service comprised the largest single occupational group among the Members. Others were teachers, nurses, clerks, students and workers in refreshment bars, mills, factories and warehouses The Society also produced many books and pamphlets. Among the most popular was Every Day: Thoughts on the GFS Rules of Life, first published in 1895, which encapsulated the Society's entire ethos that GFS should inform Members' whole approach to daily life."[23]

The first meeting of the Girls' Friendly Society in Ireland is recorded as 1877[24] in Bray County Wicklow and a hostel opened in Dublin in 1880. In the north, a new hostel in Rostrevor, County Down was named after the patron, Queen Victoria, after she visited Ireland in 1900.

The formation of the Girls' Club Union in 1880, discussed above, is important as this is the first national body of a youth work organisation, although it was operating mostly in London. Whilst not overtly political at this stage, many of the women volunteers who worked in the clubs were to become involved in the Women's Social and Political Union and the Suffrage movement. It was from the Working Girls' Club that the demand for legislative changes arose including to improve the working conditions of underground workrooms through the *Underground Working Bill* which was designed to establish minimum standards of ventilation, warmth, daylight, etc. and petitioned for an increase in women factory inspectors.

Here we have the link to the modern youth work values of social justice and equality. This early youth work practice with girls emphasised relationships and welfare support, as well as having a political dimension in developing the individual and collective awareness of girls and young women.

The first Irish link to this movement came through the Belfast Girls' Club Union.

1908 - Belfast Girls' Club Union

In her address to the Annual General Meeting of the Belfast Girls' Club Union in 1983 the President, Miss C.I Herd acknowledged that *"the formation of the YWCA led to the formation of the Factory Helpers' Union which was to provide Clubs for factory and mill girls who were working in deplorable conditions."*[25] This early association with working conditions for women provided the Girls' Club Union with its roots.

Miss Herd's address outlined in more detail the emergence of the Girls' Club Union through the Quaker family who built a model village in Bourneville (Cadbury); pioneered welfare schemes; and started a girls' club in the village leading to other clubs being formed. The Quaker family encouraged the formation of the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs, and Mrs Cadbury was instrumental in getting

[23] www.gfsplatform.org.uk/our-history.php
[24] Ibid opt cited
[25] Belfast Girls' Club Union and SCOYO 1983

each Association to join the London Factory Helpers Union (which by then had become the London Union of Girls' Clubs) to form the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs in 1911. Each regional Association sent representatives to this body.

The first Girls' Club was formed in Belfast in 1904 as the first non-uniformed organisation for girls and young women.

Miss Herd pointed out that it started when, *"The Hon. Ethel MacNaughton, who had been engaged in Settlement work in London was walking down the Shankill one evening when she met a party of young girls, talking, singing and enjoying themselves in a rather rowdy way. She took courage, spoke to them, and the result was an invitation to meet her on a subsequent evening for talk and a cup of tea. As a result of this encounter Time and Talents Club was formed in 1 Downing Street on the Shankill Road."*[26]

Other clubs followed and by 1906 inter-club competitions were introduced in drill, singing, cookery and various kinds of needlework, etc. until the Belfast Girls' Club Union was formed in 1908 with eight clubs. The first meeting took the form of a social event on 8th December 1908, at which 340 members were present.

In their First Annual Report, dated September 1909, there were eight clubs represented:

- Donegal Road Girls' Cub - Leader AG Purvis
- Emir Club - Leader Miss SF Heron
- Malcolm Girls Club - Leader not named
- St Aiden's Girls' Club - Leader Miss A Finch White
- St Marys Girls' Club - Leaders A Gill and L Moore
- Time and Talents Club - Leader Hon. E MacNaughton
- St Paul's Club - Leader E Scott
  (A further club, the Temperance Auxiliary, was mentioned but gave no report)

On the cover of the first Annual Report it stated that the object of this Union *"is to help clubs by the interchange of ideas and experiences, and by promoting social intercourse among them."*[27] The first President was Mrs Garrett Campbell and the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer was Miss Alice Workman.

The First Annual Report (1909) gives reference to: affiliation to the Irish Women's Temperance Union; lectures on nursing and hygiene; hockey; visits and reports from each club eg. taking toys to workhouses, competitions, Sunday School library, play nights, drill, etc. and in the Rules of Clubs at the back Rule number 7 (of 7) *"There shall be a Girls' Committee, consisting of 2 members from each affiliated Club, elected annually by their Club"*[28] This shows, very early on, the prominent role members were encouraged to take in the Club.

By 1914 there was a list recorded of 39 Committee members with 15 affiliated clubs. Reference is made, in reports to the Annual General Meeting of that year, about how difficult it was to continue clubs with the commencement of the First World War. Inter-club competitions were the staple diet of the programme in

[26] BGCU Ibid Opt Cited
[27] Belfast Girls' Club Union September 1909
[28] Belfast Girls' Club Union Ibid Opt Cited

addition to annual events on drill, first aid, needlework, etc. held in the Ulster Hall. The membership extended outside Belfast to include Holywood and Lisburn. The 1914 AGM report highlights a club choir competition, holiday house report, annual competition and includes each club's report.

By 1916 there were 24 affiliated clubs and, despite the First World War (1914-18), the Belfast Girls' Club Union carried on and opened their first Headquarter premises in 1 College Square North, Belfast in 1916. The increasing success of clubs led, in the same year, to the appointment of an Organising Secretary for competitions, Miss Heron. In 1922 they moved from these premises to Adelaide Street, Belfast and remained there until 1943. The 1943 Annual Report reports that during the year disaster struck, *"on night of May 19th a disastrous fire completely gutted the premises over our Headquarters at 6 Adelaide Street, doing considerable damage"*[29]. This necessitated a move to new headquarters in Alfred Street, Belfast.

An early feature of the Belfast Girls' Club Union work in their early years was the opportunity for their members to get away to their out-centre. In 1904, Stoney Hill (Carnlough, County Down) was leased and this was the forerunner for the purchase of Drumalla House in 1924, also in Carnlough. Drumalla House was to be a feature of nearly every Annual Report from this point onwards and was to become synonymous with the work of the Union for many years.

The Annual Reports up to 1920 reveal the progress of the Belfast Girls' Club Union through the years. They have a strong emphasis on physical activity whether it be summer evening games in Victoria Park or a Rounders League that ran for years, as well as swimming in Templemore Avenue Baths in East Belfast. Each affiliated Club reported enthusiastically of the pleasure their members got out of the many organised events and inter-club competitions.

This Belfast story provides us with a firm placement of the work with girls prior to the establishment of the Northern Ireland state. The Girls' Club Journal of 1911 gives a sense of the expectations for leadership of a Girls' Club. This extract illustrates the commitment to youth leadership in their clubs:

"It is an entire devotion: what does it mean, what does it entail? It means exactly what everything else worth doing entails: it means self-sacrifice of the individual: it means never neglecting one's post: never allowing anything but the sternest necessity to cause one's absence: it means a total giving up of all private interests on club nights: it means realising the awful responsibility entailed in arrogating to oneself the post of directing other human wills: it means patiently and humbly trying to learn from one's repeated failures: it means the courage to keeping on when everything goes wrong: it means wisdom to know when to speak, and when to keep silence: it means entering into other peoples' lives, and lending a willing and sympathetic ear to their ambitions, difficulties and pleasures and troubles: it means quick thinking, firmness, decision and power: it means all - and more than all - that we can hope to learn on this side of the grave. Is it worth it? I think so. At least we can try. It is better to fight for the good than to rail at the ill'."[30]

[29] Belfast Girls Club Union 1943
[30] Platt E. 1911.

In this statement we have a volunteer leaders' charter, a clear youth work role that involved critical reflection, the use of empathy and a clear purpose for the work.

When tracing the history and development of girls' work it is hard to ignore the social and political drivers for the work. Back in 1898, Emeline Pethick, for example, drew her inspiration from Mary Wollstonescraft's, '*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman' (1792).* Pethick wrote about the Working Girls' Clubs that *"the club stands for the 'home'; the club stands for its members for the realisation of their womanhood; the club stands to its members for the training ground for the social organisation of women."*[31]

It is clear from this that work with girls in the Working Girls' Clubs in England was never too far away from the promotion of social justice, social change, the political development of young women and the care of the individual girl. The political dimension may not be as obvious in the Belfast Girls' Club Union's work but nonetheless the shared roots are there.

The development of girls' clubs had parallels with boys' clubs and the idea of a club probably owes itself to work with boys, in that the term 'clubs' was in use in the early to mid-19th century in England to refer to places of social enjoyment. 'Men's Institutes and Clubs' and 'Institutes and Clubs for Boys' were terms that grew out of clubs for men when young men were allowed a separate room and space within these places. Concern for the 'working man' and his social and spiritual needs were the main drivers behind boys' youth work.

Boys' Work and Clubs

In 1862 Henry Solly set about establishing the Working Men's Club and Institute Union for young men. From the records of George Williams College he:

"became its first general secretary on a salary of £200 per annum from 1862 - 1867. He established the *Union's first offices at 150 The Strand, London. The club was seen as the key environment in which the education of working men could take place. He chose to include the word 'club' in the title of the new association because of the way it invoked notions of sociability and relaxation, and 'Institute' to indicate serious educational intentions. Freed of the distractions of alcohol, and associational in character, 'The club', Solly believed, would provide for recreation and create an informal teaching situation."*[32]

Rev. Arthur Sweatman is often identified as one of the first people to articulate the need for the development of clubs for young men. In his paper to the Social Sciences Association in Edinburgh in 1863 he stressed the importance of the final days of school. He wanted young people to value the educational opportunity of the school-days just prior to early years of working. In this paper he stated *"the great want of this class of boys is that teaching, even in subjects of practical usefulness... must be associated with some work of a more social and recreational character".* He goes on to refer to *Youths' Club or Institute* for boys and men aged between 13-19 with a concern that their:

[31] Davidoff L. et al 1998
[32] Infed.org

"Peculiar wants are evening recreation, companionship, an entertaining but healthy literature, useful instruction and a strong guiding influence to lead them onward and upward socially and morally... These wants cannot be supplied by their homes. The Youths' Institute is specially designed to supply them in congenial association with others of their own age and tastes."[33]

Sweatman went further and referred to the young men these Institutes would cater for, as *"the idler and lounger, the good-for-nothing and vicious among our big lads (they) are to be redeemed from a lost life, and trained to self-respect and manliness, frank-heartedness and moral mindedness, intelligence and industry, to do good and true work in their day and generation."*[34]

What emerges from the thoughts of Sweatman and others is a harsh language towards young people, and young men in particular, and there is a focus of the work with young men that has recreation and moral improvement at its core. This suggests a policy of social containment and a hint of the desire to impose one culture (middle class) and set of behaviours upon another (working class). The message for these young men, through their engagement in these Institutes or Youths' Clubs, was to modify their attitudes and behaviour and elevate themselves through work and labour. The formula, or early practice rationale for youth work with boys, therefore, became focused on recreation, temperance and moral education. Solly devoted a chapter in his book *Working Men's Social Clubs and Educational Institutes*[35] to Sweatman's Edinburgh paper and from here the later proponents of the Boys' Club retained this threefold formula for their work but substituted *religion* for *temperance.*

According to Simon (1965), the aim of Solly's Union: *"was to encourage the formation of clubs by working men 'where they can meet for conversation, business, and mental improvement, with the means of recreation and refreshment, free from intoxicating drinks'. In addition, clubs would constitute societies 'for mutual helpfulness in various ways' (taken from the prospectus written by Solly in 1862). Clubs would allow for 'unrestrained social intercourse', and would be places where the middle classes and gentry could be brought in touch with, and influence the working class."*[36]

What Solly did for youth work in general and work with boys in particular, was to be a great promoter of clubs and provide, through his writing and work, a conceptual clarity to the notion of work in a club. Solly's paper, *How to deal with the Unemployed Poor of London and with its "Roughs" and Criminal Classes* was read at a meeting of the Society of Arts the following year (1868)[37]. He was also an advocate of rights for the working class and his paper is said to have led to the setting up of the Charity Organisation Society of 1869 of which he was the first honorary secretary.

A major impetus for Boys' Clubs came in 1908 with the publication of C.E.B. Russell's *Working Lads' Clubs*[38] which became the classic textbook of the Boys'

[33] Sweatman 1863
[34] Ibid opt cited
[35] Solly H. 1867
[36] Simon B. 1965
[37] Solly H. 1868
[38] Russell C.E.B. 1908

Club Movement and *"still breathes the robust manliness of a writer deeply conscious of the need to counteract the tendencies of the time. 'Working Lads' Clubs' was and was meant to be the manual of a social resistance movement"*[39]. The book covered the purpose, principles and methods of the work with boys and articulated how Boys' Clubs were to be a positive means of meeting the physical, moral and spiritual needs of working boys. Their motto was *"Quit you like men, be strong" (1 Corinthians 6).* In this we see the attempt to connect the concepts of manliness and godliness.

The importance of Russell's book is not just that it was the first text book on Boys' Clubs but, like the Scouts which started at the same time, it connected the work to the training of boys for good citizenship. He stressed very clearly the three tenets of *Recreation, Education and Religion.* He wrote *"The primary objective of 'keeping lads off the street' has gradually grown into the altogether wider and larger conception of moulding their characters and physique until the elements be so mixed in them that nature may proclaim them men. The making of men! That, in a word, is the ideal aimed at, and we hope to show that it is not altogether unfulfilled."*[40] From this early writing, Russell was determined to show that getting young men off the streets was not the primary and only purpose of Boys' Clubs. He instructed leaders to, *"look ahead; look to the man who is beyond the boy."*[41] Eagar (1953) refers to the work of many of the writers who followed Russell in this period of early 20th century (and many who worked with boys) as *"professional thinkers… several were amateur thinkers in the Labour Movement"*[42]. For Russell, and those who followed, the perception of the working boy as a social problem was an important factor in their thinking.

The timing of the book coincided with the first edition of *Scouting for Boys*[43] which made 1908 something of a landmark year in publications about work with boys.

Whilst the Belfast Girls' Club Union was set up in 1908 following the establishment of the first Girls' Club in Britain in 1904, we have not found any comparable developments in the Boys' Club movement in Ireland, north or south, until the 1940s.

Different approaches to Girls' Work and Boys' Work

As we track the development of Girls' and Boys' Clubs up to the establishment of the Northern Ireland State in 1921, we find it is in girls' work that there are more developments. In 1911, the National Association of Girls' Clubs, which was the forerunner of the National Association of Youth Clubs, was formed.

Boys' Clubs and Girls' Clubs differed in more than simply the gender of their membership. The National Association of Girls' Clubs, formed by an amalgamation of the National Council of Women and the Women's Industrial Council around 1894, developed into an overarching umbrella organisation for work with girls made up of affiliated organisations, including the Girls Friendly Society (founded in 1875) and the YWCA, (founded 1855).

[39] Eagar W. 1953
[40] Ibid opt cited
[41] Ibid opt cited
[42] Ibid opt cited
[43] Baden-Powell R. 1908

Girls' Clubs were often meeting places for girls, who were away from home eg. in domestic service or working in a factory, provided by churches and individuals concerned for their spiritual and moral protection. Eagar, in his book, *Working with Men*[44] reflected on work with girls and believed that *"work for girls was not clearly differentiated from work for women, and no particular aim was laid to provide for adolescence rather than young womanhood. Girls continued to be girls in Girls' Club context at an age when boys had long since become men."*

Batsleer (2012) emphasised the connection that this early girl's work had to the women's movement and *"female emancipation and the vote that was inspired by Christian values"*[45]. She referred to the period from the founding of YWCA in 1853 as one of philanthropy and when the National Association of Girls Clubs was founded in 1910, Batsleer said this as the *"climax of the first wave of feminism."*[46]

Uniformed Organisations

The Church has been historically associated with many uniformed organisations for boys and girls, attached to the churches and run by volunteers. So it is unsurprising that the roots of the church and youth work lay in the Sunday School movement.

"The Sunday school movement is deemed to be the precursory form of youth work and is accredited as being founded by Robert Raikes in 1780."[47]

The Presbyterian Church based a lot of its youth work on the Sunday School Society founded in 1804. In 1844 the development of Christian youth work was spurred on by George Williams who had been influenced by the Sunday school movement and ragged schools when he set up the YMCA. Their first International Conference in Paris in 1851 provided the basis for the values of the service of youth and youth work of that time (see above).[48]

Rock[49] in his doctoral thesis identifies the Christian Endeavour Movement as important. He cites Brierley, who pointed out that *"the International Christian Endeavour Movement was to become an integral part of Primitive Methodist Church life".*[50] And this became the start of Christian Endeavour (CE) in England around the late 1870s. CE was aimed at young people aged fourteen and older, and sought to *"encourage social and educational interests as part of a serious Christian commitment."*[51]

The 1870 Education Act not only led to new forms of social and educational service to children and young people, but also prompted churches to rethink the purpose and content of their Sunday school work. Meir states there was a concern that *"the Education Act could result in a generation growing up with,*

[44] Ibid opt cited
[45] Coussee F et al 2012
[46] Ibid opt cited
[47] Rock W.D. 2008
[48] Hubery. Ibid opt cited
[49] Rock Ibid opt cited
[50] Brierley D. 2003. Youth Work Resources. These reasons were also central to the development of Church Special Service Mission, later renamed Scripture Union, and the Crusaders movement.
[51] Milburn G. 2002

'polished intellects but polluted hearts' unless boys and girls were trained as Christians."[52]

CE was introduced to Ireland in 1889. "It was in 1889 that Miss Margaret Magill from Agnes Street Presbyterian Church, Belfast, read of this new organisation and decided to introduce it to her Sunday School Class. Thus CE had come to Ireland."[53]

Uniformed organisations for young people evolved at a time when it appeared that something was needed to address the signs of juvenile restlessness and, from the time the first one started in 1890, development was relatively rapid. We referred earlier to the pioneers of youth work and their charismatic zeal sitting alongside a driving religious and moral interest and desire to help young people who were being harshly treated by a system that exploited their labour and it is this combination that provided the ingredients for the first uniformed organisations.

Davidoff (1976) writes about the rigid hierarchical structure of society at this time whereby:

"The central belief that emerged was that of the male breadwinner gaining a livelihood through work, and maintaining his female (and child dependents) within the home… in his view, husband and wife were the archetype: but father and child, brother and sister, uncle and niece, master and servant reproduced the relationships of clientage and dependency"[54]*. There was a fixed hierarchy and expectation of boys and girls, men and women and, as such, within this framework, uniformed organisations, for boys first and then girls, emerged.*

1883 - The Boys' Brigade

To maintain the strict order of things, whether on class or gender lines, seemed to be one of the driving forces of the early pioneers of uniformed work. William Smith, the founder of the Boys' Brigade (1883), articulated his desire to establish his movement in the midst of an age of nationalism and militarism. In a speech in 1907 he declared, *"I knew that every lad was proud of being a British boy, and yet they seemed rather ashamed of being Christian boys. This convinced me that the Sunday School would become more popular with the lads if we had an organisation that appealed to their national pride. The first company was organised, and the quick response convinced me that I had reasoned correctly."*[55]

Prior to this, in 1887, Smith stated that *"by associating Christianity with all that was most noble and manly in a boy's sight, we would be going a long way to disabuse his mind of the idea that there is anything effeminate or weak about Christianity."*[56] Smith was clearly forthright and was clear in his intentions. Glasgow was the location of the first BB company because, by 1880, Smith was in business there with his brother; had already set up a Young Men's Club there, modelled on the YMCA; and was secretary of the Sunday School Teachers' Society. According to Springhall (1977), Smith was looking for *"a method of*

[52] Meir J.K. 1971.
[53] Rock Ibid opt cited
[54] Davidoff L and Hawthorn R. 1976
[55] Smith W. 1907
[56] Smith W. 1887.

controlling the rowdy working class boys attending his Mission Society School"[57]*.* On 4th October 1883 the Boys' Brigade, 1st Glasgow Company, was launched with its own crest, title, motto and object. A year later the first Bible Class was held.

The crest of the Boys' Brigade is an anchor, its motto '*Sure and Steadfast'* (taken from the Epistle to the Hebrews, chapter 6 verse 19 and spelt as from the King James translation of the Bible), and its object established as: '*the advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys, and the promotion of habits of Reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness'.* In 1893 '*Obedience'* was added as the first of the habits to be promoted.[58]

The first Boys' Brigade Company in Ireland (north) was formed (in St Mary Magdalene Parish Church Belfast) on the last day of 1888 with 44 boys enrolled, whilst in 1893 the Girls' Brigade was founded in Sandymount, Dublin. By the end of the century (1899) the BB had grown to 66 companies with an enrolment of 2,637 boys[59]. According to Springhall (1977) these church-based companies were spread out across Church of Ireland, Presbyterian, Methodist and Moravian churches. Expansion in Ireland mirrored an uninterrupted expansion throughout the British Isles.

The story of the BB in Belfast is associated particularly with William McVicker who wanted to do something for boys from poor parts of Belfast when he was secretary of a Mission Sunday School. He was inspired by Smith and travelled to meet him in Glasgow before returning home enthused and committed to setting up a company. According to BB records, the ambition to establish a Belfast BB company did not always sit comfortably with the city magistrates.

"Anyone in Belfast trying to form a religious youth movement was asking for trouble, especially if it involved drill with rifles."[60]

The magistrates equated the BB Company with illegal activity of the past in the form of the Whiteboys[61] which was a secret Irish patriotic and agrarian society in the 18th century, or the Ribbonmen of the 19th century, which both used violent tactics to defend tenant farmer land rights. With talk of drills, bands and parades, the BB seemed, to some magistrates, to be close to what was deemed to be an illegal organisation, but the determined McVicker pursued his goal and was finally granted permission to establish the first Belfast Company in St. Mary Magdalene Parish Church with himself as Captain. Within three years of the establishment of this first company (1888), there were 13 in Belfast, (this meant they could form the Belfast Battalion), and nine others across Ulster. They followed the Glasgow formula of drill, PT (physical training), Bible Class, with football or cricket for outdoors depending on the season.

The spread of the BB was not confined to Ulster and, following a visit to Belfast by a Dublin clergyman in 1891 and a reading of *'the little red book',* the first company was started in Dublin the following year in 1892.

[57] Springhall J. 1977
[58] Austin E. 1959
[59] Springhall J. Ibid opt cited
[60] See The Outlaws from BB website on History of BB in NI.
[61] Richardson W. 1979

1891 - Church Lads' Brigade

But the BB did not have it all its own way as the sole uniformed organisation for boys in the late 19th century, for in 1891 the Church Lads' Brigade was founded in London by Walter Mallock Gee. Two years later, the first company in Ireland was formed in Dublin in 1893, followed by St Luke's Parish Church, Belfast in 1895. Gee was said to have established the Church Lads' Brigade in London because *"he was prevented by Reverend ES Hillard, the Rector of St Andrew's Parish Church in Dunham from forming a company of the Boys' Brigade, due to its undenominational nature, and so this group met as the St Andrew's Lads' Brigade."*[62]

So a separate Church of Ireland organisation, out of necessity rather than design, emerged in the form of the Church Lads' Brigade, followed by the formation of the London Diocesan Church Lads' Brigade in 1892 as a separate organisation based on principles of total abstinence, and the Church Lads' Brigade without the requirement of total abstinence. Gee was aware of the potential controversy about the similarities between BB and Church Lads' Brigade and set about, in a cordial way, to separate the two organisations. In a letter to Smith in 1891 he wrote, *"I am aware of the great power of the organisation that I am most anxious that my church should have the full benefit of it, but I fear, as things are at present, there is little chance. I speak of course, from knowing the 'ins and outs' of the Ecclesiastical mind of the English Church."*[63] Following exchanges between Smith and Gee that reflected Gee's intention to see his organisation affiliated to the BB, the BB Executive wrote to Gee in 1891 expressing their regret *"that you had felt it necessary to form a separate organisation outside the BB."*[64]

In Ireland, north and south, the Church Lads' Brigade grew and by 1897 there were 24 companies, 14 in the southern dioceses and 10 in the north. By the turn of the century there were 44 parishes in Ireland recording a company. By 1912, however, all the Dublin companies were disbanded *"probably as a result of the Brigade becoming a cadet force, and at a time when the political climate in Ireland was hotting up. In the south only isolated units in Limerick and Cork remained."*[65]

Conn[66] reports that the Church Lads' Brigade hit its lowest point in terms of the number of companies around 1918 with only 19 companies in the north and a membership of 1,048 boys. This was at the end of the war and by the formation of the Irish Free State and a separate Northern Ireland in 1921, the Church Lads' Brigade had only a scattered number of companies across Ireland.

1893 - Girls' Brigade

Whilst the boys were getting organised in their uniforms, the story of the Girls' Brigade in Ireland begins in 1893 when a group of girls in Dublin gathered for singing practice and were introduced to drill. Many of the girls had brothers in the BB and identified with them and wished to follow their example. This became the

[62] Conn J. 1991
[63] Ibid opt cited
[64] Ibid opt cited
[65] Ibid opt cited
[66] Ibid opt cited

founding company'[67] and another followed in Dublin in 1896. The official recognition for the Girls' Brigade came in 1908.

"An item in the minutes of 2nd October 1908, made history: it read as follows: 'A resolution was passed unanimously that we adopt the scheme of the Boys' Brigade so far as applicable to girls and call our organisation the Girls' Brigade."[68] As with the BB the twin pillars of Bible Class and Physical training were adopted but by 1910 *"the Girls' Brigade was clearly doing its own thing, having benefited from the experienced back-up of the BB."*[69]

The story of uniformed work with girls is one of separate development and then amalgamation. Whilst the Girls' Brigade opened in Dublin in 1893, the Girls' Guildry, formed in Scotland in 1900, was followed by the Girls' Life Brigade. (Eventually the two organisations amalgamated as the Girls' Brigade in 1956). All three organisations developed their uniformed work, with programmes designed to meet the needs of girls and young women as they saw them at that time. By the 1920s they had branches across the world with the first overseas groups starting up in Jamaica. The Girls' Brigade in Northern Ireland grew significantly after the Second World War (see Chapter 2).

The Church Girls' Brigade began in London in 1901 as the Church Red Cross Brigade but in 1911 the 'Red Cross' part was dropped. The first Church Girls' Brigade company in Ireland opened in 1929 at St Barnabas' Parish Church Belfast, but this closed after the blitz of 1941. In 1945 Seagoe Church Girls' Brigade, Portadown opened and is the oldest surviving company in Northern Ireland.

1904 - The Scouts

Whilst the Boys' Brigade, Girls' Brigade, Girls' Guildry, Girls' Life Brigade and Church Lads' Brigade were developing, another youth movement, the Scouts, inspired by Baden-Powell's vision, was established in 1904. Baden-Powell *"probably inspired by the public school code of Charterhouse… found its ultimate expression in the old Scout Law - honour, loyalty and duty - were the emotional moulds within which British public school attitudes set"*[70] . His inspiration for Scouting is also said to have come from *"a mixture of experiences gradually gathered in training recruits in the army."*[71]

Springhall traces the term *'Boy Scout'* to the editor of a magazine, *Boys of the Empire,* who serialised some of the contents of Baden-Powell's *Aids to Scouting* under the heading "*The Boy Scout".* This is the first known use of the term around 1900-01. Baden-Powell's manual *'Aids to Scouting',* written in 1899, played an important role in enabling the last of the letters to get through the Boer lines before the siege of Mafeking (1899-1900), which lasted 217 days, during which Baden-Powell was the Garrison Commander.

[67] The Girls Brigade. 1983
[68] Ibid opt cited
[69] Ibid opt cited
[70] Spinghall J. Ibid opt cited and taken from 'The Origins of Scouting for Boys' (n.d) Scout Archives, London.
[71] Baden-Powell. cited in Springhall J 1977

"Like a time-bomb quietly ticking away, a manual intended for soldiers was taken up by youth leaders and teachers. This set Baden-Powell thinking about adapting it for boys."[72] From the time he left the army, Baden-Powell's mission was to establish the Boy Scouts. When asked in 1918 what his purpose was in forming the Boy Scouts as an organisation, Baden-Powell replied *"to counteract, if possible, the deterioration, moral and physical, which shortened our rising generation, and to train the boys to be more efficient and characterful citizens."*[73]

The Scouts, like the uniformed organisations preceding it, was driven mainly by one individual's vision and commitment. Baden-Powell was the inspiring force and personality behind the movement. Since the 1880s the religious and moral drivers for *youth work* were obvious and now Baden-Powell, with his concerns for the physical, as well as the moral health of young men, added a sense of national purpose to the Scouts. He embarked on a significant path to establish a worldwide uniformed movement for young people. The national training of young people was a new dimension to youth work.

Paul Wilkinson (1969)[74], in his review of English Youth Movements, refers to the merging of *"imperialism, social Darwinism, the cult of national efficiency and certain fashionable attitudes towards social reform are among the intellectual currents which all found their way into the influential Scouting ideology of pre 1914."*

The *Scouting for Boys* magazine came out in six fortnightly parts before being issued in hard cover. The impact of this Scout Handbook was far-reaching. Scout Leaders of the time now had a *Handbook for the Instruction in good citizenship through woodcraft*[75]*.* Within it there was a reference to "*camp-fire yarns* and *scout craft, campaigning, camp life, tracking, woodcraft, endurance, chivalry, life saving and patriotism.*[76]"

There is an interesting comparison between the emergence of the Boys' Brigade and Scouts. The BB had its roots in evangelical Christianity and emerged from the perceived social issues facing young men in Glasgow, whilst Scouting had its ideological roots in public school ethos of Charterhouse and colonial warfare of the period. In their own way they both reflected the concerns of the middle classes about the moral, emotional and physical state of young people. There were perceived dangers, from within and without, that threatened the British state and the Empire. At home there was an 'Irish crisis' bubbling under and talk of a trade union movement emerging. Political threats to the order of the day inspired some to do something about it and organise young people into uniforms. The focus of the work was around behavioural modification social containment, alongside their moral and physical improvement.

The Scout Movement in Ireland started in Belfast in late 1907*. "The Boys' Brigade and YMCA and others provided guided activities for boys at the time and there*

[72] Spinghall J. Ibid opt cited
[73] Baden Powell 'Deposition as to the Origins of Scout Movement' affidavit of May 1918 when the Chief Scout appeared at American Consulate, London as a witness in the case of Boy Scouts of America vs. American Boy Scouts, Supreme Court New York taken from Scout Archives, London and cited in Springhall J. Ibid opt cited
[74] Wilkinson P. 1969.
[75] Ibid opt cited
[76] Ibid opt cited

appeared patrols of Baden-Powell Scouts in Belfast in late 1907 and early in 1908."[77] Leaders overlapped with work in Sunday Schools and other boys' organisations. For many young boys, their week would be busy if they went to band practices or drills, Scout meetings and outdoor activities at weekends. The records show that in Ulster and in Great Britain, there was a significant relationship between Baden-Powell's Scouts and the YMCA. A report in the Belfast Telegraph (April 1908) records the following activities in City YMCA, Belfast:

"The YMCA Boy Scouts enjoyed their first march on Saturday afternoon. Their fine appearance attracted much attention as they proceeded through the streets en route to Divis Mountain. Here some time was spent in games, when they returned to the city. The lads were accompanied by Mr. DA Black JP."[78]

This relationship probably reflected Baden-Powell's original intentions, that Scouting would operate alongside other youth movements rather than be something in its own right. Bell[79] (1985), records that the 20th company Boys' Brigade (Mountpottinger YMCA) had a patrol of Baden Powell's Scouts within the company. Lone patrols sprung up around Belfast and the country eg. Crawfordsburn, Bangor and Newcastle. The formula for their meetings was usually one evening a week for indoor activities and then, every Saturday afternoon, head to the nearest open space for fire lighting, tent pitching, camp-fire cooking etc., as prescribed in the Baden-Powell Handbook. As the movement spread, Baden-Powell gave direction to the formation of local advisory committees across the country and the first committee in Ulster was established in 1909.

In 1916 J.H. Norritt wrote:

"The Belfast local Association of Boy Scouts was founded in the month of February 1909, when a meeting of local gentlemen interested in the new Scout Movement was held in Mountpottinger YMCA. Mr. BW Wakefield, Scout Inspector for North of England and Scotland was present, and explained the ways and means of carrying on the Scout Movement which was rapidly growing in the city, and as a result of this meeting it was decided to form a Belfast and District Committee"[80].

By 1912 there were 12 such associations and the Imperial Headquarters of Scouts in London appointed the Earl of Shaftsbury as the first Commissioner for Ireland and Viscount Masserene and Ferrard became the first commissioner for the Province of Ulster. The province of Leinster developed its own troops along the lines of Ulster. By 1911 the intention of the central headquarters in London was that the movement in Ireland should run itself with a headquarters in Dublin under Lord Salisbury, and that each province would have its own Commissioner. Divisions occurred between the provinces after the First World War (1914-18) when the Lord Mayor of Belfast drafted a letter expressing opposition to the formation of a central executive body for Ireland, based in Dublin. He favoured a model where each Province would administer itself and this would require *"a particularly able Provincial Commissioner and one who is acceptable in all parts of the Province."* [81] Shortly afterwards, the Earl of Leitrim was appointed

[77] Bell M. A. 1985
[78] Belfast Telegraph 1908 cited in Bell. M Ibid opt cited
[79] Ibid Opt cited
[80] Bell M. Ibid opt cited
[81] Bell M. Ibid opt cited

Commissioner for Ulster and Robert Patterson was appointed Assistant Commissioner for the Province. External political conflicts left their mark on the Scouting Movement in Ireland with this dispute. But the movement in Ulster flourished up to and well beyond the formation of the Northern Irish state and each county of Ulster recorded a growth in Scout troops. The north of Ireland was well represented at the International Jamboree at Olympia, London *"with 187 Scouts, 21 Cubs and 23 Officers travelling to London on 28th July (1920)"*[82] sporting their new special Ulster Badge with a red hand and a green shamrock and red scarves were used. The following Northern Ireland Jamboree was also well supported.

1910 - Girl Guides and other off-shoots

To Baden-Powell's surprise, girls appeared at the first Boy Scout rally at Crystal Palace in London in 1909, describing themselves as Girl Scouts. Reference to Girl Scouts appeared in *Headquarters Gazette* that year and in 1910 and the Guide Movement was formally established with Olive Baden-Powell, the Chief Scout's wife, being appointed Chief Guide Commissioner in 1914. Girl Guiding Ulster began in 1910. The 1st Belfast Company Girl Guides was formed *"and the earliest reference in Scouting records to Guides here being involved in a Scout event is in 'The Scout', April 1911, when a report is given of Guides taking part in a concert given by the 7th Belfast Troops in Rosemary Street Hall, Belfast."*[83]

Scouting catered for young people aged 11 to 18. After WW1, however, there was the development (1919) of Wolf Cub Scouts, and records also show a meeting of Junior Scouts in Clara Street, Belfast in 1914 and Bell (1985)[84] records that *"The Belfast Association firmly believed that 'if every Scout Troop had a Wolf Cub Pack established as its feeding and training medium our standard of efficiency would be greatly increased'... in October 1916 all Cub Officers in Belfast formed a separate Committee.*"

In an attempt to retain the older boys Belfast followed Baden-Powell's lead when, in 1919, a patrol of the Rover Scouts was connected to the 26th Belfast Troop and registered with Headquarters.

The origin of *Sea Scouts* can be traced back to 1911, but it was not until a year later (1912) that interest was shown in Ireland when the *Headquarters Gazette* reported the formation of Sea Scout Troops in Dublin, Bray, Malahide, Ardmore, Wicklow and Belfast. At the end of the War there was a revival in interest in Sea Scouting and the first registration of a Sea Scout Troop in Ireland took place in January 1919 of a Sea Scout Troop affiliated to the 25th Scout Troop linked to City YMCA (Belfast).

Summary

The political backdrop of the 19th century into the early 20th century in Ireland was one where Catholic and Protestant young people went to separate schools, played different sports and the governance of the country was contested. The state had

[82] Bell Ibid opt cited
[83] Bell M. Ibid opt cited
[84] Ibid opt cited

a hands-off approach to youth work and was content that individuals with a moral and social duty addressed the needs of young people with their religious and charitable desire to improve life for young people. At the heart of the youth work of that time was a relational-driven approach to working with young people. Although there was a strong evangelical emphasis, the nature of the leadership demanded a more personal relationship with young people than, say, a school teacher and pupil. Relationships were at its core and this very much represents the basis of youth work today.

Davies in his paper '*Defined by History: youth work in the UK*'[85] sums this period up very well when he says that, *"...the work of these original youth work sponsors… was probably intuitive, pragmatic, heavily reliant on trial and error… the 'youth leadership' that was pioneered in 1860s and 1870s and into 1900s was designed and constructed; drawing on self-conscious analysis of the needs and characteristics of the groups to be attracted; incorporating learning from the experience of actually doing the work; generating a small but significant literature; and, through this, disseminating that experience more widely…From the start it (youth leadership) was an endeavour which, though added to and refined over the next century and a half, went a long way towards defining the core features of practice with young people which distinguished it from other approaches."*

This early period, therefore, represents the birth and roots of youth work and many of the core features of this early practice have laid the foundation for modern youth work practice in terms of choice, voluntary attendance, education, welfare, moral improvement, physical improvement and spiritual wellbeing.

"The recurrent features of this new youth leadership were voluntary attendance; education through leisure time activity; a focus on the individual and a personalised relationship with him or her or their peer group; participative approaches. As these came together over the decades, they defined a distinctive practice which was handed onto, and progressively consolidated and developed by, subsequent generations of youth leaders and their advocates."[86]

However, there are also examples of how these pioneering organisations were affected by the political and religious divisions in Ireland. For example, the magistrate's reaction to the Boys Brigade drilling with rifles; the formation of the Church Lads' Brigade because the Boys' Brigade was too ecumenical and the reluctance to have a Scout Headquarters in Dublin are examples of an *Irish* take on British developments in the area of youth work. The important thing to note is that, in spite of pressures, these youth organisations flourished all over Ireland.

Another feature of the late 19th and early 20th century youth work that comes through during this period is the separate movements and organisations for boys and girls, young men and young women, that emerged. This is strongest within the uniformed sector but is also reflected in the embryonic youth club movement.

The leadership that emerged in those days was that of individuals with drive and vision and determination to do something on a voluntary basis. As will unfold in

[85] Davies B. 2009
[86] Ibid opt cited

later chapters, many a new youth organisation is started by that one person who rallies support, and funding, to create something new and relevant to the needs of young people.

Some of the early youth work language eg. from the YMCA mission, has resonance today when it refers to the *"genuine involvement of young people"* and *"community of justice"*[87] and is not alien to the contemporary references to *participation* and *social justice,* while other language elsewhere very much reflects the attitudes of the time towards young people. The focus of early youth work was young people 14+ (who at that time had finished their schooling and were entering work) and on improving their moral, physical and religious well-being. The youth work focus was the after-school young person with the presumption that pre-14 was the proviso of the formal education system. Whilst youth work now has a remit for 4-25, there remains an emphasis on the 14-20 age group and less of a division between formal education and informal education.

In the story of girls' work and boys' work we can see different emphases in practice. Whilst some writers in boys' work eg. Russell, made reference to how the "*'Working Lads' Clubs was and was meant to be the manual of a social resistance movement"*[88] the practice was driven and dominated by recreation, religion and education. It was left to the Girls' Work to provide a political dimension to the practice eg. Pethick and *"the club as the social organisation of women"*[89]*.* The working conditions of the time for both young men and young women were poor and it seemed it was the work with the Girls' Movement that deliberately connected the youth club to the workplace and actively combined the two.

The story of uniformed organisations is different for boys and girls. The Boys' Brigade, Girls' Brigade, Girls' Guildry, Church Lads' Brigade, Scouts, and so on, emerged as connected but each in their own right. They provided choice for young people but also kept young men and women apart and required a loyalty to the aims of original founders whilst maintaining an independence from one another often on religious or moral grounds.

The journey in the service of youth has begun and the roots are laid, and we have reached the point where we focus on youth work in the newly created Northern Ireland state.

[87] Prouty Shedd Ibid Opt Cited
[88] Russell Ibid Opt Cited
[89] Davidoff et al Ibid Opt Cited








2 Investing in Lives

Chapter 2

1921-1959
Growing a Youth Service

CHAPTER 2

1921-1959 : GROWING A YOUTH SERVICE

The State, its emerging interest and funding of the youth service

As highlighted in Chapter 1, a series of Home Rule Bills were placed in Parliament, Westminster in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, despite fierce opposition from Unionists in Ireland in general and Ulster, in particular, mobilised under Edward Carson to resist Home Rule. The First World War interrupted progress and the Easter Rising 1916 in Dublin and the sacrifice of large numbers of soldiers at the Somme and other battles hardened the divisions that already existed in Ireland. Eventually, the Government of Ireland Act of December 1920 and the Anglo-Irish Treaty of the following year recognised the Irish Free State as a self-governing Dominion, but excluded the six counties in the north of Ireland, resulting in civil war in the Irish Free State and the establishment of six of the nine counties of Ulster, as Northern Ireland within the UK.

The seeds and roots of the modern Youth Service in Northern Ireland are owed to an independent voluntary sector that drew on the commitment and social and political consciousness of individual pioneers in Britain and Ireland. State sponsorship was not an issue in the 19th and early 20th century as an emergent youth service took hold. Northern Ireland had its own political complexities after it was set up in December 1920.

Developments in the rest of Ireland

Across the United Kingdom, up until the Second World War (WW2), the Youth Service was run almost entirely by volunteers and with philanthropic financial support. There was little legislative activity or apparent interest in youth work by the Northern Ireland state prior to the onset of WW2. But, in the Irish Free State, through the Vocational Education Act of 1930, the State demonstrated an awakening interest. This Vocational Act replaced the former Technical Instruction Committees with Vocational Education Committees (VECs) whose remit included *'continuation education'* that supplemented education provided in the elementary schools, for example, preparing young people for trades, manufacturing, agriculture, etc. The focus of the Act was on practical training for young people to prepare them for employment in these trades. *"This provided the basis for establishment not only of the vocational school system throughout the country but also for the first (and for many years only) significant statutory intervention in youth work and setting up in Dublin in 1942 of Comhairle Le Leas Oige (Council for Welfare of Youth, now City of Dublin Youth Board)."*[90] During the drafting stages of this Bill, the Minister of Education, speaking at the Technical Congress in Limerick, June 1928, said *"Technical education ought not to be merely the teaching of the trade and the handicraft, but its aim should also be the personality of the individual as a member of a trade, as a member of a family, and of a community."* [91] The personal and social development of young people was

[90] Devlin M. 1930 Rev Richard S Devane SJ in Youth Studies Ireland Volume 3 number 2 Autumn/Winter 2008
[91] Devane Rev. S.J. 2008

therefore placed within a formal education structure in the Republic of Ireland from this point.

Physical Training and Recreation NI Act

The interest of the Northern Ireland State in, and funding for, youth work was to first come about through the Physical Training and Recreation NI Act 1938 (this Act followed on from England and Wales Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937). This gave impetus to the work of many organisations in the emerging infrastructure of a youth service in Northern Ireland. Basically, this 1938 Northern Ireland Act established a grants committee and National Fitness Council. The Ministry of Education was empowered to make grants towards the expenses of local authorities, school boards of governors and central voluntary organisations in providing, or in aiding, the provision of physical training and recreation. It could even be made *"to reputable organisations such as Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Boys' Brigade etc."*[92]

It is important to examine the outworking of the Physical Training and Recreation Act (NI) 1938 as an indicator of the importance of the State's first major intervention into youth work here. As this was primarily a means of distributing *grants,* an examination of the minutes of the committee responsible for this reveals that they considered a number of applications early in 1939.

Under the heading *'Applications for Grants for summer camps' "the Committee decided, however, not to recommend grants for the purpose as it was considered the provision of clubs and other facilities for young people during the winter months to be more of a pressing problem and one which might require all the limited resources placed at the disposal of the Ministry."*[93]

Within this set of minutes, the Women's League of Health*, "had been promised a grant before outbreak of war so they were given it for 1939-40 and then (it would be) reviewed next year"* and Belfast Girls' Club Union (see previous chapter) applied for grant toward the expenses of the club organiser and the *"matter deferred pending the adoption of the Union of a suitable constitution".* The Girls' Club Union met this condition and the way was clear for a grant to be considered. At this same meeting, the Independent Loyal Orange Lodge Boys' Club applied for a grant towards the cost of equipment and *"£24 approved and the equipment is being purchased by NI Council of Social Service, and loaned free to the club for as long as it may be required."*[94]

An interesting aspect of this meeting of the grant givers was some of the reasons given to applicants who did not receive a grant and these included Belfast Newsboys' Club and Banbridge Amateur Boxing Club as *"it did not appear that the clubs were in great need of financial assistance".* On the plus side, Ballymena Boxing and Gymnastic Clubs were visited by the secretary to the grants committee and he recommended *"brightening up the premises eg. dressing room, showers etc."*[95] There is also reference in these minutes of attempts to open a

[92] Ministry of Education (NI) HMSO 1938
[93] Extract of Minutes of Physical and Training Act grants committee 1939
[94] Ibid opt cited
[95] Ministry of Education letter Ibid opt cited

mixed club in East Belfast. The term *mixed* is in reference to gender and not religion at this time.

The need for young people to be physically fit to serve in the armed forces in WW2 was highlighted in a letter from J.M. Henderson (secretary) Ministry of Education, to the Federation of Boys' Clubs regarding the Physical Education Scheme for young people (aged 14-18). He stressed that this should not be seen as a new scheme *"as it is part of the existing work of the Education Policy for Youth the intention of the Physical Department to encourage collaboration with the war office is to try and get Army Physical Directors to supervise training scheme. The War Office have (sic) consented to this principally owing to the fact that it has found the present conscripts are not considered up to standard."*[96]

Another letter from the Ministry of Education, signed by Secretary B.R. Brownell, stated:

"It is well known that in Northern Ireland the provision of recreational and welfare facilities for the adolescent is not as widespread as in GB; particularly there is a lack of boys' and girls' clubs for the children of the poorer classes, and the scope of even the better known organisations - such as the Brigades and Scouts - is by no means as extensive as in England."[97]

This perspective from government officials may also demonstrate the new Northern Ireland state's lack of awareness of the youth service as it existed at the time. This example of heightened state activity through grants, via the Physical Training and Recreation Act NI, marked the first of what would be a developing state - voluntary sector interface around youth work, in general and, in particular, the payment of grants towards the work. Grants from the Physical and Training Act committee continued up until the creation of a Youth Committee in 1944 and included grant payments in *"February 1940 to Enniskillen Boys Scouts (£7); Welfare Clubs for Unemployed men YMCA a shower bath (£26); Banbridge Boy Scouts for PT instructor (£8); Rathfriland BB - gym apparatus (£10); YMCA gym (equipment £27); Portrush Display (£201)."*[98]

Service of Youth Circular

Whilst this 1938 Northern Ireland Act was important, it was the British 1939 Circular 1486 (UK) *"The Service of Youth"*[99] that marked a watershed in youth work and the state's emerging interest in it. It encouraged local authorities to be more active in youth work and set up Youth Committees. It is usually taken as marking the beginning of the youth service in England and Wales. State interest in providing funding for youth organisations was partly driven by thoughts of an imminent war and the need for statutory intervention to tackle the poor physical condition of military conscripts and the potential that war had to disrupt family life.

The 1486 Circular referred to the need for 'Youth Welfare' to be seen as part of the Education service, once again confirming the relationship of youth work and

[96] Letter from Ministry of Education 1940
[97] Letter Ministry of Education March 1940
[98] Minutes for Physical and Training grants committee (HMSO) 1939 – 1940.
[99] The Service of Youth Circular 1486 HMSO London 1939

education. Furthermore, 'youth' was defined as the age between leaving school at 14 years and 21 years. Funding for youth work was to come through the new *Social and Physical Training Grant* regulations (linked to the Circular).

Youth work, within the responsibility of Education, saw an emerging closer relationship with the state. At the start of the Second World War in 1939, the Board of Education in England and Wales called the *Youth Service* into being by bringing the key parties of the State, Education and voluntary organisations together into a working arrangement to which the term *Youth Service* has remained ever since.

The reality of youth clubs and youth provision across the UK, however, was a sparse and patchy one. An important part of this Circular was the establishment of the Board of Education with responsibility for *"youth welfare"* and the policy proposed that there would be a branch of the Board created to administer grants for maintaining and developing youth work facilities. Alongside this, there was to be a National Youth Committee to advise the Minister of Education.

What is also interesting is the use of language within the Circular. It opened with the statement that:

"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."[100]

These sentiments and actual words can be traced back to the early pioneers of boys' and girls' clubs and uniformed organisations (although they were often more about religious and moral education). But within the Circular there are some key phrases that refer to the *"close association of local education authorities and voluntary bodies in full partnership in a common enterprise.. .an ordered scheme of local provision...new constructive outlets"*[101], and in these words we can see the state's intention to work in partnership and a desire to bring some order to the youth service. What is also interesting is that within months of the 1486 Circular a second one was issued in 1940 (no. 1516) that is now referred to as, `*The Challenge of Youth*'[102] and this immediately shows a shift in emphasis from the previous (1486) Circular that desired to be *"The Service of Youth".*

The 1516 (1940) Circular declared that youth work was about *"the building of character: this implies developing the whole personality of the individual boys and girls to enable them to take their place as full members of a free community."*[103] In this statement we have the early beginning of youth work being known and understood to be about the personal and social development of the whole of the young person and the importance of those young people belonging to a community and a society with a part to play and a sense of place. This is a language that sits comfortably today when referring to the service. In England and Wales, Circulars 1486 and 1516 are important landmarks in youth work and through them the Youth Service got a name and formal identity. Youth work, or 'Youth Welfare', which was the preferred term at the time, was defined within the

[100] Board of Education (1939) The Service of Youth, London (HMSO)
[101] Ibid opt cited
[102] Board of Education. The Challenge of Youth. London (HMSO) 1940
[103] HMSO (1940) Ibid opt cited

Circulars as having *"a general aim...which links all youth organisations to one another and to the schools"*[104] and referred to the *"social and physical training"* with an "*overriding purpose".* It went on to identify *leadership* and the important role of youth leaders as an essential component of any service.

Education Reform

The 'Butler' Education Act of 1944 provided for free secondary education for all pupils in England and Wales and, eventually, this was extended to Scotland and Northern Ireland. In Northern Ireland, the Education Act (NI) 1947, which was modelled on the 'Butler' Act, is said to have been one of the most significant policies in education, providing the opportunity for poorer members of society to stay on in school to complete their education and potentially, for some, carry on to university with fee and grant support. The main tenets of the Act were: education was to be compulsory for all children up to the age of 15; primary education would end at age 11 when children would be assessed by tests which would determine what type of secondary school they would attend. Facilities such as milk and dinners would be made available and the funding for the Voluntary (Catholic) schools would be raised to 65%. Grants for third level education were also introduced which opened the doors of the universities to many less well-off people:

"The full social and political impact of educational advance resulting from these reforms was not fully felt until the mid-1960s when, largely as a result of the 1947 Act, higher education became available to all able children regardless of social class since the great majority of pupils in secondary schools had their tuition fees paid by the education and library boards. This is still the case today. However, education was now organised along strictly segregated lines."[105]

In Northern Ireland the political and social context for an education system was not straightforward:

"In the period running up to the setting up of the Northern Ireland state, education became one of the battlegrounds between Ulster unionism and Irish nationalism. What existed was a situation whereby the overwhelming majority of Irish schools were under denominational control, even though they were financed chiefly by the state. The primary school system (national school system) was in theory non-denominational but, in practice, control of all but a few was vested in the parish clergy. The two main Protestant churches, the Church of Ireland and the Presbyterian Church, had been very opposed to the national system at its inception. By the time the Church of Ireland had been disestablished in 1870, more and more schools under its management affiliated to the national system. Within the Presbyterian Church, especially in the northern counties, strenuous opposition to the national school system was expressed. Pressure was brought to bear in the late 1830s to change the regulations so that school managers might be allowed a greater degree of control over their own schools in order to determine for themselves who should be granted access and in what format religious instruction would be provided. This campaign was largely successful and schools under Presbyterian auspices joined the national system. By the early 20th

[104] Ibid opt cited
[105] PRONI Ibid opt cited

century the main Protestant churches - Church of Ireland, Presbyterian and Methodist - were so well integrated into the national system that they had few, if any, complaints about it"[106].

In effect what happened with the formation of Northern Ireland was that the new administration inherited 2,040 national schools, 75 intermediate schools, 12 model schools, 45 technical schools, one teacher training college (St Mary's), Queen's University and Magee College. It was into this mix that *youth welfare* and *youth work* were placed.

Youth Welfare Reform

It is against this background that emerging interest in youth work in Northern Ireland is set. The 1938 Physical Training and Recreation (Northern Ireland) Act represented a start in the state taking a closer interest in youth work. This Act led to the setting up of a working party, led by H.M. Thompson, around 1942, by the then Northern Ireland Minister of Education, John Hanna Robb, (see below for more detail on the Thompson Report) to look into the problems affecting the welfare of young people and to suggest ways of solving these problems. *"As a consequence of their recommendations a Youth Welfare Act was passed in 1944, and a Youth Welfare Committee for Northern Ireland was created. Its remit was to conduct youth surveys, review the existing facilities for youth welfare, physical training and recreation, and to direct public interest into these matters."*[107]

The 1944 Youth Welfare Act (NI) *"broadened the scope of youth work to include all aspects of youth work for which grants could be made. The rate of grant to local voluntary organisations was raised from 50% to 75%, and the Youth Welfare Act (NI) 1947, enabled the Ministry to pay grants to central voluntary organisations at the same rate as the 1944 Act authorised for local organisations."*[108]

The challenge for voluntary youth organisations was to ensure they held on to their independence whilst the state increasingly required appropriate accounting procedures for how the money was spent to ensure the funding was spent in ways that contributed to the state agenda.

The years from 1938 to 1960 were quite a vibrant period for this emerging state interest in Youth Welfare. With various Acts and Circulars across the UK, youth work and the state became more connected. Alongside the 'traditional' youth service agencies at that time, new voluntary organisations, working in different ways with young people, began to emerge in Northern Ireland eg. Mencap (1946); St John's Ambulance Brigade and Save the Children Fund NI (1952); Irish Methodist Church's Youth Department (1954); and Outward Bound Trust (1955, originally founded in 1941 as a survival school for merchant seamen but developed into its current form in England in 1946). An important appointment in 1948 was Northern Ireland's first specialist Youth Work Inspector appointed by Ministry of Education, Con Smith, who had been a Youth Officer in Sheffield. During the war he was in the RAF and had previously trained as a PE teacher in

[106] PRONI. Public Records Office Northern Ireland. HMSO 2007.
[107] PRONI Ibid opt cited
[108] PRONI Ibid opt cited

Loughborough. This appointment in Northern Ireland was a significant landmark in state interest in youth work.

The Youth Committee

A significant development for youth work, and one that advanced its standing in Northern Ireland, came with the 1944 Youth Welfare (Northern Ireland) Act, Section 2 (3) and the creation of a Youth Committee. The background to the appointment of a Youth Committee is explained in the opening paragraph of the '*First Annual report of the Youth Committee for Northern Ireland*', in 1945[109].

"Circumstances arising from the war accentuated old problems and created new ones, and the Ministry decided to assume financial responsibility for the encouragement of schemes whereby the cultural and recreational needs of young people might be met more fully. (Physical Training and Recreation Act (NI) 1938). In 1942 a further step was taken, when the Ministry of Education appointed a Committee under Chairmanship of Mr HM Thompson KC "to consider the problems affecting youth welfare in NI and to report to the Ministry and make recommendations as to their solution". One of the conclusions reached by this Committee was that, if the development of the youth service were to progress smoothly the diverse schemes were to be co-ordinated, some central Committee would be desirable with wider powers and functions than those exercised by the existing Grants Committee.

In January 1944, The Youth Welfare Act was passed and Youth Committee for Northern Ireland was established. To this Committee were transferred the powers vested in Physical Training Grants Committee under Act of 1938"

The statutory duties, under this Act, of the Youth Committee were:

(a) In collaboration with the Ministry of Education:

(i) To conduct youth surveys, to review the existing facilities for youth welfare, physical training and recreation, in the various localities, to disseminate information relating to those matters and to direct public interest to the value of youth welfare; and

(ii) To encourage the promotion of schemes giving facilities for youth welfare, physical training and recreation, by providing or arranging for the provision of courses of training or refresher courses for organisers, wardens, instructors and leaders, and of lectures, film displays, and courses of educational and cultural nature for persons for whom such schemes are proposed, or by such other means as may be approved by the Ministry.

(b) To advise the Ministry, education authorities and other bodies and persons interested in youth welfare, physical training and recreation.[110]

[109] First Annual Report Youth Committee HMSO 1945
[110] Youth Welfare Act (NI) 1944 (HMSO)

From this list of duties we can see continued use of the term *youth welfare* as the umbrella term for youth work at this time although it consistently talks about *"youth welfare, physical training and recreation"* and, interestingly, there was a role for the Committee to promote the *value of youth welfare.* The terms used for those working with young people are *organisers, wardens, instructors and leaders* and the link to training courses is an important one within these duties. With the emergence of this Youth Committee the *Youth Service* appears to be on its way and it is not just a *dispensable frill*[111] as an appendage to formal education.

Apart from recommending a permanent Youth Committee, Thompson's sub-committee, set up by the then Northern Ireland Minister of Education, John Hanna Robb, took seriously the task of *"considering the problems of youth welfare"* and came up with an extensive list of recommendations. Thompson[112] divided the recommendations into two categories *"those which should be implemented immediately (or during the war)"* and those that could wait until after the war. Those which should be implemented *immediately* touched upon equality, moral instruction, training and citizenship, youth committees, playgrounds and youth centres, youth leaders (volunteers, part time and full time), physical training and games. The recommendations to be implemented urgently included the following:

- *"Work amongst girls should be regarded as of equal interest with work amongst boys.*
- *In school, moral principles can best be inculcated by an indirect approach, but some definite period should be assigned to bringing these matters before the older pupils in a course of instruction in civics. Senior pupils should be made more fully aware of the responsibilities, as well as the privileges, of citizenship.*
- *A permanent Youth Committee, with both advisory and executive functions, should be established.*
- *Cleared 'blitzed' sites in congested districts should be used temporarily for play purposes.*
- *As well as voluntary helpers, full time, paid leaders with training and experience are required... adequate salaries should be paid and, with a view to a correlation with teaching work, it would be an advantage that (youth) leader's and teacher's salaries should be related.*
- *Short courses of training for part time leaders and helpers are desirable: details should be considered by permanent Youth Committee.*
- *Physical exercise and games should form a large part of the activities of youth organisations and should be further extended in schools where they do not at present form an important part of school work.*
- *The facilities offered by the various youth organisations should be brought to the notice of children while still at school."*[113]

Other Recommendations from Thompson which he did not expect to be implemented immediately included the following:

- *"Provision should be made to meet the spiritual needs of young people... Formal instruction should be supplemented by a right attitude on the part of teachers and youth leaders who should try to guide adolescents through temptations, emotional and other difficulties of this critical phase.*

[111] Davies Ibid opt cited
[112] Thomson Report to Minister of Education 1943 information taken from notes of David Warm.
[113] Extracts from Thompson Committee report 1942

- *Sex instruction is a matter for the parent or, with the parent's consent, for the teacher or youth leader.*
- *Full time, trained play leaders are required for children's playgrounds. Their training need not be so extensive as in the case of youth leaders.*
- *When school buildings are being designed the possibility of their use by youth organisations should be kept in view... In youth centres separate accommodation for boys and girls should be provided, but there should be opportunities for joint activities.*
- *As it is unlikely that many new, fully-equipped (youth) centres can be built during the war, one experimental youth centre, where practical experience can be gained, should be built immediately."*

In the history of youth work in Northern Ireland the appointment of a Youth Committee *with advisory and executive functions* is important. It was:

"laid down that the Minister of Education should endeavour to secure that one half of the members of the Youth Committee 'shall be under 40 years of age.' That same year a Youth Committee was appointed with Dame Debra Parker as its chairman (she resigned in 1949 in order to take-up her appointment as Minister of Health and Local Government). The members were drawn from clergymen, teachers, prominent businessmen and people already engaged in youth organisations such as the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts. Membership was reviewed every three years and the Minister of Education was required to ensure that one half of the members of the Committee were under 40 years of age. Evidence of their commitment is to be found in ED/15/2 where we learn that between 1943 and 1946 they met 46 times and dealt with over 500 applications for grant aid. By 1947 the greatest part of their time was taken up with the training and qualification of youth leaders, arranging summer schools, and, almost inevitably, the consideration of applications for grants."[114]

In a note from W.J. Smyth (14/4/43) to the Minister we see how serious the civil servants from within the Ministry of Education were taking the Youth Committee:

"People actively engaged in youth work should be selected as non departmental members (of this Committee)... If the committee is to be really useful, it must be able to exert a powerful influence. This entails it being given functions and powers to conduct propaganda, to collect and give out information, to promote the co-ordination of various organisations, to conduct training, to arrange activities and form a link between various types of organisations."[115]

There were to be 12 members of the first Youth Committee (11 plus a Chair). The Minster of Education, at the time, was a Presbyterian minister, Very Rev Professor Robert Corkey (1943-44) and he appointed the following people to serve for 2 years on the Youth Committee on 16th Feb 1944:

- Mr S McKelvey Bell (under 40) Young Farmers Clubs (replaced October 1944 by Miss Patterson Saintfield Young Farmers Club)
- Mr JJ Campbell secondary school teacher RC Youth organisations St Vincent De Paul

[114] PRONI (2007) Ibid opt cited
[115] PRONI ED/15/13

- Dr J Stuart Hawnt (about 40) Director of Education member of Thompson Committee
- Captain Johnson (under 40) Boys Scouts Commissioner. Army Cadet Force
- Miss Mary Kerrigan (under 40) RC Girl Guides (member of Thompson Committee)
- Mrs McClure joint secretary SCOYO
- Rev A McGovern St Coleman's Seminary Newry
- Rev HA McKegney St Augustine's Rectory Londonderry. Boy Scouts
- Mrs Debra Parker OBE MP (Chair)
- Miss RE Rankin Hopefield Avenue Girl Guide District Commissioner
- Mr Philip Smiles (over 40) promoter of Ewart House Community Centre. Sea Cadets (Vice chair)
- Rev WGM Thompson North Road Belfast.

There was a note of controversy at the time when Mr W Garrett, the Boys' Brigade Battalion President, wrote to the Prime Minister, Sir Basil Brooke, on 10th March 1944 to complain that there was no representation on the Youth Committee from the Boys' Brigade. A crisis was averted when Captain Johnston received a military posting overseas and resigned from the Committee to be replaced later in 1944 by Mr Purdy, a BB company Captain.

Youth Committee annual reports for the period 1945-52 reveal various insights into its work. In the First Report (1945) the Committee stated that a *"large proportion of the Committee's work in its first year has been necessary exploratory and experimental, for the field under review is wide and the problems complex."*[116]

The report provided information on their *'Survey'* that they had sent out to interested bodies and persons to get a comprehensive and exact list of all youth organisations, and their work, from across Northern Ireland.

The consideration of grants for youth work was an important function and they reported that it was noted that the Committee was grateful to the Carnegie Trust for offering grants to youth organisations at this time to help supplement their own grants.

Following on from the Thompson Committee Recommendation on youth work training, the Youth Committee reported that there was a *"need for more courses and trained leaders and helpers"* and *"Physical Training forms a very important and basic activity in the youth service, it is recognised that arrangements should be made for training leaders for this work."*[117]

In this first report the Committee go on to volunteer their view of what is required to be a good Youth Leader:

"Generally speaking the Committee is of the opinion that the Youth Leader should in addition to personal qualities and natural aptitude for the work:

[116] First Youth Committee Report 1945 Ibid Opt Cited
[117] First Youth Committee Report 1945 Ibid Opt Cited

(a) Have achieved a fairly high standard in some field of knowledge or in some craft of his own choosing.
(b) Have acquired a good working knowledge of social and industrial conditions.
(c) Understand the needs of young people in relation to their personal health and everyday affairs.
(d) Have developed a genuine interest in a number of the many activities in which young people freely engage, eg. drama, music, arts and crafts, games etc.
(e) Have administrative and organising ability."[118]

They suggest a 6-month course such as a University Diploma in Social Sciences as a suitable course for potential youth leaders. They also flag up their intention to pursue the Thompson Recommendation on the status and salaries of youth leaders and stressed to the Minister *"the desirability of offering security of tenure and superannuation rights to full time paid workers."*[119]

The Youth Committee, in their first year, invited deputations to meet them from the following youth work organisations:

- Association of Young Farmers' Clubs of Ulster
- Ulster Branch Amateur Swimming Association
- Churches' Youth Welfare Council
- Youth Hostel Association
- Christian Brothers' Past Pupils
- Ulster Girl Guides' Association
- NI Physical Education Association
- Belfast Battalion of BB
- Federation of Boys' Clubs in NI
- Girls' Life Brigade
- NI Federation of Girls' Clubs

Their Second Annual Report (February 1946) highlighted the findings of the *Survey* flagged up in the First Report, which estimated that there were 158,000 boys and girls between 14 and 20 in Northern Ireland and there were 1,894 units of youth organisations catering for 67,000 young people (29,500 between 14-20; 31,000 under 14 and 6,500 over 20). The Committee declared their interest to be *"mainly concerned with young people 14-20 as we consider that in their adolescent years their need is greatest"*[120]

The report ended with strong endorsement of the youth work at that time:

"We record our admiration of the work done by workers for the youth of NI during the 6 years of war. We believe that in providing healthy activity, recreation and companionship for their members their various youth organisations have given them a background to life based on a sense of balance, optimism and service to the community."[121]

[118] First Youth Committee report 1945 Ibid Opt Cited
[119] First Report Ibid Opt Cited
[120] Second Annual Youth Committee Report 1946
[121] Second Youth Committee Report 1946 Ibid Opt Cited

The Third Annual Report (March 1947) reported that the Survey of youth clubs and organisations was not sufficiently complete to be published. The strongest aspect of this report was the Youth Committee encouraging local authorities to provide more provision for outdoor activities and sports.

The Fourth Annual Report in March 1948 advertised the new 'Handbook of Youth Organisations' for the price of 2 shillings and 6 pence. This Handbook contained information they had gathered from those youth organisations affiliated to the voluntary sector umbrella body, the Standing Conference of Youth Organisations (SCOYO) and from others not affiliated.

Yet again, as in the previous year, the Committee encouraged local authorities to provide playing fields for football, hockey, cricket and other outdoor games. It reminded local authorities that "under Education Act (NI) 1947 it is the duty of every local authority to secure the provision for their area of adequate facilities for further education, which includes leisure time occupation."[122]

The deputations received by the Youth Committee during 1947/48 were as follows:

- Army Cadet Force
- Churches' Youth Welfare Council
- Down and Connor Youth Council
- Dunmurry Sports Association
- NI Association of Training Corps for Girls
- NI Federation of Girls' Clubs
- National Council of YMCAs

The Committee continued to pursue the goal of advancing youth work through promoting training and the status of the profession:

"We again urge the early recognition of youth leadership as a profession with recognised qualification and acceptable conditions of employment... the Ministry have paid three-fourths of the expenses of leaders attending full time training courses in youth leadership and courses in physical training and drama... Expenses towards youth work training courses in Scotland and England approved."[123]

By 1949 and the Fifth Annual report, the pattern of reporting was established around Grants, Summer School, Training and Deputations. Training remained a high priority:

"During the year we have given much consideration to the urgent question of training of youth leaders. Under the Youth Welfare Act (NI) 1944, one of the statutory functions of the Youth Committee is to provide or arrange for the provision of courses of training for youth leaders. The Act also empowers the Youth Committee to appoint a sub-committee to assist it in the discharge of its functions. We decided to appoint a sub-committee with following remit:

[122] Fourth Annual Youth Committee Report 1948
[123] Fourth Report 1948 Ibid Opt Cited

'To make recommendations to the YC on the question of provision of training courses for youth leadership'"[124]

The Sixth Annual Report (1950) recorded thanks to retiring Chair Dame Debra Parker who resigned in September 1949. The Vice Chair, Philip Smiles OBE, took over as new Chair. The recurring theme of training continued and the Committee reported, following their sub-committee's recommendation on training that: *"We are satisfied that it would not be practical, at the present time, to provide training courses in NI for qualification as full time leaders. We feel instead a system of scholarships should be established for the purposes of enabling prospective leaders to attend recognised qualifying courses in Great Britain."*[125]

The report's Conclusion was a rallying call for the service. *"Good foundations in youth work have been laid in the past and the efforts of those engaged in this service have borne good fruit in the past year. The training of good citizens is a service which is second to none; much yet remains to be done so we close this report with an appeal for the assistance of all who are willing to help."*[126]

The next report on public record was for 1951/52 and it seems that a breakthrough had occurred in establishing better terms and conditions for youth leaders. It proposed that *"from 1st January 1952 Youth Leader to be paid (Men) £320 with annual increments of £15 to £425 and Women £280 increments of £10 to £350* and they understood that the Minister of Education had accepted that *"teachers to transfer for a period to youth service without loss of salary or superannuation rights."*[127]

The following Youth Committee reports then covered a three year period and the Youth Committee appointed in 1955 submitted a report covering 1955-58, which opened positively stating that *"new clubs opened and there is a lively interest in Youth Service"*[128] and then went on to report on discussions held with the Child Welfare Council:

"which had been studying the question of juvenile delinquency and wished to discuss with the Youth Committee the leisure time activities available to young people, especially those under 12 years of age... not enough youth clubs, due largely to the difficulty of getting suitable leaders. Parents should be encouraged to take an interest in youth clubs... doubt was expressed about the suitability of admitting children under 12 years of age to youth clubs; the most important age was the 14 to 17 year olds... question of mixed clubs was discussed and it was thought that separate clubs meeting occasionally for social evening was probably best solution... it was stressed that it was entirely mistaken to think that clubs existed only for delinquents. They existed to provide leisure time activities for the normal boy or girl."[129]

In this recording of the key points from their discussion, the issue of juvenile delinquency was brought into the business of the Youth Committee under the

[124] Fifth Annual Report of Youth Committee 1949
[125] Sixth Annual report of Youth Committee 1950
[126] Sixth Annual Report 1950 Ibid Opt Cited
[127] 1951/52 Annual Youth Committee Report
[128] HMSO Youth Committee Report 1955-58
[129] Youth Committee Report 1958 Ibid Opt Cited

heading of "Youth Welfare". The last sentence of this section of the report, above, provides insights to Committee thinking and, perhaps, their value base. The reference to youth clubs being for the "*normal boy or girl*" may imply that juvenile delinquents may have been perceived as *abnormal.* The comment about *occasional social evenings* for the clubs reflects the separate way boys' clubs and girls' clubs had developed up to this point.

As in previous Youth Committee reports, the issue of salaries for youth workers is mentioned, *"In 1957 Ministry, in consultation with Youth Committee approves the following salary scales for Youth Leaders from 1st April 1957: Men £475 with annual increments of £25 to £600 per annum and Women £400 with annual increments of £20 to £500 per annum."*

As we leave Youth Committee reports and move towards 1960s, the White Paper on the *"Development of the Youth Service"* was eagerly anticipated by the Youth Committee.

The 1950s, financially speaking, was a relatively lean period for the youth service, despite an active Youth Committee, and it can be said that the Ministry of Education demonstrated a lack of commitment to developing the service and this was highlighted in 1957 by the report from the Select Committee on Estimates, which had been set up to look at possible opportunities for cuts. Their report, rather than proposing cuts in youth service budget, "*led them to the conclusion that the Ministry of Education had little interest in the youth service and was apathetic about its future"*[130] .

The Report further stated that, *"Your committee considers that this apathy is having a deeply discouraging effect on the valuable work done for the service, much of it voluntary and unpaid, and must thereby be reacting unfavourably on the value for money obtained from Grants."*[131] Certainly this is not a ringing endorsement for a state commitment to supporting and developing its youth service. The Report goes on to recommend that, *"The Ministry should ensure that they are properly discharging their duty in respect of the youth service, that they should formulate a policy and state it publicly, and that they should not let the service drift into a state where present grants will be wasted."*[132]

The growing interest in youth work and modest grants from the Ministry of Education in this period from 1939 to 1960 helped stabilise and develop the emerging youth sector. It was not a rapid rise but a steady, consistent growth, driven partially by the needs of the growing voluntary sector.

Expenditure on Youth Work

Expenditure on youth work through the 1950s provides an insight as to whether the seriousness by which the Youth Committee went about their business was translated into spending by Government. Records show that spending fluctuated year on year. For example the total *Grants* paid by Ministry of Education for

[130] White P.K. 1992
[131] Ministry of Education Seventh Report Select Committee on Estimates HMSO 1956 ibid opt cited
[132] Ibid opt cited

Youth Work under the headings of *Training Courses and Youth Clubs Buildings*[133] were as shown in the table below:

Year	Training	Youth Clubs and Buildings	Total
1952-53	£555	£2,804	£45,173
1953-54	£624	£21,216	£101,955
1954-55	£570	£4,683	£50,563
1955-56	£1,025	£6,269	£46,277
1956-57	£1,485	£4,873	£42,370
1957-58	£1,247	£12,563	£76,465
1958-59	£1,623	£5,263	£65,847
1959-60	£877	£4,813	£71,063

Using the Historic Price Calculator[134] the figure for 1953-54, which represents the largest amount paid in total (£101,955) to Youth Work in this period, is calculated as equivalent to £2,483,103 in 2015.

Developments in the Uniformed Sector (1921 - 1959)

Chapter 1 recorded the following key dates of the early development of the uniformed sector in Ireland:

- 1888 First Boys' Brigade company in Belfast formed
- 1893 The Girls' Brigade (Ireland) formed
- 1895 First Church Lads' Brigade company formed in Belfast
- 1895 First Church Girls' Brigade company formed
- 1909 Belfast Association of Boy Scouts formed
- 1910 Girl Guiding Ulster opened

The following section highlights developments in the uniformed youth sector since 1921.

Uniformed organisations for Girls

In outlining developments of the uniformed youth sector in Northern Ireland it is important to highlight developments across the island of Ireland, as well as in the UK.

In 1928, a Girl Guide Association called Clanna Bride was established in Ireland. The title of this organisation changed in 1933 to Bantreoraithe Catoilici na hEirreann (Catholic Guides of Ireland) and in 1935 the Association was recognised on a Diocesan level with each diocese having responsibility for its own companies. By the start of 1930 the organisation had spread across all 32 counties.

[133] Youth Committee Reports. Ministry of Education HMSO
[134] This is money.co.uk. Historic Prince calculator

The Irish Girl Guides was formed in 1932 in the Republic of Ireland and in 1932 joined the World Association of Girl Guides Societies (WAGGS). The Irish Girl Guides are not organised in Northern Ireland. (In 1992, the Irish Girl Guides, together with the Catholic Guides of Ireland would go on to form the Comhairle Bantreoraithe na hEireann or Council of Irish Guiding Associations, an all-Ireland body).

Girlguiding Ulster, a branch of Girlguiding UK, operates in Northern Ireland as the umbrella body for the Girl Guide movement. A significant landmark for this organisation was the purchase of Lorne House in 1946 and from this point it became closely associated with the movement and its work. It was officially opened by the Duchess of Abercorn in 1947 and is evidence of its growth and development after WW2.

The Girls' Brigade, as discussed in Chapter 1, having been established in 1893, records its main growth in Northern Ireland during the Second World War (1939-45) with the first company, affiliated to the Dublin Battalion, started in Enniskillen Presbyterian Church in 1942. At the 1945 Girls' Brigade Annual Council Meeting *"permission was granted to Northern Ireland to form a Battalion. This was accomplished on 6th October 1945 in First Lisburn Presbyterian Church Hall at which the following companies were present: 1st Enniskillen, First Lisburn, Dromore Cathedral, Trinity Presbyterian Bangor, Lambeg Parish, Magheragall Presbyterian, Richview Presbyterian, Belfast."*[135]

This became the Northern Ireland Battalion Girls' Brigade.

The organisation continued to grow and this led to the formation of the Brigade National Board in 1946 and part of an all-Ireland body of which there were now 10 Battalions in the North. (In 1964 an agreement was reached to amalgamate three key girls uniformed organisations - the Girls' Life Brigade, Girls' Guildry and Girls' Brigade - as one organisation, the Girls' Brigade.)

By 1960 the growth of the Girls' Brigade in Northern Ireland had been such that the Northern Ireland Regional Board became the governing body to represent the 5 areas of company membership. Belfast (25 Companies), Lisburn (15), County Down (16), Mid-Ulster (12) and Ballymena (11). These 79 companies across the areas meant an amendment to the constitution to create the new Northern Ireland region.

Uniformed Organisations for Boys

Alongside these developments in uniformed organisations for girls, the Boys' Brigade (BB) membership, up to the Second World War, grew steadily and the Belfast Battalion bought a twelve acre farm at Ganaway, County Down and this was to open up the experience of a BB camp to many young men. The strength of the local BB movement was seen at the King's Jubilee Review in Glasgow in 1933, when a thousand officers and boys attended from Northern Ireland.

[135] E Carroll, ME Kennedy and J McMahon (eds) The Growth and Development of The Girls' Brigade, Ireland 1893-1983. Published by Girls Brigade 1983.

Throughout the Second World War the everyday BB activities were often interrupted by air raids and evacuations as well as the general pressures on family life but the Boys' Brigade continued to provide a service to its many members.

Alongside these developments within the BB, the Church Lads' Brigade (CLB) in the 1920s saw fluctuation in the number of companies opening and closing and they were finding it difficult to sustain their overall numbers. By 1929 there were fewer companies than there had been in 1907. South of the border the two remaining companies, Cork and Limerick, closed down in the late 1930s and early 1940s and *"at this point not one company of the CLB existed in the republic of Ireland."*[136]

The mid-1930s marked a turning point for CLB when it went through a radical re-organisation which included the abolition of Cadet affiliation and, by 1938, various new companies emerged, increasing the number of young people involved to 540. Like other uniformed organisations, the Second World War proved to have a negative impact on membership and growth because of blackouts and damage to premises used by the organisation. The Brigade took the decision to put a number of companies on the *"war time temporarily suspended list"*[137] and some never re-opened. After the war there was a concerted effort to revive membership and companies by bringing all the companies together under the Ulster Regiment which took in the diocese of Armagh, Clogher, Connor, Derry and Raphoe and Down and Dromore. By 1948 there were 34 companies with 1909 members and this remained a steady figure into the 1960s.

The first Church Girls' Brigade Company (CGGB) to be started in Northern Ireland (and Ireland) was attached to St Barnabas' Church in north Belfast. It opened in 1929 and kept going into the Second World War before closing. The movement was revived when a CGGB Company started in St. Patrick's Parish Church, Ballymena in 1945 but this lasted only a year and closed when the Company Captain left. Seagoe Parish in Portadown had more success when it opened in 1945 and is still going today, making it the oldest group in Ireland (up until 1962 this Seagoe group was to be the only one in Ireland).

The Church Lads' Brigade and Church Girls' Brigade were eventually to amalgamate in 1978 as the Church Lads' and Church Girls' Brigade.

The Scouts continued to grow in the new Northern Ireland, although records show they were sensitive to the sectarian tension on the streets of Belfast over Partition, when, in February 1922, the Ulster Scout Commissioner wrote to Lord Meath regarding a proposed visit by the Chief Scout*, "It would not be wise to go on with it this year. There is great tension just now and the outlook is obscure."*[138]

But despite the tensions referred to in the letter, the Scout Movement in Northern Ireland grew and celebrations after the Second World War saw a Victory Rally at Balmoral, Belfast and a renewed enthusiasm for Scouting was heralded. The visit of King George V to Northern Ireland in 1921 saw the Scouts actively involved in these celebrations as stretcher bearers, programme sellers and forming a guard of honour lining the route from the Albert Clock to Corn Market, Belfast.

[136] J Conn. Fall In. A History of the Church Lads' Brigade and Church Girls' Brigade. MW Publications 1991
[137] Ibid Opt cited
[138] Cited in A History of Scouting in Northern Ireland. Margaret Bell 1985.

The first visit to Northern Ireland by the Chief Scout, accompanied by Lady Baden-Powell (Chief Guide), came about in 1929 a year after he had visited Dublin and Cork. It was estimated 10,000-11,000 Scouts and Guides greeted them in Balmoral, Belfast.

The growth of Scouting in Northern Ireland led to calls for the establishment of a Scout Office for Ulster and an office was opened in Belfast in 1929, becoming the headquarters of the Ulster Scout Association and the Belfast County Scout Association.

While Scout and Guide numbers grew in numbers so did those of the Cubs and Rover Scouts. These provided pathways into, and life beyond, the Scouts for its members. Training of the voluntary leaders remained a key feature of the success of Scouting and in 1924 the opening of the training centre at Redhall, Ballycarry gave a boost to the movement *"and the first training course for ladies was held in June 1924."*[139]

Along with representatives of other youth organisations, the Scouts were present at the ceremony at Stormont on 19th May 1928 when the foundation stone was laid for the new Parliament Buildings of Northern Ireland. Scouts were frequent visitors and users of the grounds at Stormont having received permission from the Prime Minister, Viscount Craigavon.

As the 1930s came around Scouting continued to grow. By 1934 nearly 7,000 Scouts were recorded as members. To celebrate the Silver Jubilee of King George V and Queen Mary, the Scouts joined with Girl Guides, Girls' Guidry, Girls' Life Brigade, Boys' Brigade, Church Lads' Brigade and Sea Cadets at a gathering of Ulster Youth organisations at Balmoral. This was attended by the Duke of Gloucester as the King's representative. This was a significant day for the uniformed sector as they performed and paraded together for the Duke.

The Coronation of King George VI in 1937 was another opportunity for Scouts to celebrate and show their strength. Rallies were held in 1937 in various districts and once again *"Scouts and Cubs joined with other youth organisations in great joyous celebrations all over the country."*[140] The King visited Northern Ireland later that year when another *"gathering of Ulster youth at Balmoral Show Grounds welcomed King George VI and Queen Elizabeth"*[141] and the Scouts gave a display.

In July 1939 the Belfast County Scout Council opened the Scout Shop in Howard Street which started off selling shirts, socks, shorts and badges and is a feature in Belfast today. This marked a further period of growth in Scouting and despite the 1930s having an association with the Depression, Scouting blossomed and increased numbers and membership.

The Second World War presented another challenge to scouting. In 1939 a letter was sent by the Chief Commissioner to all Scout groups in Ulster asking for support for the first request from the government for help in a national emergency. This led to setting up of a Scout messenger service for Scouts aged 14 and over, carrying messages from local Civil Defence Posts and from Royal Air

[139] Bell Ibid opt cited
[140] Bell Ibid opt cited
[141] Bell Ibid opt cited

Force and Royal Naval Bases to various locations. Records show that Scouts also helped out in hospitals; painted air raid shelters; assembled gas masks; *"provided very realistic 'casualties' in the first aid practices"*[142]; and many other related services. Scout camps were suspended during the war but the many duties performed by Scouts kept the movement going and together. The service provided by Scouts during the war received recognition in the form of a National Service Badge to Scout Leaders and boys.

The Crawfordsburn Training Centre had been a vision of the Scouting movement in Ulster for years leading up to its opening in 1948 for use by Belfast County. In 1949 it was opened to Scouts from Northern Ireland as a whole with the Main Cabin being opened in 1953.

The Scout Movement went from strength to strength after the war and into the 1950s onwards. The formation of the Northern Ireland Scout Council in 1947 contributed to this. The inaugural meeting of the body was held in the Grand Central Hotel Belfast on February 1947 and in 1948 a new Scout Headquarters was opened in Dublin Road, Belfast.

After the war a renewed interest in Sea Scouting occurred and troops opened in Londonderry, Bangor, Donaghadee, Larne and Newcastle. Prior to this, in 1945, Northern Ireland had its first Air Scout unit within the 40th Belfast Scout Group and by 1958 there were three Air Scout Units in Belfast.

The *Gang Show* became a feature of Scouting since *'The Gang's All Here'* was first staged in the Scala Theatre, Tottenham Court Road, London in 1932 under the guidance of Ralph Reader, a professional actor and producer. He had produced the show *'Boy Scout'* the previous year in the Albert Hall, London. The first gang show in Northern Ireland was put on by the Scouts of Belfast in April 1951 and continued throughout the fifties and beyond and *"the Belfast Gang Show of 1965 played to full houses in the Opera House."*[143]

The development of Scouting, through the Ulster Scout Association, had a strong link to developments in Britain. Scouting Ireland (CSI), however, was established specifically as an Irish Catholic Scout Association and operated North and South of Ireland from 1927. Scouting Ireland was initially founded as the *Catholic Boy Scouts of Ireland* before changing its name to the *Catholic Scouts of Ireland* and ultimately *Scouting Ireland (CSI)* in anticipation of the creation of a single, all-Ireland association. In 1925 and 1926, Father Ernest Farrell, a curate in Greystones, County Wicklow, worked with young people loosely modelled on the Scout Method. He used the pen-name "Sagart", and wrote a series of articles in *Our Boys*, a magazine published by the Christian Brothers proposing the formation of an official Catholic Scout organisation. This initial group, while more in line with the methods of the Boys' Brigade, was seen to be an effective means of offering a Catholic ethos to the young men of Ireland. In 1927 the Catholic Boy Scouts of Ireland was officially founded by Father Tom Farrell with a constitution and a headquarters in St Stephen's Green, Dublin from which the association could be organised and uniforms supplied. It played a significant role in services to the 1932 Eucharistic Congress with a large camp at Terenure College. The First

[142] Bell Ibid opt cited
[143] Bell Ibid opt cited

Aid Corps later evolved into the Headquarters Division of the Irish Red Cross when established in 1939.

In 1934 a major Holy Year Pilgrimage to Rome was organised. On the voyage to Rome Sir Martin Melvin, the proprietor of the Catholic paper, *The Universe,* presented the Catholic Boy Scouts of Ireland with a silver trophy, which remains the premier award at their annual camp craft competition. Larch Hill campsite in Tibradden on the slopes of the Dublin Mountains was purchased in 1938, using surplus funds generated by the Pilgrimage to Rome, and is today the National Office and Campsite of Scouting Ireland, with affiliated troops, north and south.

Special Interest Groups

With the creation of the Northern Ireland state, a range of other specialist bodies for young people was established. These included: Young Farmers' Clubs of Ulster (first club in Limavady, 1929); Hostelling International NI (Youth Hostel Association 1931); King George V Jubilee Trust (1935); Army Cadet Force (1940); Outward Bound Trust (1946); Save the Children Fund NI (1952); St John's Ambulance (1952); Royal National Institute for Blind (1953); Duke of Edinburgh's Award (1956); King George VI Northern Ireland Youth Council (1957); and Ocean Trust (1960).

The Duke of Edinburgh's Award (1956) received enthusiastic support right across Northern Ireland. It commenced in 1956 as the *Duke of Edinburgh Award for Boys*. The Award is an achievement-based scheme and was derived from the thinking of the German educator, Dr. Kurt Hahn (founder of Gordonstoun, Scotland in 1934) and his *'Moray Badge'*. The Duke was approached to support this work and saw its potential to go beyond one area and across the UK.

"I was very interested in the idea, because I had become involved with several youth organisations, and I could see that some such 'achievement-based' programme, without requiring membership, might be a valuable tool for all organisations involved in the development of young people including schools… I told Hahn that, while I agreed with his general idea, there was no way I could get it started on my own. Instead, I offered to chair a committee, provided he could find members. He achieved this, and it was this 'originating committee' which decided that the programme should adopt the principle of no competition and no membership requirements, and to respond to Hahn's four major concerns about the development of young people. He was concerned about the decline of compassion, the decline of skills, the decline of physical fitness and the decline of initiative".[144]

Once again we find this recurring theme of concern for the physical health of young people, and at this point, young men specifically. But the scheme was broadened from one based entirely on physical activities, to include four separate sections known initially as *Rescue and Public Service; Pursuits and Projects; Physical Fitness; and an Expedition.* Each section included a wide selection of different options and, with the assistance of a range of governing bodies, appropriate levels of achievement were established for three age-related levels:

[144] History of Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme 1956-2011

Bronze for those over 14, Silver for those over 15 and Gold for those over 16 and under 20. (This was later raised to those under 25).

The beauty of the scheme was that it provided, for each individual participant, an opportunity to put together a programme of their own choice selected from the options available in each section and this basic structure has remained unchanged ever since.

The early success of the programme was reflected in 1957 when over 1,000 Awards were achieved in the UK and in 1958 *The Duke of Edinburgh Award for Girls* was piloted with a variation in the programme perceived to appeal to young girls whereby their choice related to *design for living; adventure, interests and service.* The pilot projects extended to 11 Commonwealth countries and took off. In 1959 The Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme became a charitable trust and by 1960 figures recorded by the scheme showed 35,000 boys and 7,000 girls participating. By the mid-1960s the scheme was working across 22 countries worldwide. By 1969 *The Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme for Young People* (both young men and young women) aged 14-25 was launched. There was a gender variation within the scheme whereby at Bronze and Silver young women took *design for living* and young men *physical activity*. Within 20 years of launching the scheme over 1 million young people had participated in the scheme worldwide.

With the particular sensitivities in Ireland about an award named after a member of the British royal family, a parallel Award programme *Gaisce - the President's Award* was established in the Republic of Ireland in 1985, International Youth Year, and launched in Áras an Uachtaráin by the President, Dr. Patrick J. Hillery who was the Award's founding patron. Initially the Award was piloted in five areas; Monaghan, Galway, Kilkenny, Cork City and North Dublin with 300 participants. In 1988 the Award was extended to the 26 counties with almost 3,000 participants. Currently there are over 20,000 new applicants to the Award programme each year. In 2005 under an agreement, initiated by the Award patron in Ireland and the UK, and brokered by the Duke of Edinburgh's Award International Award Association, Gaisce became available to young people in Northern Ireland under the Joint Award Initiative (JAI). This allows participants on the Duke of Edinburgh programme in Northern Ireland to choose to receive a Gaisce Award Certificate on completion of their programme and to have their Gold Awards presented to them by the President of Ireland.

Another royal connection to youth work comes through the King George VI Northern Ireland Youth Council that was established under an Act that authorised the conveying of certain lands to that Council for the erection of a building as a memorial to the late King George VI for use as a Youth Centre. The *King George VI Memorial Youth Council Act* (12th December 1957) established the body known as King George VI Northern Ireland Youth Council (not to be confused with Youth Council Northern Ireland which was established later) with the following functions:

(a) To encourage the development of body, mind and spirit through physical and cultural activities; and to inculcate qualities of leadership and, especially, to promote the well-being of young people through any form of physical and cultural activity.

(b) *To provide or assist in the provision of facilities and services for, or in connection with, any form of physical or cultural activity and for encouraging social intercourse and well-being generally including the provision of facilities for training whole-time and voluntary coaches, leaders and instructors for youth organisations, institutions controlled or assisted by local education authorities and other institutions or bodies concerned with the well-being of young people.*

(c) *To undertake trust business for the benefit of any such organisation, institution or body as aforesaid or any sports club or athletic or physical training or cultural association, including the holding of land as custodian or trustee.*

(d) *To do all such other things as the Council consider conducive to the carrying out of any one or more of its functions under this Act and which shall be consistent with the objects of the national memorial of His late Majesty King George the Sixth.*[145]

The King George VI Youth Centre in May Street Belfast was used as a concert hall for many years. It was used for youth events and Saturday night dances but the bombing campaign of the 1970s made it unviable and it closed. After the sale of the building, the money was used to provide grants to help young people aged 14-21 in Northern Ireland, including sports awards, administered by the Sports Council NI and the youth awards, administered by YouthNet.

Youth Clubs, Youth Movements and the Emerging Infrastructure

The establishment of the Standing Conference of Youth Organisations of Northern Ireland (SCOYO) was a significant event in the history of youth work, spurred on by the challenge of the war and the endeavour of the embryonic youth service to play its part. The origin of SCOYO is traced back to September 1939:

"In the early days of September 1939 the plight of Youth Organisations, about to undertake their winter programmes, gave rise to grave misgivings on the part of their leaders and organisers. Leaders were daily being called to active service, halls were being commandeered for military and ARP purposes. The cost of everything was beginning to rise. Were subscriptions going to fall? Finally the blackout had first a paralysing effect on the city life, as people got more used to it, and a demoralising effect on the youth of the city. Then one Youth Organisation took it upon itself to invite every other Youth Organisation in the Province to a meeting to discuss the situation. At this meeting the Standing Conference of Youth Organisations came into being. A Committee, Executive Committee, Chairman and Secretary were elected."[146]

Records do not reveal the name of the Youth Organisation that invited the others but the outcome, the establishing of SCOYO, initially as a Belfast umbrella organisation, reflected the willingness of the youth service to rally to the War effort whilst at the same time safeguarding its own infrastructure that was coming under pressure with military recruitment and blackouts etc.

[145] King George VI Memorial Youth Council Act (Northern Ireland) 1957 HMSO

[146] Taken from A Public Meeting notice 'Young People in War-Time' Assembly Hall Fisherwick Place, Belfast March 8th 1940.

At this initial meeting (September 1939) the following Aims for SCOYO were agreed:

(i) "To enable all organisations to be of mutual help to each other, as in the matter of premises, leaders and the training of leaders.
(ii) To draw attention of the public to the matters which they consider to be paramount importance to the welfare of youth.
(iii) To instigate enquiries into the social and economic conditions of Youth.
(iv) And finally, to strive by every means in their power to cater for the young people of the city who are not attached to any organisation whatever, and who are tempted in these difficult days to sell their birthright of good citizenship for a misconceived idea of freedom."[147]

In these aims we can see an emphasis on collaboration, promotion of a service, research and the drive to serve young people.

The year after SCOYO was formed, the Federation of Boys' Clubs was established in 1940 (see below) and in 1941, the Churches' Youth Welfare Council (see below under Churches) was formed. What is important to record with regard to the formation of these latter two organisations was that youth work did go on during the war (1939-45) but the conditions, particularly for those in cities and built up areas, including the Black Out imposed because of the war, was affecting young people at night. In many areas of Belfast, children often played on the streets and the Black Out made this unsafe.

The two stories of the Boys' and Girls' Clubs

Boys' Clubs

Non-uniformed youth work in the towns and cities mainly involved Girls' and Boys' Clubs and, as discussed above, these movements were largely GB-based prior to the formation of the Northern Ireland state. In England, back in 1911, Lily Montague chaired the first meeting of the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs. By 1930 this had become National Council of Girls' Clubs, a subtle change from an *Organisation* to a *Council.* By 1942 the *Council* component was replaced by *Association* and it became the National Association of Girls' Clubs. Two years later, 1944, it became the National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs. The pattern continued and the organisation evolved into the National Association of Mixed Clubs and Girls' Clubs. But more of this interplay of names and titles later. These *national* developments of *Councils* and *Associations* had little impact on Northern Ireland and it took time for this early Girls' and Boys' Clubs work to take off in Northern Ireland. In parallel with structural developments in relation to Girls' work highlighted above, there was the National Association of Boys' Clubs that published, in 1930, *Principles and Aims of the Boys' Club Movement* which was adopted at their Annual Conference of that year, marking the first 50 years of the movement.

A significant date in Boys' Work in Northern Ireland came on 16th November 1940 when representatives of 14 youth clubs met in the NI Council of Social Services Offices Wellington Place, Belfast. They were called together at the initiative of Wilfred Capper who felt there was a need to bring clubs together within a more

[147] Ibid opt cited

structured organisation. The list of youth clubs attending provides us with a sense of where the early youth clubs were at this time.

Clubs represented at this 1940 meeting were:

- *Ballymena Boys Club*
- *Ballymoney Boys Club*
- *College Square Boys Club*
- *Manor Street Boys Club*
- *Newsboys Boys Club*
- *Red Triangle Club, Belfast*
- *Old Larne Boys Club*
- *Waterloo Boys Club Larne*
- *Peoples Hall Working Boys Club, Londonderry*
- *Salvation Army Boys Club, Londonderry*
- *St Eugene's Londonderry*
- *Waterside Catholic Boys Club, Londonderry*
- *NI Youth Centres*
- *YMCA, Londonderry*
  Apologies were sent by Portadown Boys Club and Roosevelt Street Boys Club[148]

At this meeting, The Federation of Boys' Clubs was formed (minutes of the meeting record that St Eugene's and Waterside had to go back to their respective clubs to see if they would affiliate). The first chair of the new Federation was Mr A.S. Loxton and a secretary and 5 committee members were appointed and a constitution agreed. An immediate observation on those who attended this meeting clearly shows a geographic spread of Boys' Club work across Northern Ireland and the religious divide.

Early records show that the first competitive sporting fixture organised by the Federation of Boys' Clubs was a football match between Newsboys Boys Club, Belfast and Old Larne Boys' Club in 1941 and the same year the Federation received a grant of £250 from the Carnegie Trust for equipment, shoes and shorts, with a matching grant of £250 from the Ministry of Education, with the proviso that their money could not be used for the same items as the Carnegie Trust's grant. In 1941 the Northern Ireland Federation was invited to send representatives to a National Association of Boys' Clubs Standing Conference in England.

An examination of the minutes from Executive Committee meetings of the NI Federation of Boys' Clubs in the 1940s gives us insight into the issues with which they dealt. Minutes from 1943/44 record discussions on "*Difficulties caused at soccer matches by home referees... Bad behaviour at football matches... A decision is taken to publish a monthly magazine called 'The Key'... affiliation fees would increase to 10/= per year... and a decision to set up a training committee."*[149]

[148] Williamson M. draft notes for thesis (QUB) 1992
[149] Ibid opt cited

The latter matter of a *training committee* was to bring Northern Ireland in line with rest of UK and proved to be an important decision by the Executive. In December 1944 the Youth Committee for NI asked the Federation to put forward a memorandum of training of youth leaders and this recognition for their training work from the Committee marks an important period in the development of the training of youth workers.

In 1945 the Federation was offered the sum of £300 per annum by the Ministry of Education to pay for the position of Secretary and in 1946 civil servant John Oliver took the Chair, which proved to be a key appointment for the following years for the Federation. Oliver brought his civil servant experience to the Committee and his appointment helped to develop their infrastructure. It set up sub-committees for Policy, Programme and Publicity, Finance, a Clubs Committee (affiliations, standards etc.), Sports, Entertainments and (a year later) the Training Sub-Committee.

The First Annual Concert to be held by the Federation was in Mountpottinger YMCA (Belfast) on Saturday 1st April 1946 with the following clubs listed as participants*: Fane Street Past Pupils Association, 19th Boys Cub, St Mary's Crumlin Road, Newsboys, Roosevelt Street and Harryville in Ballymena.*

The staple diet of Boys' Clubs work was reflected in their regular Sports News Bulletins which at the time referred to Boxing Competitions between clubs, swimming galas, football, table tennis and darts.

The opening of a centre in Killynether Castle near Scrabo Hill, Newtownards in 1946 was important in that it opened up a range of outdoor activities to the membership that included hiking, rambles, woodcraft and tree felling. It had a common-room for games and sleeping accommodation with catering facilities for 20 people. The official opening (26th September 1946) was carried out by Dame Debra Parker MP (Chair of NI Youth Committee). Prior to this official opening, the Federation, with financial assistance from the Ministry of Education, appointed a Club Organiser in July 1946, whose job was the *"regular visiting of affiliated clubs, organising club activities, developing and assistance of management of clubs and encouraging clubs in every possible way, formation of new clubs"*[150] . The October 1946 News Bulletin refers to the Club Organiser attending a three day Youth Leadership Course organised by Enniskillen Council of Social Services *"where he took lectures on Boys' club work"*[151]. The Newsletters provide a great source of information about this early youth work with boys. Leather and Handcrafts work are recorded along with the usual sporting activities. An advisory committee on Drama was also appointed. *Clothing coupons* were advertised for the purchase of football boots, pants and jerseys and this reflected the hard post-war times for many families. There is even a report of a football match with *Gibraltarians* from their evacuation camp in Saintfield.

By the end of 1946, closer connections were made with the National Association of Boys' Clubs when the Federation's Club Organiser is reported to have visited their Youth Leadership Training Centre in Monmouthshire to *"study club work and*

[150] Federation Facts Newsletter. Federation of Boys' Clubs 1946 (July).
[151] Federation of Boys' Clubs News Bulletin 1946 (October)

methods and organisation there."[152]. The same Bulletin mentions an emerging District Youth Leaders' Association across UK.

By the 1947 AGM, the Executive Committee elected representatives from Londonderry Temperance Council; Avoniel Boys' Club; Harryville Youth Club, Ballymena; Alliance Boys' Club, Belfast; Newsboys, Belfast; Lisburn Boys' Club; St Mary's Boys Club, Crumlin; the National Council YMCA; Christian Brothers' Past Pupils Association; Alliance YMCA, Lisburn; Fane Street Past Pupils Association Belfast; and St John Bosco Boys Club, Newry. This reflects a good geographic spread as well as cross-community representation. There were around 50 affiliated clubs at this time.

A new Club Organiser was appointed in February 1948 and was referred to in the News Bulletin in a formal way as Mr. Wickens. He had been leader of Lower Shankill Boys' Club, Belfast and held a National Association of Boys' Clubs Youth Leaders' Diploma from St Pierre Monmouthshire. Training was clearly an increasingly important part of the Federation's work and in April 1948 reference was made in News Bulletin to the *"Assistant Leaders' Training Course in connection with Ministry of Education with hopes that it continues"*[153]. At that time, there was training for leaders and assistant leaders and the Bulletin highlights training courses open for youth workers at this time offered by YMCA, the Churches' Youth Welfare Council and the Federation of Boys' Clubs and these would continue to be offered regularly.

Under John Oliver's (chairman) influence, in 1948, the Federation moved its Belfast office from Wellington Place to Bryson House, the headquarters of Northern Ireland Council of Social Services (NICSS). This proved to be a watershed in the development of Boys' Clubs as it injected new purpose and enthusiasm into the staff and heightened their commitment to the "*service of clubs".* With these various developments, the Federation had established a creditable infrastructure to serve it membership.

The 1948 AGM of the Federation amended their constitution so that its objects reached beyond the simplistic and somewhat basic earlier aims of *"all round fitness"* to the wider and more modern objectives that aim "*to promote the mental, physical and spiritual well-being of boys and especially boys of poor circumstances."* [154] The reference to *poor circumstances* may reflect, from a 21st century perspective, a rather patronising tone but nonetheless it shows what the Clubs were about and the focus on getting to those boys who were perceived to be most in need.

The 1948 publication of the UK parent body, the National Association of Boys' Clubs, "*The Contribution of Boys' Clubs to the Life of our Time"* was a short statement of the place of Boys' Clubs in national education and of the policy of the National Association of Boys' Clubs regarding *"current and prospective educational developments"*[155]. Extracts from this publication show the expectation of the role of the club running parallel to the needs of industry:

[152] Federation of Boys' Clubs Bulletin 1946 (December)
[153] Federation of Boys' Clubs News Bulletin 1948 (April)
[154] Williamson ibid opt cited
[155] NABC 1948

"Today, with fewer boys available for industry, the right training of each one is more important than ever. Here the club is an important factor, since it brings the influence to bear on a boy at the age when his industrial life is beginning... he goes to the club because he enjoys it, and, in doing things he likes with other boys, he gets the rough edges of his own character taken off... The club offers him a variety of activities in which he can take part, and it provides the chance to move forward from one line of interest to another as he develops. In this process he has opportunities to experiment which every growing personality requires. Gymnasium and boxing ring, workshop and art room, drama and music, run and hike, camp and climb are all within a club's range"[156]

This booklet reaffirmed the commitment of Boys' Clubs to the spiritual development of young men. This came from their 1944 policy under the `*Education of the Spirit'* statement in which it said , *"that it was the duty of every club leader to see that his members had every opportunity to know the facts of the Christian Faith, to realize their significance as the basis of their own way of life."*[157] It added the rider that it is understood that boys of Jewish faith should equally be helped to a full understanding and application of its beliefs.

Furthermore, within the publication the gender division was emphasised:

"Friendship, responsibility, physical vigour, adventure, and not a few forms of craftsmanship, develop most healthily in association with boys and men. The boys' club is designed to foster these qualities. Only as they become firmly established is there good reason to encourage, as a further stage towards normal adult relationships, some activities in which boys and girls join... the NABC does not believe that it is in the boys' best interests to join a mixed club which has a common membership for boys and girls."[158]

This was the line the local Federation of Boys' Club was to hold when it came to any talk of amalgamation with, for example, the Federation of Girls' Clubs (see below) and this publication meant the Federation saw boys' work clearly separate from mixed clubs or girls' clubs work. From this booklet we see that the line of argument was that *"as a general rule the policy of NABC is based on the principle that, for boys, activities shared with girls should be introduced only after an adequate foundation has been laid in the corporate life and activities characteristic of a normal boys' club."*[159] This did not lend itself to suggestions of amalgamation with other clubs outside of boys' work, or even shared activities.

In our opening chapter we included a reference from the Girls' Club Journal as to the ideal Girls' Club youth worker. [160] In comparison, in the NABC 1948 publication, the ideal youth worker for Boys was outlined from their point of view:

"A good club leader must bring to his work all his powers of body, mind and spirit. He needs to have the right balance between grave and gay, the readiness to learn, the power of renewal. He must meet disappointment with a smile, and maintain, both in good and bad times, his strength, sympathy and steadfastness

[156]NABC Ibid opt cited
[157] Education of the Spirit. National Association of Boys' Clubs 1944.
[158] Ibid opt cited
[159] NABC Ibid opt cited
[160] Platt Ibid opt cited

of purpose. It is no easy task to do this thoroughly. Few who have successfully attempted it hesitate to admit that it can be accomplished only be drawing on the deepest spiritual resources. "[161]

If we present this alongside Platt's template for Girls' Work, below, we get an interesting comparison of leadership for boys and for girls:

"It is an entire devotion: what does it mean, what does it entail? It means exactly what everything else worth doing entails: it means self-sacrifice of the individual: it means never neglecting one's post: never allowing anything but the sternest necessity to cause one's absence: it means a total giving up of all private interests on club nights: it means realising the awful responsibility entailed in arrogating to oneself the post of directing other human wills: it means patiently and humbly trying to learn from one's repeated failures: it means the courage to keeping on when everything goes wrong: it means wisdom to know when to speak, and when to keep silence: it means entering into other peoples' lives, and lending a willing and sympathetic ear to their ambitions, difficulties and pleasures and troubles: it means quick thinking, firmness, decision and power: it means all - and more than all - that we can hope to learn on this side of the grave. Is it worth it? I think so. At least we can try. 'It is better to fight for the good than to rail at the ill.'"[162]

These statements emphasise the qualities required for a good youth worker from different gender perspectives and stress the need for the resilience and focus required for this demanding commitment to youth work and young people. The *Boys' Clubs* stresses the *character* required from their leaders with *strength* and *spiritual resources* as vital components within that *character,* whilst for leaders of girls the emphasis is on *humility, commitment and devotion* to the cause of the work.

Whilst the 1948 Federation of Boys' Clubs publication was reaffirming the basic purpose of the work, the Boys' Club movement in Northern Ireland was slowly developing. Ledley Hall Boys' Club, East Belfast, opened in January 1949 *"with a gymnasium, recreation room, canteen, crafts room and ablutions and are now amongst the best in the city"*[163]*.* Furthermore the Bulletin recorded that four leaders attended a National Association of Boys Clubs Leader's Training course in their training centre.

By 1950, ten years after the Federation was established, there were more than 60 affiliated clubs, although they had lost two clubs (St John Bosco, Rostrevor and St John Bosco, Banbridge) to the Down and Connor Diocesan Youth Organisation.

Throughout the early 1950s, membership of Boys' Clubs fluctuated significantly. However, full-time youth club leadership was emerging as an important role and in 1951 a letter from the Ministry of Education[164] stated that the youth worker salary scale would be £550 - £650 per annum and by 1959 would increase to £625 - £775 with £20 increments.[165] The Ministry of Education was recognising the work and providing this guidance on pay to employing bodies.

[161] NABC Ibid opt cited
[162] Platt E. 1911.
[163] Federation of Boys' Clubs Bulletin 1949 (February)
[164] Ministry of Education letter to Federation of Boys' Clubs 1951 (May)
[165] Historic Price calculator estimates this to be worth £12,770 in 2014.

An interesting development during 1958 came from some of the students of Queen's University Belfast (QUB) who felt they should have a closer affiliation and interest in their local community. This led, in 1955, to the setting up of a mixed gender youth club under the University and the appointment of a full-time youth worker, Billy Maxwell who worked for the Church's Youth Welfare Council as youth leader of Ledley Hall Boys Club. He became leader of Belfast Newsboys' Club in January 1963 (when he took over from St. Clair Gilroy).

An interesting aside to Billy Maxwell's youth work career is that the chair of the management committee of the QUB Youth Club at which he worked was Professor George Seth, husband of May Seth, Chair of the Federation of Girls' Clubs and the first Chair of NI Association of Youth Clubs (into which Federation of Girls' Clubs merged).

In 1957, the Federation of Boys' Clubs faced a challenge. The 1st Belfast Boys' Brigade company from Mary Magdalene Church of Ireland in Donegal Pass applied to be affiliated to the Federation of Boys' Clubs. This was a practice normal in England but it challenged the Federation's Executive as the initial application was to enable this BB company to join in the football league. Whilst the Executive committee was sympathetic to the aims of the BB it was worried that, if other companies followed, this would give the Boys' Brigade a substantial bloc of BB members. So they turned down the application as a precaution against a potential takeover.

Girls' Clubs - Belfast Girls' Club Union and the Federation of Girls' Clubs

In 1924 the Belfast Girls' Club Union drew up its Memorandum of Association and recorded its purpose: *"To benefit the working girls of Belfast and neighbourhood by such methods as the organising of clubs, or similar gatherings, the promotion of instruction, recreation, social intercourse, holidays, or to undertake any other such activity as may seem beneficial. The society shall be non-political and non-sectarian."*[166]

In 1938, the home of Jubilee Girls' Club in Mourne Street, East Belfast, was purchased by the Belfast Girls' Club Union with the help of King George Jubilee Trust.

The Second World War took its toll on the members of the Union and, in the 33rd Annual Report of 1941, the Belfast Blitz is referred to and states, *"we regret to report that Jubilee Hall, the home of several flourishing Clubs, was sadly damaged by enemy action and Social Service and Townsley St. Clubs also lost their places of meeting. In some areas also the potential club population has practically disappeared. The great dispersal has accentuated the necessity for Club work in the neighbouring areas."* [167]

Despite these setbacks, the work went on and:

"In 1943 the Belfast Girls' Club Union was invited by the Ministry of Education to make preliminary arrangements for the formation of the Northern Ireland

[166] Belfast Girls' Club Union 'Memorandum of Association' drawn up by Wheeler and McCutcheon Solicitors 1924
[167] BGCU 1941 Annual Report

Federation of Girls' Clubs. The inaugural meeting was called by Miss Heron in the Assembly Hall on 18th June 1943 when Mrs Debra Parker, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education, formally brought the Federation into being. The first Chairman being Mrs MJI Gilmore"[168].

On 13th October 1944 the Federation of Girls' Clubs, based in Wellington Place, Belfast was started. The first 10 years of this organisation reflected a social reform agenda linked to the roots of girls' work and the need to address working conditions for factory and mill girls. The value of arts and crafts and leadership training was also emphasised.

Mary Gilmore, a factory inspector with a reputation for campaigning for social reform, was the first Chairperson of the Federation of Girls' Clubs. At the inaugural meeting in 1944 she said:

"We must realise that it is we who control what Government departments do in the matter of progress and make it our ambition that 12 months hence we shall have some progress to show."[169]

We see, from the beginning, that Mary Gilmore was ensuring there would be a reforming and political agenda to this new Federation in line with the earlier girls' work with Pethick et al.

By the time of the November 1948 AGM there was a new Chair in place, Miss Hardy, who threw out a new challenge to the membership, *"The age of isolation is past – we must all become more community minded and work together for the common good. Youth work is not to be taken lightly... The type of person we want is the person with a burning conviction that she has something to contribute to the good of youth."*[170]

The political and challenging tone is still there from one Chair to the next and there is a hint of social education explicitly creeping into the agenda. The commitment to young people is maintained and working with, and alongside, young people for a better society is clear. In these opening addresses from the respective Chairs you get a sense that girls' work comes over as being more considered within the social and political context, compared to boys' work, which laid more emphasis in physical and spiritual activities for young men.

In 1949, May Seth became Chairperson of the Federation and remained in the Chair through to 1964 (she returned as Chair for a second term in 1967 through to 1974) and during her tenure there were to be many changes and advances in the organisation.

In 1953, the Federation of Girls' Clubs changed its name to the Federation of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs in Northern Ireland to reflect the changing nature of the youth work at that time. More and more clubs were catering for young men and young women together while some remained as boys' clubs or girls' clubs only. But the Federation of Girls' Clubs, under May Seth, saw the need to change and include the mixed club movement.

[168] Herd Ibid Opt Cited
[169] Chapman T.2005
[170] Chapman Ibid opt cited

The Federation's purchase of Brooklyn House, Bangor in 1954 demonstrated their commitment to the training of leaders.

But let us return and pick up the threads from the Federation of Boys' Clubs history around 1950 and the first attempt to amalgamate the key players in youth club work into a larger and, potentially more powerful organisation for boys' and girls' youth club work. May Seth's offer to amalgamate both organisations into one larger one, was discussed by the Executive of the Federation of Boys' Clubs in 1950, where they agreed that *"the average boy was quite content in a single sex club up to the age of 17 or 18"*. The two Federations did, however, agree to meet to discuss *"any workable scheme which the Federation of Girls could formulate"*[171]

On the one hand, there was the prospect of discussions on working together under a *scheme* but a strong message was conveyed in that boys are best (and *content*) not to be in the company of girls in youth clubs until their later teenage years and so, the *mental, physical and spiritual well-being of boys* is best achieved without the distraction of the girls.

Over the next few years, both organisations attempted to establish a single organisation, although most of the running came from the Girls' Clubs. In 1951, Girls' Clubs put forward a proposal to admit "*mixed*" clubs and set up a sub-committee, to deal with affiliation of mixed clubs, that included representatives of the Boys' Clubs Federation. They also proposed that discussions would continue between the two organisations with a view to amalgamation. The Executive Committee of the Federation of Boys' Clubs, however, was cool on the idea of amalgamation and handed over the initiative for mixed units of boys and girls to May Seth's Federation of Girls' Clubs which, as we have seen, added "Mixed Clubs" to its name and remit and would eventually become Northern Ireland Association of Youth Clubs in 1961, reflecting similar developments in Britain. Federation of Boys' Clubs records, through their Executive minutes and internal correspondence, show a stronger association and affiliation to their parent body in the rest of the UK than to any commitment to get together with the Girls. These early efforts to get the organisations together were revived a number of years later.

Meanwhile, the Belfast Girls' Club Union continued to provide youth club provision for girls and young women. The Union also affiliated to SCOYO and the Standing Conference of Women's Organisations. We learnt, above, that the Committee established to give grants for youth welfare/youth work under the 1938 Physical Training and Welfare Act required the Belfast Girls' Club Union to properly constitute itself in order to be eligible for a grant and once they did this grants followed. There was always a strong volunteer base to the organisation and an important part of the work of the Union was inter-club competitions. The first grant they requested from the Grants Committee was for an Organiser for Competitions. Their first grant of £115 received from Government appears in their accounts for 1943. What this grant is for is not stated but a grant in 1944 of £99 was recorded for (Competition) Organiser's salary and expenses.

[171] Taken from Federation of Boys' Clubs' Executive Minutes

In 1947, Belfast Girls' Club Union became an incorporated body (limited company) registered in Companies Registry with its own constitution and, in 1949, Jubilee Girls' Club became a full-time club under the leadership of Miss Moore and *"she started a Sunday night mixed club for senior members and their boyfriends."*[172]

The 50th Anniversary of Belfast Girls' Club Union, in 1958, was held in St Anne's Cathedral conducted by the Dean, Rev C.J. Peacock assisted by the Moderator of General Assembly and the President of the Methodist Church.

This Belfast Girls' Club Union story is important in constructing an understanding, not just of the development of girls' work, but also in the connections to England, the addressing of social conditions for young women and endeavour of volunteers to establish local clubs and develop a supporting infrastructure to sustain them.

The Churches and Youth Work - Developing their Infrastructure

In Chapter One we traced the early history of youth work and the churches in the UK as they tried to respond to the Industrial Revolution and urbanisation, while maintaining their commitment to evangelism and concern for the moral welfare of young people. As discussed above, churches' involvement in Sunday Schools provided much of the impetus for the first uniformed organisation in Britain, the Boys' Brigade. William Smith's experiences of teaching a rowdy Sunday school class prompted an inner belief that "*religion and discipline were the primary needs of such boys."* [173] In 1883, Smith formed the Boys' Brigade as an interdenominational movement with each group attached to a local church. Emphasis was placed on loyalty to church, the Brigade Bible class, and military-style drilling activities.

After the formation of the Boys' Brigade and other uniformed organisations, Scouting was formed which was originally intended by the founder, Robert Baden-Powell, to be for use by schools and brigades.[174]

'Youth ministry' happened within the churches, often through independent uniformed organisations, to varying degrees for many years, but it came to the forefront after World War II, when all the main denominations either set up central committees or appointed specific personnel to oversee the work with youth, which was seen to encapsulate the teenage years. All the Protestant church bodies had Sunday school committees, but, by this stage, their work was primarily focused on primary school aged children.

For Protestant churches, and the development of church youth clubs, the work of Leonard P. Barnett was important, particularly within the Methodist Church but his influence extends well beyond this one church. He wrote two classic texts on youth clubs that provided workers with a coherent and informed basis for their work in fostering learning and fellowship:

"The Rev Dr Leonard Palin Barnett BD (Lond), Hon LDH (1919-2001) was well known and respected as a Methodist minister, preacher and writer. His time spent

[172] Herd Ibid Opt Cited
[173] Springhall Ibid Opt Cited
[174] Robert Baden-Powell 1899

as National Secretary of the Methodist Association of Youth Clubs (1949-1958) is important in confirming his contribution to the thinking and practice of work in church youth clubs. His books, 'The Church Youth Club' (1951) and 'Adventure with Youth' (1953; 1962) were important and pioneering works. Leonard Barnett looked to the power of fellowship and the educative nature of club life - but set these in a rounded Christian understanding. It is only with that prior knowledge, plus our own deep spiritual convictions about God and man, that we can hope to see practical matters of club life and organization in their proper light. We can only see where we should be going, in club, when we see where they, the boys and girls, are in fact going. He believed that the task of Church club leaders was both to educate and evangelize."[175]

In '*Adventure with Youth*'[176] he states that *"our business is to help young people, by every means within our power, to grow up so as to enjoy the more abundant life; remembering that phrase comes straight from the New Testament. With partners in the youth service we seek a healthy body and alert mind but supremely - a personal relationship with Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour. We are educators and evangelists."*

For Barnett, education and evangelism are inextricably interwoven. He emphasised the two tasks: *serve and convert to a living faith*.

Church of Ireland

The Church of Ireland Youth Council was set up in the late 1930s but it was not until 1971 that a full-time Youth Officer was appointed. The first two appointments were clergy, but then it was opened to lay people and has been ever since. In correspondence with the Synod Officer of the Church of Ireland, reference is made to the setting up of Church of Ireland Youth Structures in the 1930s.

Looking through the Journals of the General Synod one can see youth-related activities at central church level referred to from the 1940s. At diocesan/parochial, parish and clergy level, groups like the Girls' and Boys' Brigades, Girls' Friendly Society, Scouts, Guides and Sunday Schools were taking place. In this period, however, there is a lack of information about direct church youth work activity. The Church of Ireland affiliation and commitment to Churches' Youth Welfare Council from 1941 was important because it meant that it enabled some members of clergy to be involved in youth work developments.

Methodist Church

During the Second World War years the Methodist Church in Britain began to think seriously about the need for a separate Youth Department within their church. *"In 1943 the Conference of the Methodist Church in Britain established the Methodist Association of Youth Clubs (MAYC), whose distinct nature was their connection with local Methodist Churches and the Christian influence that could be brought about through this."*[177]

[175] Infed.org website read on 2nd December 2014.
[176] Barnett, L. P. 1962
[177] Rock Ibid opt cited

In 1946, *"due to the connection between the Methodist Church in Britain and the Methodist Church in Ireland",*[178] the Youth Department of the Methodist Church in Ireland was established. It is also worth noting that, at the same time, the Presbyterian Church in Ireland also established a Youth Committee for the oversight of the work among young people (see below).

The Methodist Church set aside one of its ministers as "General Secretary of the Youth Department," to have oversight from 1946. The Department of Youth and Children's Work of the Methodist Church in Ireland (DYCW) was responsible for the development and co-ordination of work among young people and children:

"The Department aims to serve young people of every age group through a comprehensive and unified programme, seeking the wellbeing of the whole young person, personal commitment to Jesus Christ, active involvement in the Christian community and practical action in the world. The Department shall work through the Youth and Children's Council at Connexional, District and Local levels. It shall encourage and develop in partnership with other departments and where appropriate other churches or agencies:

(a) Christian education in Youth groups, Sunday Schools and in all-age Church.
(b) Youth and children's work within the local church and community.
(c) The training and development of young people for leadership in Church and community.
(d) The training and development of leaders for work with young people and children.
(e) New and adventurous forms of evangelical, educational, cultural, social, recreational, cross community and international activity for young people and children.
(f) The nurture and care of every child and young person within the community of God's people."[179]

Presbyterian Church

The first youth organisation to exist within the Presbyterian Church of Ireland was the Central Presbyterian Association which ran from 1882 to 1932. According to Graeme Thompson, the Youth Development Officer for the Church, *"the place of fellowship in a Christian environment is in some way the forerunner to the modern youth organisation, along with the Young People's Guilds."* [180] The Young People's Guild was formed by the General Assembly of the church in 1891 and was aimed at those who had *"reached Sunday School leaving age and were viewed to be in danger of leaving church connections behind."*[181] The Presbyterians, in 1941 were co-founders, with the Methodists and Church of Ireland, of the Churches' Youth Welfare Society and in 1944 the Presbyterian Assembly gave general approval to the formation of an Assembly Youth Committee *"to co-ordinate the youth work of the church without interfering with the autonomy of the organisations and initiate new work as may appear desirable."*[182] This was a significant decision in that there was an acknowledged autonomy given to the Youth Committee.

[178] The Methodist Church in Ireland, "The Constitution of the Methodist Church in Ireland"
[179] From Rock Ibid opt cited
[180] Thompson Ibid opt cited
[181] Bonar Robert H A History of Carnmoney Presbyterian Church " RHB 2004
[182] Graeme Thompson PHD thesis 'Keeping close to home: the faith and retention of emerging Presbyterian adults in Northern Ireland. Kings College, London 2012.

The Youth Committee replaced the Guild Board in 1946 but commitment to direct work seemed to fade in the following two decades, except through independent, mainly uniformed, youth organisations. The Girls' Auxiliary was founded in 1921 and the Boys' Auxiliary a year later and focused on *"providing social and educational activities for young people and to support Presbyterian missions."*[183]

By 1950, the Youth Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland was reporting that *"youth work in connection with our Church still depends mainly upon the older and well-tried organisations"*[184] and in following reports the Youth Committee reported growing numbers of gender-mixed Youth Fellowships designed to meet the spiritual, social, and emotional needs of children and youth. The focus of this ministry is relational. Members are encouraged to participate in a variety of activities including Bible reflection, discussion, prayer, worship, outings, etc. It encouraged young people to learn the value of being in Christian community.

Churches' Youth Welfare Council

The Churches' Youth Welfare Council was started in 1941. It was initiated by some of the Protestant denominations (mainly Methodist and Presbyterian) and the first secretary was Albert Fogarty. It was partly inspired by concern for young people having to cope with the lack of street lighting because of the war. As highlighted above, in many of the deprived areas of Belfast the main play area for children was the streets and this was unsafe due to the Black Out.

The Objects of the organisation were:

(a) *"To provide in a Christian atmosphere and in accordance with Christian ideals facilities for suitable training and recreation for boys and girls in NI during adolescence as an aid to their full development in body, mind and spirit.*
(b) *To promote, assist, financially assist and otherwise, voluntary associations of youths of either sex having such objects as aforesaid.*
(c) *To act as a "central voluntary organisation" within the meaning of the Physical Training and Recreation Act (NI) 1938, and any enactment amending the same.*
(d) *To employ, provide for the training of, and pay instructors, lecturers, organisers and other persons to assist in such training and recreation aforesaid and in the organisation and running of association and centres."*[185]

At the first Annual Meeting of the Churches' Youth Welfare Council in 1943 the Chair of the organisation stated, *"The Churches' Youth Welfare Council has the great primary merit of representing a united effort of the Protestant Churches of Ulster. A great opportunity has arisen for the Churches to demonstrate their oneness of spirit and purpose."*[186]

The Annual Report referred to the first clubs that had affiliated to the Council:

[183] Bonar Ibid opt cited
[184] Thompson Ibid opt cited
[185] From 1st Annual Report of Churches' Youth Welfare Council 1942-43
[186] CYWC Ibid Opt Cited

- Upper Shankill, Beresford Street. Leader Mr JH Brown, with a membership of 83 boys.
- Lower Shankill, Townsend Street. Leader Mr Wickens, with a membership of 26 boys.
- Blythe Street, Sandy Row. Leader Mr AE Fogerty with 100 boys as members.
- Henry Street. Leader Mr JH McEwen, with 50 youths.
- Ledley Hall, East Belfast. Leaders Mr Keith Magee and Cecil Miskelly, with 35 boys as members.
- Hope Street. Leader Miss Bessie Maconnachie, with membership of 80 girls.
- North Queen Street. Leader Miss Ferris, with membership of 40 girls.

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Reference was made to two new premises acquired in Innes Place, Donegal Road (with Miss Booth as Leader) and Thorndyke Street, East Belfast (but no leader appointment yet). Provincial Clubs acknowledged in the report were in Armagh, Banbridge, Lurgan, Carrickfergus, Castlecaulfield, Larne and Bangor.

The Annual Report mentioned Summer Camps in Ward Park, Bangor; Athletics; Football; Boxing; and Swimming. Also, *"Case Work – cases of general welfare (e.g. boys estranged from their homes) which have been referred to the organisers have been dealt with in a most gratifying manner."*[187]

Noel Hearst, (secretary of CYSC from 1967-72) summarised the work of the Council as, *"In the early days the main Protestant denominations set up a coalition called the Churches' Youth Welfare Council and went about organising training and help for those working with young people."*[188]

Training for Youth Work was an important role of this body, *"and it was for a number of years the main source of accredited training in youth work for these churches but only at a foundation and post-foundation level. There were enthusiastic volunteer youth leaders who took up these courses. Still, untrained volunteer youth leaders undertook the vast majority of youth work."*[189] From Noel Hearst we learn that the Protestant Churches, through this Council, were key providers of support, advice and training for many affiliated youth clubs at this time.

Catholic Church

The key date for formally organised youth work within the Roman Catholic denomination was the founding of the Down and Connor Youth Council in 1945. By 1950 the Council began to run training courses and insisted that the volunteer workers participated in those courses *"in order that the clubs' Catholic ethos would be protected."* [190] At this time the concept of full-time youth leaders/workers was not a consideration. Within the Catholic Church a similar body, called Cathog, was established to bring together work of the five northern dioceses in Ireland.[191]

[187] CYWC Annual Report Ibid Opt Cited
[188] Interview with Noel Hearst 19/11/14
[189] Rock. Ibid opt cited
[190] White P.K. 1992.
[191] Cathog is the Catholic Churches agency which delivers youth ministry training to their volunteer youth leaders.

The Constitution of Down and Connor Youth Council (1945) refers to 4 aims:

- *"To bring young people to the fullness of Christ by helping them to make their own decisions in life according to his teaching.*
- *To provide for the social needs of young people.*
- *To involve young people in the life and service of their community.*
- *To provide for the recreational needs of young people."*[192]

The management of the affairs of the Down and Connor Youth Council was placed under a General Council of which *"at least one of whom must be under 25 years of age."*[193] The functions of the General Council included, *"the setting up of sub committees for the purposes of organising inter youth group activities and competitions."*[194] The formal nature of the language and tone of the Constitution showed the serious manner in which the Down and Connor Diocese viewed the work of the Youth Council.

The story of youth work within our major church bodies in this period is patchy and mainly denomination specific. The 1940s were significant in that the Churches' Youth Welfare Council and Down and Connor Youth Council were formed to offer support and development to youth work activity within the church. However, uniformed organisations continued to provide the main source of youth work from 1920 to 1960.

Youth Work on the Rest of the Island

Whilst this is a story of the history of youth work in Northern Ireland, it is important to acknowledge developments of youth work on the other part of the island during this period. As stated earlier, the Vocational Educational Bill of 1930 brought youth work into the remit of formal education and acknowledged the relationship between formal and non-formal education.

The O'Sullivan Committee, in its 1980 report, characterised the foundation of Irish youth work as:

"being predominantly voluntary in nature. We value greatly this characteristic and wish to see volunteerism maintained and even further developed ... We value it as a process which enriches our society ... It involves people in taking on an appropriate degree of responsibility for various aspects of their community life and in diminishing an unhealthy dependency on bureaucratic institutions."[195]

Devlin, in a 2009 address to a European "History of Youth Work" conference, linked the principle of subsidiarity of youth work in Ireland to Catholic social teaching.[196] The principle of subsidiarity, for Devlin, had been institutionalised before independence (1922) and was *"pervasive in effect"*[197] after this. The denominational education systems, church ownership of schools and hospitals made it difficult for youth work to be separated from church. Devlin examines a

[192] White opt cited.
[193] Down and Connor Youth Council Constitution 1945
[194] Ibid opt cited
[195] 0' Sullivan Committee 1980
[196] Devlin M. 2009
[197] Devlin Ibid Opt Cited

particular year, 1944, to illustrate the state's thinking about youth work and its role in society,

"The cinema, dancehall, the toss school, the billiard saloon and the private gambling dens [are] baneful distractions and influences [while] the predominantly unsavoury fare provided by the foreign film producers tends to deaden the sensibilities of decency and honour in young minds and hearts… [Counteracting such influences] is the negative aspect of the Youth Apostolate. Its more positive side is the building up in Youth of strong and virile Christian character."[198]

The language and sentiments contained above mirror 19th century comments on youth work within British society. Furthermore, Devlin draws from the material of the day following the 1930 Vocational Act in Ireland:

"It is in many respects more difficult to be a youth leader than a schoolmaster. Both are educationalists. To the one the pupils come compulsorily, to the other voluntarily. This is a vital difference. In the one education is direct, in the other indirect. For the one there is a definite programme fixed by outside authority, for the other the programme confirms to the needs and the desires of the members, who have to be inspired by the leaders themselves.. The leader has much to give, but what he gives must be the spontaneous offering of a heart fired with a great love of youth, and a will to understand and sympathise with its problems. He must strive ceaselessly to awaken in those young hearts committed to his care a love and trust from which will arise naturally a confidence in his guidance and leadership culminating in the establishment of a bond of friendship which will endure beyond the years of youth."[199]

Here we see the relationship between formal and non-formal education and the emphasis on the role, and responsibility, of the voluntary youth leader to have this *great love of youth* but also to *awaken hearts* and provide *guidance* within a *bond of friendship.* The template in Ireland for a youth leader did not vary very differently from a British and Northern Irish one.

In Ireland, early youth work was delivered through voluntary organisations such as Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) (founded in 1844); Young Women's Christian Associated (founded in 1914), both discussed above; the Catholic Young Men's Society (CYMS) (founded 1849) to "take care of the young wage earner to complete his religious education, to improve his knowledge of secular affairs and to give him legitimate and real please free from sin"; Na Fianna Éireann (founded in 1909 by Countess Markievicz and northerner Hobson Bulmer to promote Irish culture and national independence); as well as Catholic Scouts of Ireland (1927) and Catholic Guides of Ireland (1928), discussed above; and numerous other church-related clubs and groups.

The setting up of Comhairle le Leas Oige and Foroige were important developments in work with young people in the south of Ireland. In relation to Comhairle le Leas Oige,

[198] Devlin Ibid Opt Cited
[199] Devlin Ibid Opt Cited

"In 1942 Minister for Education in Ireland instructed the City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee (CDVEC) to take appropriate steps to deal with the problem of youth unemployment in the city. The result was the establishment of a sub-committee of the CDVEC called Comhairle le Leas Óige (Council for the Welfare of Youth), since re-named the City of Dublin Youth Service Board (CDYSB)".[200]

In relation to the development of Foroige, there was a tendency for youth work to be most developed around the bigger cities, particularly Dublin, until, in 1952, Macra na Tuaithe, Foroige was founded as the junior wing of the Irish Young Farmers' Organisation, Macra na Feirme. Its aim was the development of young people in rural Ireland through their participation in youth clubs. Throughout the 1950s and 60s Macra na Tuaithe, Foroige had close links with Macra na Feirme and received much financial support from the W.K. Kellog Foundation. The Principal Objective of Foroige was *"To develop and implement a youth education programme complementary to the home, school and work to enable young people to involve themselves consciously and actively in their own development and the development of society."*[201] This provided a balance to the dominant focus of youth work up until then that *"focused especially on young people from deprived backgrounds that tended to be established in the cities and large towns."*[202]

The combination of the growth of a religious youth movement in Ireland and the establishment of the national structures of Foroige and Comhairle Le Leas Oige before 1960 played an important role in the development of youth work with an emphasis on recreation, education and social development, with also a religious component.

"The Churches have had an honourable record in the development of youth work in this country. Personnel, premises and resources were made available and the clergy have been, and continue to be, active in the various youth organisations. Indeed in as early as 1943 the late Archbishop of Dublin set up a Catholic Youth Council to co-ordinate youth work in his Diocese."[203]

For the Republic of Ireland the story is largely one of a voluntary-led youth service, with a strong church connection, that was valued by state and young people.

Examples from Youth Work Practice

It has been difficult to get first-hand accounts of early youth work practice. Many of the practitioners are no longer with us and records from youth workers and their practice have been hard to find. But some of our interviews have uncovered examples that may be illustrative of the period 1945 - 1960 and we share three such stories in an attempt to give an indication of the face to face work during this phase.

[200] Devlin M. 2010
[201] Jenkinson H. 2000.
[202] Forde W. (Rev.) 1995
[203] Forde Ibid Opt Cited

1940s The Youth Club above a Public House

Our interviewee was a teacher by day and a volunteer youth club worker in the evening. He had been asked by the Christian Brothers to help out in starting up a youth club in Chapel Lane (above the Hercules Bar) in Belfast in the late 1940s. Drawing on his PE training he was responsible, in the early days of the club, for the physical exercise programme which was to feature prominently in the club programme. One anecdote relating to this club refers to a time when the newly appointed Ministry of Education Inspector for Youth Work was due to visit the club to see if he could assist with grants or offer advice on how it could develop. Beforehand the Inspector decided to take a quick half pint in the bar which was below the club. On finishing his drink he went up stairs to the club and said to our voluntary youth leader *"I knew your exercise class was going on tonight as the patrons in the bar below were standing back from the bar so as to avoid the dust from the ceiling falling into their drinks as you put the boys through their paces in the club."* [204]

The humour of the Inspector helped ease any pressure in the club of his visit and the tolerance of the patrons in the public house demonstrated the support for the work going on above them.

From the North West - an Age of Innocence?

The second example comes from the north-west and was obtained through conversation with three workers who came through the youth club ranks.

Long Tower Youth Club opened in 1944 and this, along with other youth clubs of the time, developed from the Boys' Sodality meetings, which aimed at "fostering in its members an ardent devotion, reverence, and filial love towards the Blessed Virgin Mary". In the interview the respondents described this as a church-run organisation for boys *"where you had a wee chat after church".* This was a meeting of the boys after mass each month and it was targeted at over 16s. The Sodality was a place for boys to talk, for example, about issues and concerns as they grew into becoming young men. From these meetings a youth club grew, run and organised by the parish priest.

At the time these parish clubs represented the youth club scene in Derry and St Eugene's, Waterside Youth Club, Long Tower Youth Club and St Mary's Youth Club, often supported by Legion of Mary volunteers, provided the young people of the areas with recreational opportunities like football, cross country athletics and table tennis. The club was the *"greatest thing and it gave me everything I have in this present day."*[205] The interviewees talked about being elected on to the club youth committee and organising dances and this is when girls were allowed into the clubs. They put on variety shows, and once again, girls were allowed to come in and help. Given the clubs were closely linked to the church and the community they talked about *"record hops and street hops"* during the 1950s which emanated from the youth club. These *hops* provided a social outlet for young people and community.

[204] Interview with Retired Civil Servant and former teacher 28/11/14
[205] Quote from interviewee in Long Tower YC 12/12/14

The interviewees talked about their experiences of the youth clubs of St Eugene's, Long Tower, St Mary's and Waterside. They reflected on *"happy days"* of being on the youth committee, organising events, dances and *"just having fun".* They described what went on as *"raw youth work in practice"* and in their story they talked about young people participating in community life. For them their youth club was central in that community and, as young people, they had a place in the social life of that community and, importantly, the youth club provided a springboard for the interviewees to develop their own career in youth and community work in the city.

Formal Education meets Social Education - the Teacher as the Youth Worker

The next example comes from a qualified teacher who was to become a key player in the history of youth work in Northern Ireland. An important part of this story of practice relates to the background of this individual. His early life experience was on the lower Falls Road in Christian Brother's primary and secondary schools. It was in secondary school that his interests in athletics developed. The path to teaching had been defined for him from an early age as he had been identified early on at school as a King's Scholar which earmarked him for a scholarship and teaching. He qualified as a teacher in 1948 and got involved in youth work through his interest in athletics and Physical Education. Later he became a member of the Federation of Boys' Clubs' Executive.

The teacher training he received at St Mary's Training College, through most of the 1940s (prolonged and interrupted due to the second world war), was alongside 49 other men. His first job in 1948 was in St Mary's Secondary School, Divis Street, Belfast and he was *"landed with 50 kids who did not want to be there."*[206] He had specific responsibility for crafts and PE. It was from this point that he developed a *youth work approach* to his teaching. This group of young people aged 13/14 was challenging and he knew he needed to do more than *chalk and talk.* He introduced swimming and visits out of the classroom. From this early classroom experience and his ability to work differently with *boys who did not want to be there* alerted people to his innovative approach and practice in the classroom. He recalls that *"the Department of Education were having problems at the time identifying teachers who could work with these young boys who were presenting problems in the classroom"* and his next teaching appointment was in 1950 St Gabriel's Secondary School, north Belfast and it was from here that his different approach developed and matured. He was experiencing a personal tension that secondary education teaching may not be for him but he also had a sense of duty and loyalty to his training and the expectation and pressure he felt from the Church to work with young men who just did not want to be there and were destined to leave *school* without formal qualifications. To illustrate his own unique teaching methods at this time, combining formal teaching with a youth work approach, he described the story of a young man who was continually late for school.

Faced with this issue, a teacher's usual response would be punishment for the pupil with lines or detention. Before considering a response to address this lateness, he visited the home of the young man in the hope the parent(s) would do something about it. What unfolded from the mother was a story of a young man from an inner city deprived area of Belfast who got up at 6.30am each

[206] Interviewees quote from interview 28/11/14

morning, went around the streets looking for wooden boxes or any other usable pieces of wood. He would bring this wood back to the house and store it until he returned from school when he would then chop it up into firewood bundles and go around the streets selling them to help his mother with an income to run the house. In between, he went to school, late of course, as he did not have a watch to tell the time.

With this new information, the teacher was left with a dilemma. The reality of the situation was that the young man was demonstrating responsibility to help with the household income and showing entrepreneurial flair. The response was to invite the young man to bring the wood he collected in his early morning rounds to the school and then the teacher organised the class into a production line to create the stick bundles. He introduced a practical maths lesson as he got them to determine how they would get the maximum amount of sticks from a wooden box. He introduced economics whereby they would decide how much to charge for the bundles given the local economy of the area. He also introduced them to the concept of teamwork. Boys were organised, in this production line, according to interest, ability and academic need. In this simple exercise, the youth work methodology was demonstrated whereby the boys started from a position of their interest and experience and the teacher brought knowledge and meaning to that experience within a place of learning. He was to receive criticism from some teaching colleagues for his classroom which was usually noisy, buzzing with excitement and energy and this, alongside what was seen as an unconventional teaching approach, brought him into the Principal's Office, following a complaint from some of his colleagues. He was, however, to receive support from the Principal who affirmed his approach and set the pattern for rest of his career in teaching and his voluntary youth work outside of school and his subsequent appointment to the Department of Education Inspectorate team. The pupil's story was completed, a number of years later, when he had left school, this young man, who had shown the entrepreneurial flair with the sticks, made a delivery to the home of his former teacher. Upon signing and paying for the delivery, the young man handing back a £5.00 note off his bill and said *"See that lorry there. That's mine. I have my own business now and thank you for taking the time to help me all those years ago in school."*

In this tale the interface between formal education and non-formal education was social education and highlights and illustrates a teacher's creative flair to gain a fuller picture of a social situation before reacting to the presenting issue. He demonstrated a conscious attempt to enable the young men in the classroom to gain, for themselves, the knowledge, feelings and skills necessary to meet their own and other's needs.

Summary

Whilst we have traced a history of youth work back to 1844 in Chapter 1, we can see in Chapter 2, since the inception of the Northern Ireland state in 1921, the development of a type of non-formal educational action, while having a wide range of forms and functions, that could be described as youth work which was having a positive impact in the lives of many young people. Youth work, however, was very different from a conventional picture of mainstream education.

The history of youth work up to 1960, outlined above, suggests various conclusions, as follows:
The service focused primarily on the disadvantaged in urban areas. This youth provision was more prevalent and visible in inner cities, whether through a youth club or a uniformed organisation (or both).

Youth provision sought to achieve a range of different objectives including *getting young people off the streets; helping their physical well-being; boosting their self-respect; helping them overcome barriers to achievement; and helping them achieve their potential.* For many people, however, youth work remained focused on the spiritual and moral welfare of young people, as they saw it.

Also, at times of war, the state puts increased priority on ensuring its young people can achieve a certain standard of physical fitness, discipline and military related skills, such as drilling.

Youth work is delivered through an increasingly wide range of clubs and organisations, which were organised into developing umbrella structures such as SCOYO, Federation of Boys' Clubs, Churches' Youth Welfare Society, Down and Connor Youth Council, or other structures. This period is significant for headquarter organisation development.

Up to 1960, the language of *Youth Welfare* was still to the forefront, reflecting a needs-based approach to work with young people.

The debate about the relative value and benefits of mixed clubs and single sex clubs surfaced in this time and in drawing out the histories of respective bodies we identify differences in practice approaches and underlying philosophy and purpose of the work. In this period we find the girls' work and those leading the major organisations for girls express more comfort with a practice linked to the role of young women and women in society and one might say a more *political* slant than the work with boys.

There was a common understanding that youth work was good for young people and good for the state, so an increased awareness that it needed to be supported through legislation and funding. There were calls for a policy for youth work (1956) from a Government Working Party on youth work and for the state to take youth work more seriously. The first policy in youth work in Northern Ireland was not to come until 1987, which was 21 years on from the first call for one.

There was increased awareness that the support and training of leaders was crucial to delivering effective youth work.

As the 1944 Youth Welfare Act (NI) confirmed, youth work and formal education were part of one overall endeavour and were both the responsibility of one government department. According to Paddy McDermott[207], this *"was a decision which had much to recommend it, as youth work had long had an established and identifiable educational content".* The resource and manpower in a ready-made teacher trained personnel with experience in working with young people was also significant.

[207] Interview Ibid opt cited

The very nature of youth work, however, meant that it did not fit neatly into the administrative structure of an education system that organises young people vertically in stages of formal primary, secondary, further and higher education, when youth work often operates horizontally through a young person's life.

The 1947 Education Act (NI), however, was a very important piece of legislation, especially for working class young people. Before this Act young people would go to work at 14 and now they could stay on at school and potentially go on to further or higher education. This provided a different context for youth work.

The appointment of a Youth Committee in 1944 as a result of the Youth Welfare Act (NI) was important in promoting a service for young people and supporting it through grants. During this period the Youth Committee's focus was on grant giving, workforce development, training, buildings and promoting and developing the profession of youth work.

Records of practice in this period are light but we are alerted to the strong recreational and community dynamics of the work from the north west example as young people got involved in youth club committees and developed their interest in becoming youth and community workers. Our example from teaching provides a solid example of the formal/non formal interface through social education.

As we reach 1960 and a new dawn for youth work in England and Wales through the Albemarle Report, the story for Northern Ireland will take a slightly different slant and growing civil unrest creates a challenging backdrop to the next era.






3 Investing in Lives

Chapter 3

1960-1969
From Albemarle to a 'Troubled' Start

CHAPTER 3

1960-1969 : FROM ALBEMARLE TO A 'TROUBLED' START

Introduction

It is not possible to discuss the 1960s without acknowledging the phenomenal societal changes that took place globally during this decade. "*A rebellion of free essence against the restraints of outmoded form, the sixties began with a flood of youthful energy bursting through the physic dam of the Fifties."*[208]

It was a time of challenge to the status quo and in particular a challenge from youth against institutional authority. Other decades had events which caused change. However, arguably, no decade created more change than the 1960s and although there were political aspects, this was not primarily a political revolution**:**

"The true revolution of the Sixties - more powerful and decisive for Western society than any of its external by-products - was an inner one of feeling and assumption: a revolution in the head. Few were unaffected by this and, as a result of it, the world changed more thoroughly than it could ever have done under merely political direction." [209]

The speed of cultural change within the UK was very significant. The stiff conformity of the Fifties was challenged and many aspects dispensed with. At the beginning of the decade it was common practice to stand for the National Anthem at the end of a night in the cinema. This was gradually discontinued and was not usual after 1966. There was an increasingly lack of deference towards authority especially among young people. Long hair and colourful clothes for men became acceptable by 1967. Established institutions came under criticism for being out of date and out of touch. Church theologians within the church looked for radical alternatives. In 1963 John Robinson, the Bishop of Woolwich published a book entitled "*Honest to God"* [210] which was an example of many challenges to established church views. John Robinson also appeared in court to defend the publication of D.H. Lawrence's controversial *Lady Chatterley's Lover.* As the decade proceeded there was a growing hedonistic culture especially among young people. The availability of 'the pill' also helped to transform attitudes towards sex. These factors all had a major effect on young people and on youth work approaches.

1960 in Britain was a time of post-war boom. The Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan (Conservative), had delivered full employment and economic prosperity to the country and famously said *"You have never had it so good".* There were still post-war tensions between east and west and, in America, there were two contenders, John F Kennedy and Richard Nixon for the Presidency. The former became president of USA in November 1960 issuing in a new era of change and hope for a better world.

[208] McDonald I. 2008
[209] McDonald Ibid Opt Cited
[210] Robinson J. 1963

Harold Macmillan, in a speech to the South African apartheid parliament, referred to a *"wind of change which is blowing through the continent and whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact."*[211]

In a way, this became a metaphor for the era, *The Sixties,* that was to follow. A decade of burgeoning youth culture that led the way to an end to the old certainties. These included new music, new literature, new styles and new architecture set against a background of a so-called Cold War between east and west.

State Intervention in Youth Service in England and Wales - Albemarle

At this point in time, significant State intervention into Youth Work came from England when Lady Albemarle was appointed in 1958 to head an independent review of the Youth Service of England and Wales. This culminated in the Albemarle Report (1960) which was a watershed in the development of Youth Work in England and Wales that had resonance for Northern Ireland. The Albemarle Report reflects an enthusiasm from the State to get involved in the Youth Service in the period after the Second World War, albeit for its own ends, but also in the interests of young people. But the austerity that followed the ending of the war in 1945 tempered any major investment in infrastructure and service development. The message coming from the state was one of a preference for a *partnership* between state and voluntary sector. The language of social education was not really within the state's vocabulary when referring to the Youth Service, at least not in Northern Ireland.

The Albemarle Committee's view of the purpose of the Youth Service was:

"To reach and influence working-class young people, particularly those who were disadvantaged and so potentially or actually disruptive - which meant those who felt alienated from its own 'traditional 'approaches and philosophies.[212]

The Albemarle Committee, however, was critical of the drab and ramshackle image of youth work and proposed that a significant increase was needed in the number of professional youth workers and suitable buildings. A commitment to double the number of full-time workers by the end of the decade was achieved. In 1960 the number of full-time workers in England and Wales was 700. By 1968 the number had increased to 1500. This was achieved mainly through the one year emergency course at the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders at Leicester Polytechnic. There were two other registered courses namely Westhill College Birmingham and Swansea University College. The term 'registered' meant that students would receive maintenance grant if they were selected for the courses.

Other higher education establishments responded positively to the need for professional training of youth workers and by the end of the 1960s there was a range of colleges across England, Wales and Scotland (but not Northern Ireland) offering training for youth leaders and community centre wardens: National Association of Boys' Clubs in co-operation with the Extension Studies Department

[211] MacMillan H. 1960
[212] Albemarle Report

of the University of Liverpool; National Council of YMCA's in association with the London North East Polytechnic; Moray House College of Education, Edinburgh; Jordanhill College of Education, Glasgow; London University; London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London); Goldsmiths College, London; City of Leicester College of Education; Manchester Polytechnic and Manchester University (Shoreditch College of Education offered a course up until 1967).

One of the major impacts that Albemarle had in the 1960s was on buildings for youth work. By 1967 the number of building projects in England and Wales was 3,000 costing £23 million. The building programme was imaginative and called on the Ministry of Education Architects and Buildings Branch for advice. This led to the publication of Building Bulletin No. 20, *Youth Service Buildings/General Mixed Clubs* and Building Bulletin No. 22, *Withywood Youth Centre, Bristol.* These bulletins, concerning purpose-built centres for youth work, indicated two key policy elements: Firstly, that the most common type of youth work facility would be 'mixed', ie. boys and girls; and secondly, that the main feature of the work would be social interaction. In other words, although opportunities for physical and sporting activities are present in these buildings, the need for young people to meet each other, to see and be seen, was crucial.

The initial responses to Albemarle were mixed. The youth service had voluntary and statutory parts and the voluntary part tended to be wary of such a rapid shift towards professionalism. Some agencies, especially faith-based ones, feared that accepting grant-aid from the state might compromise their core values. In addition, the impact of the newly trained workers with fresh and radical approaches raised some eyebrows among youth service traditionalists.

By the mid-1960s, youth work in England was experiencing a post-Albemarle impact in that it was clear that the Committee's recommendations had been crafted to ensure government acceptance. Total acceptance of the Albemarle Report by the Minster of Education was delivered. This total acceptance, according to Davies [213], outlined clearly the task for local authorities *"...to determine (youth work) policy in their areas...and to ensure that adequate and varied facilities are provided".* The role of central government was also to be strengthened, particularly for *"...securing the performance of local authorities of the duties put upon them by...the Education Act of 1944."*

Albemarle created a clear push for the professionalisation of the Youth Service and of Youth Workers. Within the report there was a recommendation that in the five years following the report (1960-65), a specialist one-year emergency training course should be established to qualify 140 new youth workers per annum. The target date was later pushed back by a further five years. Some individuals from Northern Ireland would end up being trained through this route.

Furthermore, through the report, extra resources were made available for employing full-time staff and nationally recognised machinery was created to set their salaries and conditions of service. The Joint Negotiating Committee (JNC) for Youth Leaders was formed following the Albemarle recommendations and in 1965 the scope of the Joint Committee was extended to include Community

[213] Davies Ibid opt cited

Centre Wardens. The scope of this Joint Negotiating Committee covered *"persons qualified or otherwise employed full time by local education authorities either as youth leaders or community centre wardens and persons employed full time as youth leaders or community centre wardens by voluntary organisations in receipt of grant from local education or from Department of Education and Science"*[214]. The trend, post-Albemarle, in England, was very much towards Youth AND Community Work, compared to Northern Ireland which favoured a separation between these two disciplines and a close relationship between youth work and the formal education sector. Also, with Albemarle's support of full-time workers and their training we have the first signs of a potential tension between a service that had been historically delivered by volunteers as the main resource for youth leadership in the UK to one that now had an emerging professional workforce.

The establishment of the JNC for youth workers was an important landmark for a number of reasons. It established the conditions of service i.e. sick pay, superannuation, holidays, probation, and set scales of pay, for qualified and unqualified staff. A note of interest, for Northern Ireland, was that the chair of JNC mid-1960s was Stanley Rowe, who was to come to Northern Ireland in the mid-1970s to join the Northern Ireland Polytechnic youth work training team. Rowe was also a member of the Milson Committee, part of the Fairbairn/ Milson group which produced the 1969 report "*Youth and Community Work in the 70s."*

Albemarle is significant, not just for England and Wales, but all of the UK. It was established at a time when young people were being perceived by many people as a threat to the natural order of things with adult concerns around behaviour of young people but, for Albemarle:

"What is required above all on the part of the general public, is an imaginative appreciation of the changed outlook of young people today. It is easy to condemn actions and attitudes which are innocuous in themselves simply because they differ from and so appear to offend against the codes of behaviour or appearance which to the younger generations have become meaningless. 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. The effort to understand lies at the basis of all virtue, it is surely here that the nation can make a beginning."[215]

In these words we find a Committee prepared to be non-judgemental of young people and to present themselves as advocates *for* young people. But in the period between the Committee being established (1958) and the publication of the report (1960) far-reaching social shifts were occurring across the UK. Teenagers were increasingly active and vocal and the deep-seated traditional social attitudes that *"young people should be seen and not heard* and *"young people should respect their elders"* were now being challenged and threatened. The *"old British deference to elders and betters"* was now under severe strain and the Albemarle Committee was charged with responding to a vocal teenage generation.

Albemarle ended up, "reasserting and reframing some of the core features of youth work practice inherited from its 19th century originators...For example (it)

[214] Seventh Report of the Joint Committee for Youth Leaders and Community Centre Wardens. 1972.
[215] Albemarle Report ibid opt cited

re-stated youth work's educational role of offering 'training and challenge' for young people. At the same time, it emphasises that, in the youth work context, educational goals could only be realised through the provision of acceptable and engaging recreational activity. It thus gave equal emphasis to the need for what it called 'association' (para 135), in the process contributing to a reconceptualisation of youth leadership during the 1960s not just as youth work but as 'social education'."[216]

In this paragraph we see the recreational and educational purposes merging together. The emphasis in paragraphs 135 and 188 of the Report on *young people's self-determination,* on their *self-programming* and the *valuing their active participation* and their *own leadership of groups* are important in that we begin to see clearer thinking about the values underpinning youth work. Indeed, Albemarle defined young people as the *fourth partner* alongside local and central government and the voluntary sector. It recognised the need for a *sense of fellowship* for young people which can result in *gang loyalties.* Alongside this tone we also find the language of the report referring to the *unclubbed* with a desire to *reach them* and get them into the club which, while understandable, does contain a hint of the need for social control of young people.

Youth Work in England throughout the 1960s can best be understood by tracking the various editions of *Youth Work Review* published by The National Union of Teachers in association with the National Association of Youth Service Officers and the Youth Service Association. The first edition of this publication was in 1964.

One particular article stands out from the early editions, *The Role-Behaviour of Youth Leaders* written by Fred Milson in February 1966. Milson, who was later to become co-author of *Youth and Community Work in the 70s* [217], was Principal Lecturer and Head of the Youth and Community Service Department at Westhill Training College, Birmingham. In his article, Milson highlighted the absence of a defined pattern for the role of a youth leader and this lack of defined pattern left youth workers free to interpret and to develop their own style of leadership. He believed this freedom left the profession exposed to criticism from the public about what they actually do or how they differ from, for example, social workers or teachers. Prior to Albemarle it was estimated there were around 700 youth workers in England and Wales and by 1966 this number had risen to 1,150. But despite the increase in numbers Milson believed *"the youth leader carries out his* (sic) *duties in comparative social isolation...and are left to interpret their function...and the freedom to interpret his own style."*[218]

Milson carried out research between September 1962 and August 1963 into 49 full-time youth workers in the Midlands area. The hypothesis he tested was that the work of youth workers would divide into 4 areas:

- *"Welfare (the protective and father-figure whose tools are compassion and friendship);*
- *Ideological (the one with the message, the preacher who had a message they wished to communicate);*

[216] Davis Ibid Opt cited
[217] Milson F. and Fairbairn A. 1969
[218] Milson F. 1966

- *Teacher (one who seeks to stimulate deeper interests in members and develop their special interests in skills); and*
- *Permissive Enabler (one who endeavours to facilitate a human situation where members can learn from each other rather than from the adult. They are primarily concerned to facilitate members' self-determination)."*[219]

In conclusion, Milson determined that this *"tentative hypothesis found substantial support."*[220] Within each of these categories, Milson described characteristics of each leader in how they interacted and behaved with and toward young people:

"Welfare Leader - performance was characterised by methods which rely upon the development of a friendly relationship with individual club members and techniques which were caring and compassionate... The leader remembers everyone's name ... they are aware of a person-orientated approach... they spend a lot of time talking to individuals... members call the leader by their Christian name or nickname and are relaxed in his company.

Ideological Leader - less easy going and see the youth club as a school of citizenship rather than a theatre of friendship... they rely on three things to make the club successful - strict discipline, activities other than the purely social and recreational and the communication of moral values from the wider community.

Educational/Teacher Leader - they are a combination of the first two sets. Less person-orientated than 'W' and less task-orientated that 'I'... They are activity conscious in the research constituency and their constant aim is to create fresh special interest groups... typically they hold annual prize-giving for skills obtained by members spelling, map reading, general knowledge, mountain climbing, swimming and so on.

Permissive Enabler Leader - develop a relationship of equal comradeship with members and their methods aim to increase the area of freedom and responsibility in which members move. Their discipline is not strict and they are not concerned to encourage a programme of activities... Methods are distinguished by permissiveness."[221]

Whilst this research was geographically specific and with a limited number of youth workers (many of whom may have been trained in Westhill, Birmingham given the research constituency) it is an interesting template for categorising youth workers at a point in time. The findings of the research offered the youth work training establishment information that would help inform recruitment, selection and curriculum development for their training courses. Importantly, Milson found value in the *flexibility* of role-behaviour and in the variety of youth worker approaches. For him, in a follow-up article 3 months later:

"If rigidity and inflexibility are the cardinal sins for youth leaders and if leaders are partly conditioned in their performance by the kind of people they are - then their training should create situations in which they can become aware of themselves, check their performance by objective standards and change themselves. Personal

[219] Milson Ibid Opt Cited
[220] Milson Ibid Opt Cited
[221] Milson Ibid Opt Cited

development and emotional maturity must be among the high-priority aims of (youth work) courses."[222]

In the 9th edition of Youth Review in the Summer of 1967, Raymond Woolf, a research officer at King's College Research Centre, Cambridge, posed a series of challenges to the Youth Service and questioned its future if it remained in isolation from social work and provided a template of how a new Youth Service might develop. For Woolf, if youth work remained an essentially educational service *"youth workers can now pack their bags and move into schools. They no longer have a separate job to do."*[223] He advocated that the school should assume the educational aspect of youth work and that youth work would be *"free to develop its social service side."* His argument was that with the changing patterns of leisure time for young people the youth service needed to be flexible, prepared and equipped to meet the problems arising from these changing patterns. His emphasis was on flexibility and variety in the Youth Service and suggested *"provision for counselling services should be extended... dance clubs... single activity centres... the idea is that both use of resources and attitude (of youth work and youth leaders) must be elastic."*

Woolf challenged the *one centre fits all age groups* approach. He claimed it was outdated and the service was in danger of neglecting the needs of the 16-21 age group if it persisted in this model. Secondly, *"just as important is that a new (youth) service should see itself as part of the movement towards working with communities."*[224]

He based his argument for change on the premise that the youth worker was not equipped to meet all the needs of young people and the needs their changing lifestyles threw up eg. drug taking, sexual promiscuity. For him, if youth workers stuck to their educational role and continued to develop links with schools then they would be less able to respond to the needs of young people. Woolf concluded, *"the need now is not for youth leaders but for social workers working with young people."*[225] He felt that youth work had lost its desire and capability to work with the *'unclubabble, the unattached and now the unreached."*[226]

By the mid-1960s we could presume that youth workers in England were looking forward to the next decade as Albemarle had given youth work a new impetus, as well as an injection of funding and buildings. By 1967, seven years post-Albemarle, however, fears within the service reflected a concern that the local statutory authorities *"might gradually be taking over the Youth Service."*[227] This concern prompted a call to the voluntary sector to *"Change... or Else"*[228] and for the role of the voluntary sector in youth work to *"pioneer - to work in areas where statutory bodies cannot function or are beyond the statutory services' present range, to uncover areas of need and to experiment in meeting them".*[229] Behind this sentiment was a belief that there was a voluntary-statutory partnership and it was the voluntary sector that provided the pioneering role. The concern was that

[222] Milson F. 1966
[223] Woolf R. 1967
[224] Woolf Ibid Opt Cited
[225] Woolf Ibid Opt Cited
[226] Woolf Ibid Opt Cited
[227] First Report of the Review Committee of the Youth Service Development Council 1966
[228] Oxford A.T.W. 1967
[229] Oxford Ibid Opt Cited

unless the voluntary sector changed and concentrated on the pioneering role they would," *become increasingly irrelevant whilst expecting to be subsidised by the statutory partner."*[230] The argument here is that there was a need for the voluntary sector to become more distinctive and this was very much what was happening in Northern Ireland at this time.

The Youth Service Development Council (YSDC) was an important body established in England and Wales under Albemarle. As the 'Sixties' progressed, the influence of the Council grew. An important decision of the YSDC was to appoint two sub-committees in 1967. The first, under the chairmanship of A. N. Fairbairn, was asked to study the relationship of the Youth Service with schools and further education; the second, under the chairmanship of Fred Milson, mentioned above, was to report on the relationship of the Youth Service with the adult community. The report *'Youth and Community Work in the 70s'*[231] was published in 1969, and will be discussed in the next chapter. The YSDC was strongly influenced by its membership which contained key players from the youth and community work training field, including, Josephine Klein (Group Work specialist who in the 1970s was to become part of the youth work training team at Goldsmith's College, London); Joan Matthews (was a Principal Lecturer at the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders in Leicester, set up in the wake of the Albemarle Report 1961); Fred Milson (Principal Lecturer and Head of the Youth and Community Service Department at Westhill Training College, Birmingham); and Joan Tash (London Council of Social Services and later, in the 1970s senior tutor in YMCA National College). They were to bring their influence to bear most notably in the content of *'Youth and Community Work in the 70s'.*

A significant publication in 1967, in youth work terms, was *'The Social Education of the Adolescent*[232] by Bernard Davies and Alan Gibson, which brought an academic rigour and challenge to the service at the time. Within it, there is examination of *single-sex clubs, outdoor activities, and the system of competition in youth work.* Most importantly, the authors brought the concept of *social education* to the fore. They confirmed that it was not a new concept but articulated its value to contemporary youth work, describing it as the act of relationship which exists in informal education between the adolescent and the adult. They challenged those adults who are attracted to social education with the desire to proselytize and *"conceive of their work in terms of proliferating the enthusiasms and interests which give meaning and coherence to their own lives."*[233]

For Davies and Gibson, social education should be based on the needs of young people as they exist and not on pre-suppositions of adults about adolescents. In other words, the provision offered to young people should not be that which adults feel they ought to offer. Social Education, therefore, should be client-centred. The authors stressed the importance of young people learning through personal experience and they emphasised the importance, for youth workers, of using recordings in their work and having supervision in their work place. Although these points may appear basic as we read them today, the message

[230] Oxford Ibid Opt Cited
[231] Milson F. and Fairbairn A. 1969.
[232] Davies B. and Gibson A. 1967
[233] Davies and Gibson Ibid Opt Cited

from Davies and Gibson in 1967 was significant and was a challenge to the Youth Service and youth workers at the time.

As the 1960s came to a close, various *Youth Review* articles reflected the impact of societal change on young people and the Youth Service in England.

Articles pointed to the growing influence of youth work in schools (*The Role of the Youth Tutor)*[234]; the increasing delinquency rates and the fact that there is a significant and positive relationship between the amount of money spent on the youth service and low delinquency rates (*Delinquency Rates and Youth Service Expenditure)*[235]*;* an editorial that was concerned that *"this could be the writing on the wall"* for the Youth Service as public expenditure cuts were flagged up by the government of the day *(The Economy Cuts and the Youth Service - Editorial)*[236]*;* the role of youth work, young people and human rights (*Youth on Human Rights)*[237]*;* there was even mention of the problems of handling a licensed bar in youth clubs *(Youth Clubs and Licensed Bars)*[238]*;* and, eventually, as the 'Sixties' came to a close, one of the articles highlighted the neglect of the needs of young girls in the youth club *(Something for Girls to Do!)*[239]*.* In this article Nash points to two reasons why he believed *"it is not surprising that many teenage girls find youth clubs tedious places"*[240]*.* The first is the *"uninspired nature of much contemporary youth leadership... and leaders seem incapable of recognising that girls can be as tough and as adventurous as boys."*[241]

The last edition of *Youth Review* in the 'Sixties' reflected the challenges that lay ahead for the Youth Service in the 1970s. The Milson-Fairbairn Report was published in 1969 and in the Autumn of that year, the *Youth Review* editorial flagged up the need for *"serious consideration to be given to the fundamental changes in the Youth Service which Youth Service Development Council envisages."*[242] Brian Harley wrote about the *Multi Racial Youth Club*[243] and Pamela Devine about *Unemployment*[244] highlighting her concerns about its impact on the lives of young people in Liverpool.

Youth Review offers us insight into youth work in England over a crucial period in time. It is of note that of the 11 editions examined, covering the period February 1966 to Autumn 1969, there were 95 articles in that period of which 79 (85%) were written by men and 16 (15%) by women.

Northern Ireland

In Northern Ireland, Sir Basil Brooke, Lord Brookeborough (Ulster Unionist), was Prime Minister. Brookeborough, from County Fermanagh, was a wealthy landowner and former soldier who was awarded the military cross in 1916.

[234] Locke A. 1968
[235] Bagley C. 1968
[236] Editorial 'The Economy Cuts and the Youth Service' No 12 Summer 1968
[237] Johnston P. 1968
[238] McGraw R. 1968
[239] Nash P. 1969
[240] Nash Ibid Opt Cited
[241] Nash Ibid Opt Cited
[242] Editorial 'Into the Seventies' No 16 Autumn 1969
[243] Harley B. 1969
[244] Devine P. 1969

The population of Northern Ireland in 1960 was 1,419,800 (779,360 urban and 640,440 rural), with almost one-third of the population living in Belfast. More than one-third (37.4%) of the population was under-19 years of age.[245]

Unemployment was a general problem in the Province but was unbalanced with 17.3% of Catholic males and 6.6% of Protestant males being unemployed. Traditional industries such as agriculture, shipbuilding, engineering and textiles were suffering from increasing global competition. Support for the cross-community Northern Ireland Labour Party, though small, was growing.

The system of voting was structured to favour Unionism. For example, in local elections only ratepayers were allowed to vote. One vote was allocated for every £10 paid in rates up to a maximum of 7 votes. This meant that wealthier people, who tended to be Protestants, had up to 7 votes while poorer people, who tended to be Catholic, had only one. Poor Protestants suffered as well under this system. The vote was linked to households paying rates and so gaining a house also gave a political advantage. Local Councils controlled house allocation and therefore were often seen to *favour* allocating houses that would reflect their political affiliations and therefore voting patterns. The system was known as gerrymandering.

The Campaign for Social Justice (CSJ) was formed on 17th January 1964 to highlight claims of active discrimination against the Catholic community by the Unionist government. This eventually led to the formation of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights movement (1st February 1967) which pushed for a number of reforms, including universal franchise for local government elections - *"One Man - One Vote"* and an end to the gerrymandering of electoral boundaries.

"Other reforms sought included: the end to discrimination in the allocation of public sector housing and appointments to, particularly, public sector employment; the repeal of the Special Powers Act; and the disbandment of the 'B-Specials' (Ulster Special Constabulary) which was a paramilitary style reserve police force which was entirely protestant in its makeup."[246]

The 1960s brought societal changes in Northern Ireland, initially similar to England, but for many people the rate of change on key social and political issues was too slow and by the end of the decade Northern Ireland was to erupt into in a much more dramatic form of change with sectarian conflict and violence which resulted in a series of dramatic changes.

1969 began with a People's Democracy march in January from Belfast to Londonderry and, by April, the moderate Captain Terence O'Neill (Ulster Unionist) had stood down as Prime Minister to be replaced by James Chichester Clarke (Ulster Unionist) and, by August, rioting in Belfast and Derry resulted in the intervention of the British Army. This marked the point in time that becomes known as 'The Troubles'. In October 1969, the Hunt Report[247] recommended reforms to the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

[245] *39th Annual Report of Register General*
[246] CAIN Chronology of key events in Irish History
[247] *HMSO Hunt Report 'Report of the Advisory Committee on Police in Northern Ireland. 1969*

A Ministry of Community Relations[248] was set up in December 1969 under the Community Relations Act (Northern Ireland) 1969. The Commission's mission was, as stated in the Act*, "to foster harmonious relations throughout the community*"[249]*.* The Minister of Community Relations was a member of the SDLP (Ivan Cooper) which reflected a change in Northern Ireland governance and a break from complete Ulster Unionist dominance. The Act also established a Community Relations Commission employing community development officers.

"The creation of the Commission for Community Relations and a Ministry of Community Relations showed that the Government was earnest about trying to heal the division in their society. One problem, however, was that these bodies had not developed conceptually from the situation in which they were meant to apply. Rather, they borrowed from legislation already in existence in Great Britain. This in turn was borrowed from thinking concerning race relations in the United States."[250]

The Community Relations Commission adopted a community development approach. Under the Social Needs Act[251], the Ministry of Community Relations provided capital grants to local community groups for the building of community centres in urban areas of social need. This changed the landscape of inner city Belfast and Derry in particular and provided benefits to young and old.

The Youth Service in Northern Ireland followed a little behind the English post-Albemarle changes (see below), but there was recognition of a need for a different approach that reflected the needs of Northern Ireland. However, since any youth worker in Northern Ireland who wanted to become professionally qualified had to go to England for training, there was bound to be a post-Albemarle influence. As mentioned above, the end of the 1960s saw the creation of the Civil Rights Movement, political upheaval and sectarian violence. To simply adopt an English model of youth work practice did not seem appropriate given the special circumstances the conflict created.

The civil unrest and sectarian violence continued throughout the 1970s and the Stormont government was prorogued in 1972, when sectarian violence was at its height and replaced with Direct Rule by Westminster. The British Army was sent in to control the situation.

The Albemarle Report applied only to England and Wales but the challenge was felt in Northern Ireland to provide a more significant service to young people and to redefine the role of the youth worker. The Northern Ireland Government produced their own White paper on the *Development of the Youth Service* the year after Albemarle, in *1961*[252] that encouraged the development of the youth service in Northern Ireland and, in particular, local authorities to get more involved in youth work.

[248] *HMSO Community Relations Act (Northern Ireland) 1969*
[249] HMSO Ibid Opt Cited
[250] McCready S. 2001.
[251] HMSO Social Needs Act (Northern Ireland) 1969
[252] HMSO White Paper Circular 1962/30 ' Development of the Youth Service' presented by Ministry of Education Circular February 1961)

In 1962, the passing of the *Youth Welfare, Physical Training and Recreation (NI) Act* was significant in that it replaced the Youth Committee with the Youth and Sports Committee. The Youth Committee report for the period 1955-58 and the launch of Albemarle Report in England and Wales (1960) combined to encourage the Ministry of Education to produce the 1961 White Paper, but the Act, a year later, indicated that statutory thinking reinforced youth work's relationship with sport and recreation, rather than with education or community development.

By the 1960s the administration of public education in Northern Ireland was under the general control of the Ministry of Education based at Rathgael House, Bangor, Co. Down and the main statutory provisions came from the Youth Welfare Act (NI) 1938 and the Education Act (NI) 1947. In February 1961 the *Development of the Youth Welfare Service* White Paper, was issued by the Ministry of Education and this acknowledged that local education authorities were playing a greatly increased role in youth welfare. This White Paper indicated how the government expected the service to expand and the *Youth Welfare, Physical Training and Recreation Act (Northern Ireland) 1962*, building on the previous 1938 *Youth Welfare, Physical Training and Recreation Act*, put into effect the proposals contained in the White Paper. It established the Youth and Sports Council for Northern Ireland in 1962. Voluntary youth organisations were now able to get grants of 75% for heating, lighting, rates and maintenance and of 90% for the salaries of full-time leaders. Grants of 75% were given for swimming pools and the acquisition of land needed for playing fields and playgrounds.

The 1961 White Paper also recommended that there would be no change in grant making arrangements to *"a wide variety of voluntary organisations from Ministry of Education under the Youth Welfare Physical Training and Recreation Acts"*[253]. It is also notable for encouragement to local authorities *"to take a more active part in the development of the service directly and indirectly by the exercise of their powers and duties under the Education Acts"*[254].

In Northern Ireland, local authorities and youth work have never been close allies and, for whatever reason, response to this encouragement was patchy and set a pattern for years to come. The White Paper specified that it would encourage local authorities to provide youth clubs within school facilities and appoint a warden to that facility. The use of the term *warden* implied the need for a steward, supervisor or keeper for the youth club. It is not clear why the term *youth leader,* already in common usage, was replaced in the White Paper, by the term *warden*. Perhaps it was considered that a youth club on school premises required a different form of stewardship than a youth club on its own grounds.

The White Paper was very direct in its ambition that local authorities should play a more prominent role in youth work development and their wording was strong:

"It is clearly desirable that as soon as practicable an authority should:

(a) Review the existing provision in its area with a view to determining where and in what way the authority can most usefully participate in the service; and

[253] Ibid opt cited
[254] Ibid opt cited

(b) Take steps to ensure that existing organisations are aware of the various ways the authority proposes to offer assistance to voluntary bodies, and understand that the purpose of the authority's participation is to supplement and assist and not to replace the work they are already doing."

It stated in the Paper that, *"the most suitable means of participating directly may well be through the establishment of youth clubs or informal further education centres (a half-way house between a youth club and the technical institution) associated with particular schools."*[255]

Significantly, the Paper also flagged up that the Ministry of Education *"proposes to introduce amending legislation empowering it to grant-aid the training of full-time youth leaders in the same way as it grant-aids the training of teachers. It is hoped that serving teachers will transfer to the youth service for a period of full-time service under existing arrangements with no loss of salary scale and with preservation of incremental credit and pension benefits."* The Paper emphasised that there should be *"closer links between teaching and youth work."*

On this matter, the Youth Committee would report in 1962 that even though teachers in Northern Ireland could go for a period into full-time leadership posts in youth work *"without loss of salary and with full preservation of incremental credit and pension benefits on return to teaching service, but in the 9 years of that have elapsed since the Ministry made these arrangements, which were first announced by Circular in 1951, not a single serving teacher has transferred temporarily into youth work."*[256]

It goes on to acknowledge the importance of the large number of part-time leaders within the service and *"there should be good facilities for their training"*[257] and announced that the *"Ministry will raise the limit of grant towards the salary of full-time youth leader employed by a voluntary organisation to 90%."*[258]

In these few paragraphs the youth service received a significant boost with promises of training and support for salaries. Seventeen years on from the 1944 Youth Committee, the Ministry of Education had finally responded in a significant way to support an emerging youth work profession.

One thorny issue raised in the White Paper was around "*Headquarter Organisations"* and their *"unnecessary multiplication".* But they did not suggest a way forward and opted for the comment *"but it is difficult to suggest a way by which a reduction could be achieved."*[259]

On the matter of the Youth Committee itself, it was proposed that it would be retained but that its composition would be changed *"to reflect the larger part played in youth work by local education authorities, and also to allow some of its members to be chosen for their physical training and recreation as distinct from youth welfare"*[260]*.* It was proposed to increase the number on the Committee from

[255] White paper 1961 Ibid Opt Cited
[256] HMSO Youth Committee Report 1958-62
[257] Ibid opt cited
[258] Ibid opt cited
[259] Ibid opt cited
[260] Ibid opt cited

15 to 18 in order to accommodate this membership change and they removed the statutory requirement for the Minister to appoint at least half the membership under the age of 40. An interesting addition to Youth Committee duties was that they *"should spend more time on the consideration of policy"*[261]. At the end of the report it indicates a possible name change for the Committee to *"accord more closely with its functions" (paragraph 32)* and this was to come about the following year (1962) when the Youth Committee was renamed as the *Youth and Sports Council* under the Youth Welfare, Physical Training and Recreation Act (NI)[262], moving youth work closer to recreation and local authorities.

The White Paper was wide ranging and ambitious in its promotion and encouragement to the development of the Youth Service and, near the end of this Paper, refers to *Experimental Youth Work*. They challenged the service to change and provided an edgy comment on what may be seen as a conservative and traditional approach of the organisations to youth work as well as encouragement to develop a service appropriate to the needs of young people from Northern Ireland,

"With the passage of time youth clubs have tended to conform more and more to the accepted pattern of activities... Ministry now considers that the time has come for other types of work to be encouraged. The 'coffee bar' type of youth club... Northern Ireland must seek the best answers to its own needs with its own traditions in mind and not to be led merely to copy in its youth service what is done in other parts of the UK.[263]"

This could be seen as a forward-looking comment and also one that acknowledged that England and Wales had their Albemarle Report but that Northern Ireland may need to go its own way and think independently about the development of youth work.

The Youth Committee 1962 Report (which covered the period from November 1958 to January 62) was completed just after the White Paper (1961) and was optimistic in its tone. It opens by stating that *"most of our time has been spent dealing with grant aid applications"*[264] and a modest uplift in spending on Training Courses for youth workers and on Youth Clubs and Buildings was recorded (see Expenditure below).

As noted above, the challenge in the White paper for the youth service to be more experimental and consider changing, was met by a general comment from the Youth Committee in this report. The Committee acknowledged changing circumstances for young people in Northern Ireland and that *"we are most conscious that the outlook of youth is changing rapidly and the outlook for youth ie. the pattern of youth work must also change."*[265]

The report does not provide any indication of what changes the Youth Committee envisaged for the Service, but it did flag up the issue.

[261] Ibid opt cited
[262] Youth Welfare, Physical Training and Recreation Act (NI) 1982 Ministry of Education HMSO
[263] White Paper 1961 Ibid Opt Cited
[264] HMSO Youth Committee Northern Ireland Report 1955-58
[265] Youth Committee Report 1958-62 Ibid Opt Cited

Under the Heading *Youth Leaders*, new salary scales were drawn up and came into effect in June 1959. The Committee grant-aided the Northern Ireland Association of Boys' Clubs which *"sponsored the application of a man leader to attend full-time training course in England over three terms and in 1961"*[266] The YMCA also sponsored a worker to train and they too received grant aid for this.

The Committee also clarified eligibility for grant aid for youth clubs. If organisations wished to apply for grant aid to employ a full-time youth leader *"a membership of 80 has been taken as the minimum to qualify a youth club for grant-aid towards the salary of a full-time leader."*

They went on to recommend that:

(1) "Clubs with a full-time leader should be encouraged to increase their membership while at the same time paying due attention to the need for keeping a balance in age groups so that seniors are not discouraged by the presence of an unduly high proportion of juniors
(2) That if additional paid assistance is required in a mixed club a part-time leader of the opposite sex should be appointed; and
(3) In the case of two clubs (boys and girls) operating side by side a full-time leader of each sex could be employed if the membership justified this."

On the matter of the age range for youth clubs, the Youth Committee commented:

"The Ministry's policy as based on the recommendation of the Youth Committee has been to limit grant aid for youth organisations to expenditure incurred in respect of young people between the ages of 12 and 20 years (We note in England and Wales the lower age limit for purposes of grant is 14 years)."[267]

Delegations that met with the Youth Committee in this period included one from the Young Farmers' Clubs of Ulster to discuss grants to employ staff and discussion with the General Secretary of the Churches' Youth Welfare Council on *"coffee bar clubs".* This is clearly a follow-on from the comment in the White Paper about the experimental youth work that was needed and the special mention of *coffee bar type-clubs* within the White Paper. The Youth Committee reported that, *"these clubs have not always been successful but in general we feel that no new approach or technique should be neglected if it can be put across with genuine enthusiasm and under the guidance of experienced leadership."*[268]

The Albemarle Report was commented upon:

"Through the Ministry of Education for NI the Committee submitted evidence to the Albemarle Committee... from the Report ... there existed a similarity in outlook between England and Wales towards the youth service and that changes which the Albemarle Committee recommended should be made in some aspects of youth work in England and Wales had for some time been accepted policy in Northern Ireland."

[266] Youth Committee 1958-62 Ibid Opt Cited
[267] Youth Committee 1958-62 Ibid Opt Cited
[268] Youth Committee 1958-62 Ibid Opt Cited

The Youth Committee Report did not specify which parts of the Albemarle Report were already in youth work policy here, although one might suspect that the support for training of youth workers may be what they were thinking about.

In accordance with the provisions of Section 1 of the *Youth Welfare, Physical Training and Recreation Act (Northern Ireland) 1962*, Ivan Neill, Minister of Education, appointed an 18 person Youth and Sports Council for NI for 3 years. The Youth Committee was now absorbed into the new Council sharing it with Sports. The Committee Report for the period 1962-65 therefore reflected the dual sports and youth work aspects of their work.

Wing Commander J.S. Higginson CBE JP was the Chair of the new Committee. One could detect his legal background in the wording of the report, which opened with a slightly barbed comment about the limitations of the powers of this new Council, *"we are an 'advisory body'. Regrettably, perhaps, we have no executive powers, no teeth. We can hope to achieve results by recommendation, exhortation, explanation, prodding, importuning; by much correspondence, interviewing and visiting."*[269]

As far as the Youth Work aspect of their work, they identified very clearly that their, *"targets would be concerned with the implementing of the 1962 White Paper 'Development of the Youth Service' principally that Education Authorities should play more active part in Youth Work... (we are) concerned with lack of progress and loss of enthusiasm that had been experienced since the time of White Paper's publication."*[270]

From the White Paper, they highlighted the proposal that *"local education authorities should charge an officer with special responsibility for the development of youth work."* But *"after 3 years no such appointment had been made and even now only one (Belfast August 1964)."*[271]

Quite an opening to the Report, in that they had quickly established their frustrations with the limitations of their powers and the fact that a government White Paper was being ignored.

The Report goes on to acknowledge that a number of youth clubs had been established on the premises of secondary and primary schools and, as in previous Youth Committee reports, it continues to promote the role and involvement of teachers in the youth service delivery. *"It is now possible for a teacher who acts as a warden of a centre to continue to be regarded as a full time a teacher if he spends at least 10 hours a week on his school teaching."*[272]

They then revert to a note of caution and comment *that "negotiations are also proceeding between Belfast Education Authority and the Churches' Youth Welfare Council to see if a transfer of the Council's Belfast Clubs to the Authority can be arranged. While we welcome the evidence of the Authority's growing interest in*

[269] HMSO Youth and Sports Council Report 1962-65
[270] Youth and Sports Council 1962-65 Ibid Opt Cited
[271] Youth and Sports Council Ibid Opt Cited
[272] Youth and Sports Council 1962-65 Ibid Opt Cited

youth work, we should naturally view with regret the curtailment of the Council's work."[273]

Under the *Youth Leaders* section of the report they stated that salaries had kept in line with England and Wales; and grants continued to be available to take one-year training course in Great Britain. A Council sub-committee recommended grants for 13 students from Northern Ireland but *"others had to be turned down on educational grounds or because of general unsuitability."*[274]

We then get a little bit more detail of the youth work workforce in 1965 and their qualifications. *"Of the 16 full time leaders at present employed in NI, 7 have qualified by taking the one-year course, 8 through long service and short courses (by a special arrangement, which no longer applies, made for existing leaders when the present system was introduced) and one is unqualified."*[275]

But doubts remained as to the potential for developing and training a larger youth work workforce at home. *"The Belfast Education Authority is at present considering the establishment of a residential centre for the training of leaders for the whole province. It is open to doubt, however, whether the demand would be sufficient or sufficiently spread in tie to justify building a centre solely for youth leaders."*[276]

Uniformed organisations received strong support in the Report which stated that they do *magnificent work* and are a *credit to the Province.*

The new Youth Committee part of the Youth and Sports Council was appointed by Minister of Education, W.K. Fitzsimmons MP on 17th August 1965. The new Chair was F. Jeffrey OBE BA. The first Education Authority appointments of Youth Officers to the Youth Committee were Trevor Fannin and Mayne Harshaw and listed as the Ministry's Assessor was F.W.C. (Con) Smith.

In 1968 a Youth and Sports Council Report was published covering the three year period to August 1968[277]. This report opened with a comment *that "Even though we do have the power to run training courses we felt training was better carried out by youth headquarters organisation*."

The Committee's relationship with the Standing Conference of Youth Organisations (SCOYO) continued to be a feature of their work and within this report they made recommendations to SCOYO that:

(a) "Those organisations which run clubs themselves (Churches' Youth Welfare, YMCA, Belfast Girls' Club Union and Young Farmers' Clubs of Ulster as well as uniformed organisations) should combine efforts to provide new clubs especially in development areas;
(b) The Northern Ireland Association of Boys' Clubs and the Northern Ireland Association of Youth Clubs should provide common services for all-non

[273] Youth and Sports Council 1962-65 Ibid Opt Cited
[274] Youth and Sports Council 1962-65 Ibid Opt Cited
[275] Youth and Sports Council 1962-65 Ibid Opt Cited
[276] Youth and Sports Council 1962-65 Ibid Opt Cited
[277] HMSO Youth and Sports Council Report for period 1965-68

uniformed organisations in training leaders and in the running of sports and other competitions; and

(c) *That bodies such as Red Cross, and the central youth organisations of the various churches, should encourage affiliated clubs to seek appropriate help from other headquarters organisations rather than provide a wholly independent service themselves."*[278]

This follows on from the previous report and the encouragement of more collaboration within the sector was strongly emphasised. It also commented that "*the YMCA and the Churches' Youth Welfare Council have announced their intention of amalgamation by 1970"*[279]*.* Our research does not find that this took place.

On the Training of Youth Leaders, the Youth Committee acknowledged that the need for training had already been recognised elsewhere in the UK, but then offered a note of caution regarding local development of such courses:

"Full time youth leaders are trained at one-year courses at a number of colleges in Great Britain and it remains doubtful whether the need for full time leaders in Northern Ireland would justify running similar courses here. Scholarships, equivalent to those which would be available for teacher-training colleges, are normally given to students whom we consider likely to make good leaders. Since 1962, 15 students have received those scholarships and completed courses and two are training at present. There are now 18 full time leaders employed by voluntary youth clubs."[280]

The recurring issue of the commitment of Local Education Authorities to youth work was raised again and the Youth Committee's frustration at progress continued. This time a softer line was taken. The Committee referred back to the 1962-65 report that mentioned *"an apparent lack of enthusiasm"* from Local Authorities to their responsibilities to develop youth work but now:

(a) "Three authorities have youth officers;
(b) 37 secondary schools have youth centres run by education authorities;
(c) School premises being increasingly made available to youth organisations;
(d) 2nd outdoor pursuits centre has been opened in County Down;
(e) Plans prepared for youth buildings at 14 schools;
(f) 5 learner swimming pools built;
(g) Increasing provision of all-weather pitches and
(h) Training courses have been run for youth leaders, mainly in outdoor activities."

But "*we would be an odd Council if we were satisfied with this. A majority of authorities have no youth officer. Some have no youth centres."*[281]

Expenditure on youth work through the Youth Committee and Youth and Sports Council within this period is an important indicator of how they viewed the service:

[278] Youth Committee Report 1965-68
[279] Ibid Opt Cited
[280] Youth Committee Ibid Opt Cited
[281] Youth Committee Ibid Opt Cited

Year	Training Courses	Youth Clubs and Buildings	Total
1960-61	£1,169	£12,485	£115,459
1961-62	£1,713	£15,332	£140,977
1962-63	£2,972	£27,031	£186,496
1963-64	£4,567	£20,762	£228,239
1964-65	£4,959	£37,113	£231,413

Information on capital and recurrent funding to Headquarter Organisations became available from 1965-66:

Year	Youth Headquarters Organisations Current expenditure	Youth Clubs Recurrent expenditure	Youth Clubs capital grants	Grants for full time leadership training and to individual youth groups towards leaders salaries, equipment etc.
1965-66	£24,693	£36,444	£31,728	
1966-67	£27,585	£43,948	£23,263	
1967-68	£40,927	£53,503	£21,919	
1968-69				£57,845
1969-70				£60,583

The inclusion of *Grants to Headquarter Organisations* from 1965 reflected their continuing and growing influence and position within the sector. The steady increase in funding of the three years until the end of this phase was notable.

In summary, state intervention in Northern Ireland was similar to England after Albemarle, with the supply of grant aid and support to youth work in regard to equipment, buildings and training of workers, but differed in regard to how it perceived the nature of the work, in that Northern Ireland showed a closer link with sport and recreation at this time; and a more distant relationship with local authorities.

At the start of the 1960s, the voluntary sector was the main deliverer of youth work and the largest employer of youth workers in Northern Ireland. As the decade progressed and more of these workers became professionally qualified via national training courses in Britain, the debate about the purpose of youth work and the role and function of full-time and part-time workers continued. Albemarle had argued that a 'corps' of professional youth workers would "*bring a*

trained mind to the needs and problems of the young worker"[282] and therefore would have *"an influence beyond their own club."* It would take some time before this was felt in Northern Ireland.

The desire to establish a professional service and workforce, including personnel and buildings, was not new to Northern Ireland, as can be seen in the last chapter. The Youth Welfare Act 1944, for example, made detailed proposals through the work of the Youth Committee to provide a suitable workforce for the Youth Service. In comparison with England, however, the post-Albemarle youth service in Northern Ireland seemed a much smaller concern**.** Although with a Northern Ireland population of around 1.5 million, it could still be seen as a significant service. In terms of personnel, the service was still primarily voluntary with a significant number of part-time paid workers and a relatively small number of paid full-time workers. Although the number of full-time paid youth workers was small, there was growing recognition in Northern Ireland that the Youth Club was an important tool of the Youth Service.

There was a need for an increase in the number of full-time workers because state support of the Youth Service demanded a suitable workforce to deliver the service. An interim step was the encouragement of teachers to take on the role of youth workers and teachers were considered as qualified youth workers into the 1970s. The route to a professional youth work qualification, however, required workers to go to England for professional training, with some grant aid assistance from the Youth Committee. The most direct route was the one-year National Course in Leicester, referred to as an emergency course, set up to achieve the Albemarle goal of doubling the number of qualified youth workers before the end of the decade. This necessity of travelling to England for professional training continued until the Diploma in Youth and Community Work began at the Ulster Polytechnic in 1973 (see chapter 4). The numbers who travelled to England were small - three or four each year - and they were grant aided by the N.I. Department of Education in terms of course fees and living allowance. It is interesting to note that this grant was maintained after 1973, when a course was made available in Northern Ireland. This enabled a small number to continue to choose a course in England, and maintain a degree of diversity in the professional training of youth workers.

In 1964, the Belfast Education Authority was commissioned, under Trevor Fannin, Youth Officer, to provide youth clubs in areas of particular need in Belfast. This consisted of five clubs: Willowbank, Falls Road; Roof Top, Antrim Road; North Queen Street Club, north Belfast; Tower Street, east Belfast; and Parkmore, Ormeau Road. The leaders of these clubs would meet regularly with Trevor Fannin to co-ordinate their work. The Board commitment to the clubs included finance for equipment and salaries for full-time and part-time staff. The Belfast Education Authority employed around 80 part-time workers for these five clubs at this time.

In 1968, the work in these youth clubs was affected by the increasing political unrest in Belfast. Three members of Willowbank Youth Club on the Falls Road were shot, one fatally. In Parkmore Youth Club, on the Ormeau Road, a club member who had thrown a petrol bomb into *The Big House*, a nearby pub, tried to

[282] Albemarle Report Ibid Opt cited

hide in the club but was found and arrested by the police. A rumour got around that the young man was *'shopped'* by the youth worker, who became under threat from the local paramilitaries. It took some delicate negotiations to have the threat removed.

In 1960, the organisation responsible for the largest number of clubs with full-time workers, was the Churches' Youth Welfare Council (CYWC). These were mainly single-sex, i.e. boys or girls clubs. As discussed above, CYWC was started in 1941 in response to the difficulties caused by the war. The main protestant churches wanted to help these young people so they supported CYWC to run clubs in areas of great need and in premises separate from their own church buildings.

The Churches' Youth Welfare Council was headed by Noel Hearst from 1967 to 1972. Meeting with him gave the authors insight into the NI Youth Service at that time. The CYWC was responsible for around 25 youth clubs and Hearst described the work as supporting the youth work units, applying for grants for them and dealing with staff. There were 10-12 leaders who were full-time, some of whom had completed a one-year professional qualification in England. He operated with one full-time and one part-time secretary. Some of the clubs (and youth workers) that he named were: Ledley Hall (Eddie Witherspoon); Cairn Lodge (Frankie Hood); Newsboys (Billy Maxwell); Thorndyke Street (Greta McMinn); Blythe Street (Dick Mclean); Banbridge; and Craigy Hill, Larne.

Hearst described the youth service at that time as "activity orientated". CYWC provided links to other associations such as the Federation of Boys' Clubs and NI Association of Youth Clubs for collective activities such as football leagues, etc. However, he described the role of the youth worker as also someone who could find him/herself supporting a young person by giving a reference in court.

On the board of CYWC, Hearst remembers some of the "big Players" in the voluntary sector of youth work at that time: Cyril Larmour and Bill Yarr of the Federation of Boys Clubs, Rev. Gordon Gray (Presbyterian Church) and Charlie Eyre (Methodist Church). It was an all-male board and each denomination had a number of places as of right.

The Catholic Church was mainly involved in youth work via the Down and Connor Youth Council, which had been founded in 1945 (see above) and provided support for a range of autonomous youth clubs. The diocesan area of Down and Connor did not include all of Northern Ireland, Derry was in the area of Derry and Raphoe. In the 1960s the possibility of grants from government was pursued in a similar way to CYWC above.

A key player in Down and Connor, at this time, was Father Colm Campbell, and he provided first-hand information on youth work in an interview with the authors. He became involved in youth work when, after his ordination, he became chaplain to the Good Shepherd Convent in Belfast. The Convent provided a residential facility for young girls who had been placed there under statutory Care and Protection Orders. He spoke fondly of his awakening to the difficulties in their lives and the hardship they faced if they fell pregnant or had broken the law. As a result, he started a youth club in some Nissan huts in the grounds of the Convent. He remembered it as more of a social gathering than a youth club. It grew from one night a week to seven nights. It also became an attraction to other girls who

had come up from the country to work and who were a bit isolated. Young women would call in before and after work. Later it became a mixed club when young men joined.

Father Campbell applied for grants for the club and met Stanley Smith, Youth Work Inspector from the Department. He recalled Stanley telling him that this was the only girls' club he knew of and assisted them with grant aid. *"It was difficult getting the grant and there was minimum red tape at the time. The grant paid for furniture, cooking equipment etc."* Basically Father Campbell described the club as a place they would *"come in and have a chat."* He mentioned that a key feature of the club was a juke box and he had a contact who ensured the club had the top ten chart records every month ensuring the juke box was a focal point and helped draw the boys in.

Father Campbell also started a youth club in Holy Family Church on the Antrim Road Belfast and later in Glenavy near Aldergrove. After Holy Family, he replaced Father Peter McCann in the Down and Connor Youth Council. He believed he was asked to do this as Father McCann felt that he was not getting very far with it and Father Campbell had become experienced in youth work and had already gained a measure of success.

Down and Connor Youth Council was made up of a series of autonomous youth clubs at the time, including St Agnes, St Teresa's, St Clare's, Star of the Sea in Belfast and St Mary's on the Hill in Glengormley as well as various boxing clubs (St Peter's, Turf Lodge for example). The Council was a loose association and Father Campbell felt that he didn't really do much in his role as Chair of the Down & Connor Youth Council. The situation was clear that parish priests had full control in their own parish and he could not be interfering in that role, *"You just left them alone".* All he recalls the Youth Council doing was making annual awards like *Boy of the Year* and *Girl of the Year*.

Although Father Campbell played down the role of Down & Connor Youth Council in the last part of the 1960s, it did grow into an influential part of youth work in the 1970s. This will be covered in the next chapter.

As can be seen in previous chapters, the churches, both protestant and Catholic, with their access to buildings, volunteers and community links, were important vehicles for youth work, but mostly hosted uniformed organisations. Some protestant churches were involved with the Churches' Youth Service Council which operated youth clubs, but in the 1960s there was a movement within some individual churches to take on and run youth clubs in their own premises.

As the 1960s progressed and civil unrest increased in Northern Ireland, many churches saw youth clubs as a way of reaching out to young people who were not attracted to uniformed organisations and not involved in any aspect of church. Over 100 years since the YMCA opened a café in Carrickfergus as part of a youth project, some church youth workers were increasingly developing projects such as Coffee Bars, Drop in Centres, etc.

Methodist Youth Department

The aims of the Methodist Youth Department were set out in 1964 in a document called '*Planned Caring'* and it stated its purpose as the following:

1 *To develop the nurture and care of every child and young person within the community of God's people.*
2 *To seek sensitively the commitment of every child and young person to Jesus Christ and His Church.*
3 *To encourage every child and young person towards global awareness, accepting active responsibility as agents of justice and makers of peace in the Church, community and the world.*
4 *To develop every Methodist Church as an all-age and participatory community in which young and old share worship and life.*
5 *To encourage every youth and children's organisation connected with the church to participate in the important work of Christian Education and to promote programmes, resources, training and development to that end.*
6 *To develop awareness of the needs of young people and children within the local Society and wider community and promote fullness of life in body, mind and spirit.*[283]

The Methodist Church indicated plans for youth club work in the minutes of the Annual Methodist Conference in 1964,

"The Youth club is our latest youth group and although it is not yet accepted everywhere it has much to commend itself in the contemporary world as a means of evangelism and as a way of reaching those who are unattached. Through its Youth Club Management Committee the Methodist Youth Department has almost completed arrangements for the launching of an Irish Methodist Association of Youth Clubs…….which will be affiliated with M.A.Y.C. in England and will serve to improve our Club work and make it more effective."[284]

The Irish Methodist Association of Youth Clubs (IMAYC) was launched on 16th October 1964 at an inaugural event in King George VI Youth Centre in Belfast. There were over 500 club members from all over Ireland who attended. One of the first major events of IMAYC was to hold a Leader's Training Conference under the guidance of Rev. Leonard Barnett.

IMAYC was an all Ireland association which stated its aims as: *"..giving cohesion and standards to our Club work, which will assist in establishing new clubs, providing training for leaders and helpers and generally making the club a more effective means of evangelism."*[285] The new Association also had a motto *"Living on a larger map"* which encouraged members to have a global perspective. In 1965 there were 83 clubs with 2401 members throughout all of Ireland.

The links with Methodist Association of Youth Clubs (MAYC) in England were significant since MAYC was a national body with a much larger number of clubs and full-time workers. The Methodist Youth Department appointed a full-time worker, David Dalziel, from England in mid 1960s, to be based in the Methodist

[283] Department of Youth and Children's Work, Planned Caring 2005
[284] Minutes of Methodist Annual Conference. 1964
[285] Minutes of Methodist Annual Conference. 1965

Headquarters Aldersgate House, Belfast and to work in the nearby University Road Methodist Youth Club. The Methodists in the mid-1960s were using youth club work as a method of 'outreach' to engage with the many young people who were outside the influence of the churches. The minister of Agnes St. Methodist on the Shankill, Rev. Sidney Callahan, turned his own manse into a youth club. Rev. Hedley Plunkett opened the basement rooms in Donegall Square Methodist Church as a Drop-in Coffee Bar on Sunday evenings. This was in response to the fact that hundreds of young people used to gather at the front of the Belfast City Hall on Sunday nights. This was before the onset of the troubles made such gatherings impossible. The youth worker in Rathcoole Methodist, Billy Barret, completed the National Course for Professional Youth Work in Leicester and became the first full-time worker in Methodist circles in Ireland. Rathcoole Youth Club was later taken over by the North Eastern Education and Library Board.

Presbyterian Church

The Presbyterian Church (PCI) was not directly involved in youth club work (as opposed to Sunday Schools or uniformed organisations) at the start of the 'Sixties'. However, there were many key figures within the church involved in youth work. Rev Gordon Gray was Chair of the CYWC, Rev Ray Davey was chaplain at Queen's University and was founder of Corrymeela in 1965. Eddie Witherspoon, as well as being youth worker in Ledley Hall Youth Club, was also involved in various summer camps and other events for the Presbyterian Church.

As a sign of the times the Presbyterian Youth Committee reported in 1967 that the *"field of informal youth work is always fluid and often excitingly experimental. In an attempt to reach young people 'coffee bar' type clubs have been initiated by a number of congregations... by their very nature, youth clubs and fellowships often arise spontaneously and may have slender links with each other... it must be emphasised that no common pattern can or should be expected in their activity."*[286]

In this extract from the Presbyterian Youth Committee report at this time, we can see a change of language and potentially see the Church adapting to the needs of its youth congregation, and others. The *coffee bar* and *youth club* could be seen to be sitting alongside the *older and well-tried organisations* referred to in an earlier report. By 1968, Graeme Thompson reported on a survey that revealed that *"6,500 young people were involved in informal youth work in PCI at that time."*[287]

A Presbyterian Youth Board came into existence in 1972 with Sunday Schools coming within the responsibility of this Board. Thompson reports a significant development a year later with a central commitment to *"Open Youth Work i.e. our concern is for all young people and, indeed, perhaps especially for those who are beyond the reach of the institutional Church and our fellow organisations."*[288] This could be seen as a clear indication of the Church acknowledging the world outside and an attempt to reach beyond their traditional congregations. There is recognition here that, unlike in the 1950s, young people could no longer be assumed to be connected to the Church whilst being involved in the range of

[286] Thompson Ibid opt cited
[287] Thompson Ibid opt cited
[288] Thompson Ibid opt cited

youth facilities they offered eg. uniformed groups, youth fellowships, coffee bars and youth clubs. In a way there is an indication here of changing priorities in relation to PCI and youth work. But the term *"Open Youth Work"* did give rise to some concern within PCI. In response to questions about this term, the Youth officer at this time (mid 1970s) issued a flyer under the heading *Youth Club/Fellowship Constitution* to provide clarity:

"Many have been asking about an example of a club or fellowship constitution and especially with a view to grant-aid from Ministry or Local Authorities. There is a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding about the term "open" youth club. Some have come to equate "open" with anarchy. In fact it was a term probably intended to be the opposite of sectarian. 'Open' clubs do not specifically exclude e.g. Muslims or Methodists, Coloured Immigrants or Church of Ireland. But I think we would be best to forget about the term "open" and talk about an acceptable constituted club."[289]

In this statement you can see how the Youth Officer was trying to address *confusion and misunderstanding* generated within the Presbyterian Church around use of the term "*open".* At the same time there was one eye on the potential to attract funding for these clubs.

Increased involvement in youth work can be traced back to 1966 and the appointment of the PCI's first Youth Secretary, Rev. Gordon Gray. The post was proposed *"for the integration and development of youth work of the Church... the fostering of links between young people and the life and work of the Church in the local congregation and more widely with the aim that more and more the youth of the Church enter into the full responsibilities of Church membership and Christian witness."*[290]

Church of Ireland

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Church of Ireland was involved in similar way to the other churches in hosting uniformed work, such as Scouts, Guides, BB, Girls' Brigade, etc. and had its own uniformed organisation in the form of the Church Lads' Brigade, but it was not particularly directly involved in youth club work during the 1960s. The Church did have a strong involvement in the Churches' Youth Welfare Council but did not set up its own Youth Department until 1971.

Girls' Brigade

As stated in the previous chapter, in 1961 an agreement was reached to amalgamate three key girls' uniformed organisations, the Girls' Life Brigade, Girls' Guildry and Girls' Brigade, to form one organisation, The Girls' Brigade. The following press statement was published on 25th June 1964:

"The Girls' Life Brigade, The Girls' Guildry and The Girls' Brigade of Ireland, all sister organisations of the Boys' Brigade, announce that agreement in principle has been reached on the formation of a new united organisation, details to be worked out as soon as possible. This agreement is the result of negotiations which

[289] Leaflet found within Eddie Witherspoon's personal file given to authors by his daughter Karen
[290] Thompson Ibid opt cited

have been carried on for some time in the spirit of cordiality and it is believed that the united body, which will be known as 'The Girls' Brigade', will be of great benefit to all concerned.[291]*"*

This new organisation led to the designing of a new badge, updating of the Official Handbook (1967) on Company Organisation, competitions and badges and the formation of a new committee.

Scouting

The new Northern Ireland Scout Headquarters Building, Baden-Powell House, May Street, was opened in May 1962 by Lord Wakehurst, Governor of Northern Ireland. This housed a new Scout Shop on the ground floor and provided a new landmark in Scouting, although it was to suffer severe fire damage as a result of a bomb in 1972 which meant the loss of many irreplaceable documents and display items.

The Cub Scouts celebrated their Golden Jubilee in 1966 and it was Northern Ireland that pioneered a pre-Cub organisation in the 1960s, being the first Scouting area in the world to introduce Beavers as a provision for boys under Cub age. The first pre-Cub unit started in 1963 in 1st Dromore Co Down under the title '*Little Brothers*'.

In 1965, the Catholic Boy Scouts of Ireland (CBSI) formed the *Federation of Irish Scout Associations* with the World Organisation of Scout Movement-recognised Scout Association of Ireland. This provided both Scout associations headquartered in the Republic of Ireland with access to the recognition and resources available through the world association. All scouts in Ireland were thereafter able to play an active role in International Scouting.

Youth Clubs

The concept of the Mixed Youth Club as the main vehicle for the youth service began in the 'Sixties'. It was slow to develop in Northern Ireland in terms of a professional service because, as we have seen in the previous section, the main professionals were running single-sex clubs with a strong emphasis on physical activities. There was a body of thought that resisted mixed clubs and the Boys' and Girls' Clubs had their own separate structures and headquarters organisations. The first attempts at combining these two organisations failed but in 1961 the NI Association of Youth Clubs (NIAYC) was formed out of the NI Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs. NIAYC would later change its name to 'Youth Action' in 1990.

The Belfast Girls' Club Union in their 1960-61 report recorded 30 clubs affiliated (14 senior and 16 junior) with varied programmes mainly concerned with Physical Exercise, folk dancing and games, drama, singing and verse speaking. There are also references to 'Hi-Spots' in the form of a choir completion organised by Northern Ireland Association of Youth Clubs, sponsored by Coca Cola, that was won by Jubilee Junior Club. The Report also stated that, *"Practical instruction in*

[291] The Girls' Brigade 1893-1983 published by the Girls' Brigade Ireland

housewifery tasks is given in some Clubs."[292] Within this same report there is the first mention of Silver and Bronze Duke of Edinburgh Awards.

Leadership training, run by NIAYC, is commented upon in Belfast Girls' Club Union reports as *"most helpful advice on choir training while Miss Galway demonstrated games suitable for Club use."*[293]

The following 1961/62 Annual Report records the resignation of Miss Madeline Moore from full time leader of Jubilee Girls' Club after 17 years and Mrs M. Nesbitt appointed to succeed her (resigned a year later due to ill health). There was still a core group of 30 affiliated clubs at this time.

Annual Reports over this period record grants from Ministry of Education for annual Organiser's salary and Assistant Organiser's salary and occasional grant for Alfred Street Club, Jubilee Club, Training, Swimming Floats, Tape recorder, Fire Escape, Repairs to Drumalla, Leaders' week-end and Office Expenses (usually between £715 to £2500 per year). The Ministry of Education was thanked for *"continued financial help* and the Belfast Education Authority thanked for *"the payment to special instructors."*[294]

In the 1963/64 Annual Report it is recorded that Mrs Kay McMeekin was appointed as Organiser in September 1963. Mrs McMeekin was to be a very key figure for many years to follow.

The 1964/65 Annual Report makes reference to *"A Sunday afternoon Conference for Leaders in Knocknagoney Hotel with Mr Ken Mathers, QUB Youth Club gave an inspiring address on 'Some thoughts on Leadership"' and Mr Trevor Fannin's subject was the growth and structure of the Youth Service."*[295] This *conference* was to be an annual feature reported upon in subsequent annual reports with a variety of speakers and talks.

Training week-ends for leaders in Drumalla get mentioned and on these week-ends the annual reports refer to sessions on toy making, paper mache, PT, making Christmas decorations, and international dancing attended by leaders and senior girls.

In the 1967/78 Annual Report special mention is given to a continental holiday for Senior Girls reported when 22 members and 2 friends went to Middlekerke in Belgium and took day excursions into Paris, Brussels and Amsterdam and took in London on their way home.

An interesting reference is made in the 1967/68 Annual Report to the Maryfield Townswomen's Institute in Belfast which was made up of 'Old Girls' members from several clubs. The note records that *"When the Women's Institute Movement began, with some misgivings, but reassured, the members decided to join, and became The Maryfield Women's' Institute."*[296] The objects of a Women's Institute were recorded as, *"improving the conditions and amenities of rural life and may*

[292] BGCU Annual Report 1960/61
[293] BGCU Ibid Opt Cited
[294] BGCU Ibid Opt Cited
[295] BGCU Annual Report 1964/65
[296] Belfast Girls' Club Union Annual Report 1967/68

do all such things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of that object... the Institute shall be strictly non-party and non-sectarian, and no party, political or sectarian matter may be discussed at an Institute meeting."[297] The misgivings are not explained in the report but the Belfast Girls' Club Union did sign up to the Institute.

The Diamond Jubilee of the Belfast Girls' Club Union (BGCU) took place in May 1968 and by 1969 *"things had been difficult, clubs lost premises, extensive rebuilding programmes meant movements of population, resulting in loss of numbers in clubs."*[298] This meant new challenges and Kay McMeekin was the key player in reviving the BGCU with inter-club competitions and programmes to meet changing demands eg. disco dancing, netball, five-a-side football replaced choir work and verse speaking. The BGCU saw the need to adapt and change to meet the changing needs of young women in Belfast at this time.

By the time of the 1969/70 Annual Report there were 20 affiliated clubs and the 'Troubles' had to be acknowledged:

"This has been a difficult and frustrating year for Clubs because of riots in the city. Some Clubs premises have been seconded for the use of HM Forces. In some areas where danger existed, there was a short period when Clubs could not meet. However after a few weeks when tension eased most Clubs were able to carry on normally." [299]

The Federation of Boys' Clubs continued to progress. In 1961 they received a letter from the Ministry of Education to encourage them to have increased co-operation with the NI Association of Youth Clubs, but the Committee at the time preferred boys' work to remain separate. Throughout the 1960s their membership remained steady and by 1968 they had around 70 affiliated clubs. Talks of mergers with the Northern Ireland Association of Youth Clubs bubbled under during this period and by 1969 SCOYO staff facilitated discussions between the two organisations about a possible merger. This resulted in a joint working party being set up to consider finance, training, sport and staffing and a possible new constitution.

An agreement was reached in August 1969 to advertise jointly for a Field Officer for NIABC and a Field Officer (female) for NIAYC and the two appointments would be made by a joint board. Progress continued until June 1970 when differences appeared over minor drafting points on constitution. The main stumbling block was NIABC's anxiety and determination to retain their principles and ethos in the new joint body.

May Seth, Chair of NIAYC, felt the aim of creating one merged body was actually being challenged by NIABC that wished to retain its link and identity with their own national headquarters, *"The NIABC Executive was, it seems, unwilling or unable to face up to the sacrifices its Association would have to make if a new organisation was to be set up looking to the future rather than to the past."*[300]

[297] Registration Form for Women's Institutes in Northern Ireland
[298] Herd Ibid Opt Cited
[299] BGCU Annual Report 1969/70
[300] Williamson ibid opt cited

As the 'traditional' organisations making up the youth service grew and prospered, the 1960s showed an expansion in new, special interest groups, that, whilst not directly for and about young people, contributed in various ways to an emerging and growing youth service. These included Northern Ireland Adventure Playgrounds (1969), Mencap (1965 and Gateway Clubs in 1966), International Voluntary Service NI (1965), Voluntary Service Belfast (VSB 1967) and Northern Ireland Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NIACRO 1968).

Corrymeela

The Rev. Ray Davey, who was the Presbyterian Chaplain at Queen's University, purchased a residential centre in Ballycastle in 1965. Ray Davey had worked as a YMCA chaplain during the Second World War and was a prisoner of war in Germany. He was inspired by work of the ecumenical centres for Reconciliation in Europe such as Agape and Taize and wanted to create a similar centre in Northern Ireland. Corrymeela became a Christian community dedicated to peace and reconciliation. The driving force for the first Corrymeela Community was a small group of university students who were described by Ray Davey:

"These young people were in many ways disenchanted and critical of the society in which they had been reared, and with the complacency of their elders in so uncritically accepting the polarised community and in being almost unaware of the current injustices. They were also very unhappy with the self-preservation of the ruling party and its lack of sensitivity to the needs and problems of the minority."[301]

Corrymeela offered a wide range of residential experiences to young people, families and adults who wished to share and explore differences. Residential and Field work staff were also involved in community-based work including, Family Work, Schools work and Youth Work.

Youth Work at the Start of the 'Troubles'

It is clear from the earlier chapters that there have been conflicting religious and political loyalties in Ireland for several hundred years. It is not the purpose of this book to provide a political analysis but it is generally recognised that in the 1960s reforms were urgently needed in the Northern Ireland state to address the inequalities in the electoral system and discrimination against the minority community within public administration and employment. The initial complacency of the Stormont regime and the slowness to respond heightened the crisis.

It has to be asked, how can a service which is aimed at the social education of young people function in the face of substantial civil unrest and violence? The answer is complicated but it starts with the acknowledgement that those youth workers involved at that time were required to have an intensified concern for the safety of the young people in their charge. This was not just a *'health and safety' i*ssue, it was a fundamental change of emphasis on how to help young people develop safely in a contested society.

[301] Davey R. 1970

The separation between communities was emphasised due to the extreme violence, because it was safer to stay within your own group. This led to increased fear and suspicion and prejudice about the *'other'* group. Youth workers were needed to challenge prejudice and had a difficult task in building the confidence and self-esteem of young people affected in this way. On the other hand, youth workers did have the opportunity to help young people examine their own beliefs and culture more closely and get to know and accept others different from themselves. As a result, cross-community work became a key element of youth work in Northern Ireland, particularly when funding, or overseas holidays, became available to support it.

One of the difficulties facing youth workers at this time was that for some young people the 'Troubles' were exciting. Taking part in protests or confrontations with the 'other side' was sometimes more attractive than what the youth club was offering. It became obvious that since it was in the interest of paramilitary groups to recruit young people to their cause there was a potential clash with youth workers who were helping young people to 'not get involved'. This conflict of interest became more intense in the 1970s when some youth clubs became under threat of being taken over. This will be dealt with in the following chapter.

Republic of Ireland

As the Republic of Ireland entered the 1960s, youth work retained its high voluntary content and with this came the flexibility to adapt to new needs as they emerged and provided a rich diversity in approach, *"In the mid 1960s a number of important changes took place in the area of youth work. Its range of activities has broadened to include not just an imaginative programme of recreational activities, but also a wide range of educational opportunities and community involvement projects."*[302]

The dual approach of recreation and education was also a significant feature of this era. There was an emphasis on youth work within buildings eg. church halls, GAA establishments, etc. At the same time consideration was being given by the state to complement the voluntary service with some *professionally qualified workers:*

"In the late 1960s five bishops had seen the value of having priests trained in youth work at various courses abroad. The development of youth services in their areas tended to centre around these men on their return and the level of development of youth services in these regions which had trained youth workers was immeasurably ahead of other areas."[303]

Whist these five bishops saw the benefits of developing and training youth workers for their areas, the state was still reluctant to invest significant finance, or supportive legislation, and it was content to let the voluntary sector provide the youth service.

The National Federation of Youth Clubs (which would become the National Youth Federation) was established in 1961. The objectives of the Federation were:

[302] Forde W. (Rev) 1995
[303] Forde Ibid Opt Cited

- to promote and facilitate personal development and social education for young people, enabling them to take active roles in their local communities;
- to promote comprehensive, community based youth services throughout the country;
- to constantly improve youth work practice by, with, and for young people; and
- to be a national focus and source of inspiration for quality youth work.

Its original purpose was to act as a co-ordinating body for its affiliated youth clubs, which then numbered 12. This organisation has developed considerably since its inception and today it is the co-ordinating body for nineteen regional youth services.

The Irish state also began to provide funding for work with young people. *"The first state aid to youth work in Ireland was in 1969" (Forde*) as a result of a period of development in their thinking about youth work. *"The Annual Grants for all aspects of youth work in 1969 was £100,000... I would estimate that full time personnel in youth work in the mid 1960s were no more than 15."* Forde[304] also estimated that by the end of the 1960s there was only around 100 youth clubs in the country, alongside the uniformed groups. This was to change and the service was to develop quite significantly in the years that followed. By the mid-1990s state funding would increase to around £11.4 million and there would be approximately 500 full-time youth workers.

Examples of Youth Work Practice in Northern Ireland

What was it like to be a youth worker in Northern Ireland the 1960s? We were able to interview several of those involved and were also fortunate to have access to the notes and diaries of two other Youth Workers. Here follows some incidents which give an insight into the nature of youth work up to 1969 before the onset of "The Troubles", some which reflect the presence of sectarianism, and others which reflect the experiences of any other worker. The final case study reflects the very dramatic and challenging period at the start of the "Troubles".

NI Adventure Playground Association

The following is an interview with one of the first workers to be employed by the NI Adventure Playground Association set up in 1969.

The first adventure playground is thought to have been in Denmark in 1943 during World War II. The idea of *junk playgrounds* was taken up in England and probably developed when children used blitzed parts of their cities and towns for play. *Junk* playgrounds became Adventure Playgrounds. Gradually *unusual items* crept into the playground that were different to swings, roundabouts, etc. By the late 1940s the concept of adventure playgrounds was spreading across Britain and a movement developed, particularly in urban areas such as Grimsby, London, Liverpool, Bristol, Manchester, Birmingham and other areas in the Midlands, Sheffield, Newcastle, Cardiff and Edinburgh. The early new towns emerging in post-war Britain also provided Adventure Playgrounds: Crawley and Stevenage, for example, integrated Adventure Playground provision into their high density housing developments. Such an initiative was later incorporated into additional

[304] Forde Ibid Opt Cited

new town areas which were created in the 1960s/70s, eg. Telford, Runcorn and Peterborough[305].

Historically most Adventure Playgrounds were established in urban areas in response to decreasing space for children to play imaginatively. Another feature of their development was involvement by local people in managing and running these playgrounds.

The NI Adventure Playground Association was instigated by a voluntary committee, inspired mainly by Dorita Fields[306], to provide play and recreation opportunities for the inner-city children and teenagers of Belfast. The central idea grew from the Danish concept around adventure and excitement (including some element of 'calculated' risk). The early committee felt it was an important element for the health and personal growth of young people and that safe environments needed to be provided in which children and young people could be supported to build and take part in their own dynamic play-activities. This included exploiting any wider potential for off-site opportunities, trips, visits and longer-term holidays.

Six Adventure Playgrounds were set up in Belfast: Turf Lodge; Divis Towers; Caledon St (Shankill Rd); New Lodge Road ('the Wrecky'); Ballymurphy; and Dee Street (Newtownards Rd). Each centre being a combination of indoor facilities and outdoor spaces that provided room for rudimentary play structures, walkways, swings and cabins, etc. to be built from materials salvaged and donated through local well-wishers. Each centre was also supported by two to three full-time Play-leaders drawn from across the local community. *"Many individuals later known in the NI youth and community service and beyond 'cut their teeth' as Adventure Play Leaders including Helen Honeyman, Bill Rolston, Mike Gaston, Tish Gunn, Manny Sheridan, Dee Kelly, Paddy Dempster and myself Chuck Richardson."*[307]

Star of the Sea Youth Club, Shore Road, Belfast - 1964

The late Dr Liam Conlon started the Star of the Sea Youth Club in north Belfast in 1964. It began as a football club then developed a basketball team, which is still in existence, the oldest established basketball club in Ireland. In 1964, Dr Conlon, who was a member of the Youth Committee and very involved the youth service, obtained the finances to build a purpose-built youth centre on the Shore Road. As well as a gym suitable for basketball it also housed a youth club and Saturday night 'hops' were a popular feature throughout the 1960s and early 1970s.

Extracts from a youth worker's diary, inner city youth club Belfast, 1962-66

The following comments are based on a youth worker's diary with the worker's words in italics. The opportunity to get the young people away to 'the Cottage' for week-ends was a significant feature of the year in the club and their diary records this over this period. The club drew its membership from an inner city area and poverty and hardship were a feature of that community at this time, so an escape to the country was a welcome distraction. These week-ends in the country

[305] www.fairplayforchildren.com

[306] Dorita Field moved to Belfast in 1946 from South Africa. Took a social work course and then MSc in town planning and began a career as a town planner. She would become Director of Community Services for Belfast City Council in 1972.

[307] Interview with former Adventure Play Leader, Chuck Richardson 13th March 2015.

cottage came with its challenges as the youth worker describes an incident with some of the local boys *"who threatened to beat me up with bicycle chains as I intercepted them prowling around the cottage. I had to get the police."*[308]

The youth worker's role expanded into challenging authority in the form of the local City Hall in order to get permission for the boys to play a football match in the local playing fields. It appears that they were banned from playing there following an incident at a recent match. Behind this record in the diary is an implied bias against this youth club's football team, which attracted a membership from a largely Catholic community, whereby the local City Hall reflected the majority political party representing the Unionists in control of playing fields. The diary records a successful lobbying campaign by the youth worker in getting permission to re-use the soccer pitches.

Administration is never too far from the pages of the diary. There were reports to be written for the local youth officer and ensuring the books are balancing. On a "*very busy and encouraging night at the club £4-60"* was collected at the door and there was a *"need to get this window repaired".*

In one of the longer entries in the diary, the worker showed his frustration and concern following *"an incident in the club".* The worker, with his ear to the ground, is faced with a difficult situation and considered barring some members*. They "had a meeting with some of the boys and we heard a few would not be coming back. There is no room for people with a chip on their shoulder and who carry this around with them just because they don't get their way".*

The more caring side of the worker is shown in a number of notes that refer to him "*staying behind after the club".* This revealed the worker's commitment to the membership and there are many short entries, for example, that demonstrate this commitment, "*had a chat with ( ) about his brother tonight*" *or* "*stayed behind to talk to..."*

An entry of note is a reference to an Annual General Meeting. At this gathering "*61 attended and this was very good".* The worker goes on to reveal his approach, his enthusiasm and commitment to encouraging member participation and the use of group work in his approach*. "I feel that my points on group working and members taking responsibility will get home in time."* [309]
The diary does not give us detail about the work, but rather it sketches the role of the youth worker. But behind the brief notes is a dedicated worker managing a centre in the most professional way they can and, above all, the diary gives us an insight into someone who cares for their members and despite the broken windows, breaking up of fights, and meeting deadlines for reports, the youth worker is committed to that club and everyone who comes through its doors.

1964 Derry Youth Club - 1964

Again, this case study is pre-troubles but shows how sectarianism was fairly ubiquitous in Northern Ireland during that period. A youth worker in a Catholic area of Derry had to deal with a group of protestant boys who were creating a disturbance outside the club. The worker went out to talk to them: *"I tried to*

[308] Youth Workers diary (1962-66) from 'Clubs for Young People' archives
[309] *Diary Ibid Opt Cited*

reason with them but they wouldn't listen and wouldn't go away. In the end I told them that I knew who they were and would tell their parents. This bluff worked and they left. The next day my bluff was called when the police arrived and wanted to know their names."

A Boys' Club - 1965

In a mirror image of the previous example, a boys' club in Belfast had a group of Catholic boys outside hassling the members as they arrived:

"I went outside to talk to the group of boys. I didn't get much joy in getting them to stop but I did recognise one of the boys and realised I knew his family. After the club I called round at the house. The father invited me in and I found the boy was there. When I explained what had happened the father got very cross with the boy. I thought he was going to hit him. He assured me it would not happen again. I invited the boy to the club saying it was for everybody. But he never came back."

These last two examples show how contact with the adult community was important for youth workers.

Church Youth Club - 1964

Demonstrating that not all issues were sectarian, a youth leader recorded the following incident:

"I became leader of a youth club in 1964. It was a church club with a membership of around 200 young people who were mainly from outside the church. The leaders were approached by a group of Motor Bikers, around fifteen in number and all aged around 19, who wanted to join the club. During negotiations they revealed they were barred from all the clubs in the area. They claimed they were discriminated against because of their large bikes and because their black leathers made them appear threatening. Also they had seen a TV documentary about a church in England which had started a bikers club in 1959. The vicar who was himself a motorcyclist had started the '59 Club'. So began the negotiations to try and start the '64 Club. I had seen the TV programme and was impressed by the fact the 59 Club operated with very little equipment. They had a large barn like building with no furniture. The only activity was a large rope hanging from the ceiling which provided a 'Tarzan' like swing for the members. The club members other main activity was organising themselves as dispatch riders to deliver urgent medical supplies. I felt it was worth trying to help these bikers to try something similar. We managed to design a 64 Club logo for the back of the leather jackets, but had difficulty in finding suitable premises. The bikers came to the club while we tried. After a year we got a wooden hut in a country area close by. We were just about to move in when it was burnt down, possibly by a rival group! This ended the 64 Club. Some members stayed on as club members but sadly the rest of the 64 Club dispersed."

Rosario Youth Club, Ormeau Road, Belfast - 1965

This was an example of how ordinary volunteers who were committed to their own community could provide appropriate buildings to do youth work. It also showed

the availability of government grants to provide youth work facilities that could be accessed by motivated people.

On Thursday 17th November 1965, the inaugural Rosario Youth Centre Management Committee met in the Parador Hotel. The purpose of the committee was to, *"...establish a recreational centre for the youth of the area."* Government grants were discussed and it was understood that grants were available to a level of 65% for premises, 75% for equipment and 90% for a youth worker salary. This group began a protracted journey firstly to obtain premises and then to obtain the finances to establish and run a youth centre. Eventually premises were obtained at 469 Ormeau Road. This site was, in one way, ideal since it was central within the catchment area of the proposed youth centre. It was next door to a Methodist Church, directly opposite a Church of Ireland Church and only a short walk from Good Shepherd Convent. It was necessary to provide good public relations as well as good management to ensure the operation of the centre did not impinge negatively on the surrounding area. By 1975 the premises were being refurbished and Rosario Youth Centre opened (and is still in operation).

Club for Girls - 1965

This case study describes a youth club for girls in the grounds of a convent:

"*Our club was specifically for girls. The girls we worked with would have been referred to at that time as maladjusted. This unfortunate term came from the fact that they may have become pregnant at an early age or may have fallen foul of the law. We ran the club in the convent grounds and it was also open to outsiders. There were about 50-60 attending each night. It was open to boys and girls. Boxing was a big thing for the boys.*

For the girls from the convent this youth club became their 'life and soul'. The biggest punishment that could be given to one of the girls from the convent was to be barred from the youth club, even for one night. The club was a mixed club (religion). They entered talent competitions and travelled to other clubs and even went to Derry."

The leader also recalls taking the girls away to Tullymore, etc. for weekends. "*They loved their music and dancing to the latest top twenty hits was the highlight of any night."*

Smoking was a big thing for the girls and the nuns accepted this and, if their parents knew they smoked, they were allowed their smoke breaks at set times of the day."

Extracts from a Youth Worker's Diary - 1969

The following are taken from the journal of youth worker who describes the experience of youth work in inner city East Belfast at the start of the 'Troubles'.

- *August 1969*
  - *fierce fighting broke out in the city during the day;*
  - *tried to control things in Lord Street; we should be trying to get young children off the streets but it was an almost impossible task;*
  - *special peace meeting held in local church;*

- *the local area was peaceful tonight but tense;*
- *East Belfast Peace Committee formed and press conference held; patrolling at night try to keep things quiet; (the record shows peace committee activities every night of the week)*
- *car broke down again;*
- *collected signatures for the peace committee;*
- *painted the front door of the club and tried to keep things calm.*

- *September 1969*
  - *club opened for the new season, there was a good turnout and I was generally pleased to see many new faces;*
  - *tensions are building up, the kids have started to put a barricade across some of the side streets, tempers ran high later in the evening, I tried to keep the small children off the streets but with very little success;*
  - *went down to the club on Saturday and had a hard time at the bottom of the Lord Street trying to get some of the young people to dismantle the barricade;*
  - *out on patrol with the peace committee this evening, area very tense but no violence;*
  - *another tense night on Sunday some drink was discovered and this didn't help – all very sad;*
  - *went to the appeal court with a member who was arrested and talked to Mr. Hearst about the situation;*
  - *things were quiet tonight but it's obvious that the police have lost a lot of authority;*
  - *there was a fire in the timber yard behind the cleaner's (laundry firm);*
  - *closed the club at 9.30 as no one in, it was better to be out on the street trying to help;*
  - *Walter Scott MP called into the club and to see if I could do anything about the barricade at the bottom of Lord Street, went down to the end of the street at 10.30pm and removed the barricade so that cars could pass, I was pleased that some of the club members helped and also that we had very little opposition.*

It is important to note that even though this worker was determined to carry on and run the club in spite of the rising tensions, he was also prepared to be on the streets, "*Closed the club early, better to be on the streets".* Notice also the initial difficulty in getting the barricade (at the bottom of the street where the club is situated) removed. Later in September, as the notes show, the worker was successful in removing the barricade, with some of the members help.

Summary

The 1960s conjures up romantic notions, for some, of rebellion against authority, when many young people across the world no longer followed in the footsteps of their parents, but adopted alternative lifestyles and music and were involved in protests which they felt could *change the world.* For Ian McDonald *"… the world changed more thoroughly than it could ever have done under merely political direction."* For John Lennon, however, "*Nothing happened in the Sixties except that we all dressed up."* [310]

[310] McDonald I.2008

Young people in Northern Ireland may not have been in the heart of this global cultural maelstrom, but couldn't help being aware of the changes in youth culture that were taking place, that were enabling young people, particularly students, to have a voice in bringing about change.

For youth work in Northern Ireland it was a period effected by conflicting national loyalties and demands for political change from both nationalists and more progressive unionists. The failure to respond quickly enough to these demands and the replacing of a moderate Prime Minister, Terence O'Neill, with a more conservative one, resulted in frustration spilling over into civil conflict and violence, which would last for almost three decades.

Whilst England and Wales benefited from a post-Albemarle boom in spending, expansion of professional youth work courses and workers as well as youth club building development, Northern Ireland continued a steady course of slowly expanding voluntary sector delivery through uniformed organisations and some local authority supported work. Boys' and Girls' Clubs thrived apart. The various government Acts during this time eg. the *Youth Welfare, Physical Training and Recreation Act 1962* saw voluntary organisations able to apply for 75% grant aid for light, heat, rates and maintenance plus 90% for full-time worker's salaries which helped them tremendously.

The practice examples shared by a variety of workers in this period shows both the normality of the work throughout most of the 1960s, as well as the challenges of circumstances at the end of the decade with youth workers *out on patrol with the peace committee, removing barricades* and *an almost impossible task of trying to get young people off the streets.* There was new competition for the youth club and youth worker as we come to the end of 1969. The street seemed to offer a lot more excitement than the table tennis table or a discussion group in the coffee bar.








4 Investing in Lives

Chapter 4

1970-1973
Youth Work in the Height of the Troubles

CHAPTER 4

1970-1973 : YOUTH WORK IN THE HEIGHT OF THE TROUBLES

Introduction

The use of the euphemism, the 'Troubles' to describe the political conflict in Ireland has been criticised by those who feel that the term trivialises the extent and depth of the unrest and violence. Chapter 1 has shown that Ireland has a long history of instability and conflict. There were many periods in Ireland's history when civil unrest and violence reached a high level. Some of these periods were also called the "Troubles", but the current use of the term usually refers to the years 1968 to 2001. Within this period, the first half of the 1970s was the worst time for violence and destruction. The number of deaths that occurred in Northern Ireland, between 1969 and 2001, was 3,269 and more than half (52%) of those deaths ie. 1,699 occurred in the five year period between 1971 and 1976. The equivalent ratio of victims to population for Great Britain, for the same 5 year periods, would mean over 50,000 deaths. The number of deaths due to the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland for the period covered in this chapter, 1970-1973, was 1226[311]. This was 38% of the total death count for the whole period of "the Troubles" and was made up of 548 civilians, 354 paramilitaries and 324 Police and Army.

This final chapter will only cover the period 1970 to 1973 because the events during this time are particularly significant in regard to both the governance of Northern Ireland and the practice and policy of the youth service. It seems appropriate to end volume 1 at the point when Northern Ireland established a statutory youth service.

The sections of this chapter are as follows:

- Youth Work in England 1970-73. The Fairbairn/Milson report *Youth and Community Work in the 70s.*
- Youth Work in Ireland 1970-73.
- The Macrory Report. A review of Local Government in Northern Ireland.
- European Social Action Programme 1972.
- Political Situation and changes in NI 1970-73.
- Education and Libraries (Northern Ireland) Order 1972. Local education authorities changed to become the 'Education and Library Boards' with responsibility for the youth service.
- The Recreation and Youth Service (NI) 1973 established the Youth Welfare Advisory Committee to offer advice on youth policy.
- Youth Work and the Youth Committee 1970-73.
- NI Association of Youth Clubs, Belfast Girls' Clubs Union, NI Association of Boys Clubs, the Churches and the Community Youth Services Association.
- 1973. In-service (3 year) Diploma in Youth and Community Work begins at Ulster Polytechnic for youth workers in post.
- Practice Examples of Youth Work in NI 1970-73.

[311] www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/troubles/death_by_year

Youth and Community Work in the 70s in England & Wales

A new policy for the youth service in England and Wales was outlined in the Milson/Fairbairn Report, '*Youth and Community Work in the 70s*' (1969). This was the work of two committees, one chaired by Alan Fairbairn and the other by Fred Milson. In the House of Commons in March 1967, Denis Howell M.P. had announced the setting up of the two committees to undertake a complete review of the Youth Service - one for the younger adolescents and one for the older.[312] The report *Youth and Community Work in the 70s* was a combination of differing views about how the youth service in England and Wales should develop. Fairbairn favoured a youth service that could be linked with secondary and further education, whereas Milson looked towards a community-based approach to youth work. This divergence is understandable when the rapid changes in England and Wales since Albemarle (see Chapter 3) are examined.

Albemarle had boosted the Youth Service in terms of the increased number of buildings and staff to run these buildings. By the end of the decade, however, these buildings were often underused by older teenagers. The youth service was meant to cater for 14-21 year olds but to youth workers and others involved it seemed that not many young people stayed involved in the youth service after the age of fifteen. A major survey carried out by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys for the Department of Education and Science was published in 1972[313]. It concluded that the overall attendance at youth provision had fallen to 26%.

The recommendations of Albemarle had been acted on enthusiastically in England and this resulted in rapid growth in the number of buildings and professional youth workers. Although this brought problems as well as possibilities:

"It was to be expected that the expansion of the Youth Service after Albemarle would raise issues and create dilemmas which could not be wholly anticipated at the time."[314]

Throughout the 1960s and the early 1970s there was a growing problem of alienation amongst young people. In most areas of social deprivation, many young people were becoming disaffected with society and their own communities. The Youth Service was generally not meeting the needs of older teenagers and many buildings were under-used.

Alternative programmes and special projects aimed at the growing numbers of unattached young people were being created. Projects such as Avenues Unlimited in London and the Wincroft Project[315] in Manchester were aimed at, so called, *unattached* young people. These projects were sometimes listed as 'emergency', with a three-year life span. This suggested a stop-gap approach designed to bring the 'lost sheep' back into the fold of the conventional youth service. Although some of these projects were short-lived, many, like the two mentioned above, were valued for their innovative approach and received permanent funding.

[312] Hansard 26th March 1967
[313] Davies B. 1969
[314] Milson F. 1969 Ibid Opt Cited
[315] Loudon E.R. 1973

The role and status of professional youth workers were major issues in the 1970s. The assumption in Albemarle was that the major source of the increasing number of professional workers would be teachers and social workers. A third source of recruitment was *"mature persons with a natural gift for leadership"*[316] whom, it was assumed, would be at a disadvantage because they would have a short career without the academic ability to move on.

"Some of the mature students may find an opportunity for a new career in teaching or further education. Others will have neither, the wish, or the opportunity to move on. Yet among youth leaders now in the service they are men and women of such vitality, richness of personality and natural flair that room should be found in the profession for this kind of leader.[317]*"*

In 1970, the target to double the work force was achieved mainly through the emergency course at the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders (NCTYL) at Leicester; Westhill College, Birmingham; and University College Swansea. There were other courses but these three were 'registered', which meant students who were selected received a grant from Ministry of Education:

"Of the 1500 full-time youth leaders in 1969, it is probably true to say that more than 1000 of them were emergency trained. Moreover, the official expectations of the full-time leader are likely to change with the changing philosophy about the Youth Service. For example, the current stress is upon the full-time youth worker as a community development worker, but this came too late for the vast majority."[318]

At these courses, mature students predominated. The Leicester course was for students over 23 years of age and the formal entry requirement of 5 'O' levels was not rigidly upheld. By 1970, mature students were considered of value to professional youth and community work, not just because of their experience, but the fact that many were indigenous to areas of need. The changing role of the professional youth worker was highlighted by Milson (1970).

In 1970 the emergency course at the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders was closed, having achieved its purpose. From September 1970, there were six recognised full-time 2-year courses of training for youth and community workers in England: Leicester College of Education (which inherited the National College course); Goldsmith's College, London; Manchester Polytechnic; Westhill College, Birmingham; NABC, Liverpool; and YMCA, North East London Polytechnic.

These courses were required to go through a process of endorsement in order to be recognised as a national qualification. This was organised by the Joint Negotiating Committee (JNC) of the employers and youth work union (CYSA). The process had to be repeated every five years.

The profession of the Youth and Community Worker was emerging, as Josephine Klien would put it, as "*one of the new helping professions.*" [319] It is also significant that from the beginning of the 1970s there was an outpouring of

[316] Albemarle Report Ibid Opt Cited
[317] Albemarle Report Ibid Opt Cited
[318] Milson F. 1969
[319] Klein J. 1973

publications from the lecturers from the colleges where the professional workers were being trained.

In order to meet the endorsement requirement of JNC, all courses were required to have a significant percentage of supervised practice. This varied with course length, but usually was around 40% of the content. This not only provided first-hand experience for the students, but also required the existing professional workers to support the training of the next generation of workers.

The student output from the six colleges listed above tended, during the 1970s, to avoid posts in what was recognised as the 'traditional' youth service. Newly qualified workers were seeking out the innovative posts such as work with unattached young people, as mentioned above, and were prepared to take up short-term emergency posts rather than a more secure, but traditional, youth work post.[320] The practice was changing and there was divergence of Youth and Community practice throughout the different parts of the UK.

Bernard Davies, in an article *'Defined by History: youth work in the UK'*[321], acknowledges the divergence of the four UK countries around the beginning of 1970:

"Within a decade, the egalitarian and libertarian pretensions of the 1960s were being tested to their limits, revealing roots which were extremely shallow and ill-adapted to harsher climates… youth work soon felt the consequences (of harsh economic realities)… Attempts began early in 1971, for example, one Margaret Thatcher, then Secretary of State for Education, to concentrate youth workers' attention on state-defined targets such as 'areas of high social need' and young people 'who are demonstrably disadvantaged."

From here, particularly in England, when government resources were being provided*, "youth workers would be increasingly told that they must target their work - prioritise groups such as the young unemployed and 'young people at risk of drifting into crime'. By this stage policy directions for youth work in the four UK countries had already diverged in some cases significantly."*[322]

Direct Rule in Northern Ireland and the 'Troubles' ensured the divergence would continue and whilst changes in Government at a UK level provided different ideological impact in Northern Ireland the agenda was set from the early 70s to be dominated by bombs, bullets and ballots (see below).

Republic of Ireland 1970-73

The commencement of Irish State aid for youth work in 1969 led to an increase in the number of youth groups. By 1970 there were around 100 youth clubs and groups in the country, alongside the traditional uniformed Scout and Girl Guide troops, etc. As the number of youth groups increased so did the demand for adult leaders and these leaders began to look for more outside advice and training to assist their youth work. In response, various types of training courses were

[320] Davies B. 1999
[321] Davies B. 2008
[322] Davies Ibid Opt Cited

provided for them, as *"Clubs and other groups came together in a number of Counties/Dioceses to do together what they could not do on their own."*[323]

The national headquarter organisations increased their personnel steadily to support and respond to the demands of the increasing workforce, *"many of them with a recognised professional qualification in youth work, social science and education."*[324] In a way this mirrored the situation in the North, although without the 'Troubles' as the driver.

The National Youth Council had been established to co-ordinate the work of the various national youth organisations. At the beginning of the 1970s there was *"widespread comment and discussion between the youth organisations about the lines along which developments could best take place and about the need for a greater statutory commitment to youth work."*[325]

At a meeting held in Cashel in May 1971, the National Youth Council called for a clear policy of out-of-school education and followed it up in the following year with the publication of *A National Youth Policy which*[326]*:*

"Underlined the importance of supplementing basic and formal education in each person's life by appropriate facts of continuing education; by providing opportunities for each individual to improve the quality of their lives, to keep abreast of new knowledge and to allow greater employment mobility."[327]

In 1972, the National Youth Council continued to promote and develop the youth service and published an outline for the development of Youth Services. The newly appointed Parliamentary Secretary John Bruton TD, the Minister of Education, gave an encouraging reaction to this document. He announced a special study on the long-term objectives of youth work, *"stating that he was prepared to call on the help of the youth organisations and a panel of advisors with expertise in other areas."*[328] Bruton arranged for a one-year secondment of an Inspector from Department of Education to meet with personnel, and to examine the work of, the national youth organisations and to report on ways of developing statutory help for youth work.

In these few early years of the 1970s, England and Wales had *Youth and Community Work in 70s;* Ireland had Bruton's *Special study on exploring ways of statutory help for youth work;* and Northern Ireland had a *Recreation and Youth Service (NI) Order 1973* which established a Youth Welfare Advisory Committee to offer advice on Youth Policy, not only to government but to the voluntary sector. A new statutory educational structure established Education and Library Boards, whose responsibilities included the provision of an "*adequate youth service".*

Things were starting to come together for youth work across the different jurisdictions of UK and Ireland. From the voluntary beginnings, whereby people with a strong personal and voluntary commitment to the well-being of young

[323] Forde Ibid Opt Cited
[324] Forde Ibid Opt Cited
[325] Forde Ibid Opt Cited
[326] National Youth Council 1972
[327] Forde Ibid Opt Cited
[328] Forde Ibid Opt Cited

people, were driven by a strong sense of *vocation,* by 1973 youth work began to be referred to as a *profession.*

Emerging influence from Europe

In 1972, the Government of the Republic of Ireland initiated discussions within the EU about a funding programme to combat poverty, which was established as the EU anti-poverty programme focused on particularly disadvantaged parts of the EU, including Ireland, north and south. With the worsening 'Troubles' a dedicated Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland and Border Regions, known as Peace I, was established.

Youth Work in Northern Ireland 1970-73

As mentioned above, Northern Ireland was going through a severe period of civil unrest and violence. This had a major effect on youth work, but there was also a determination to maintain the service to young people in danger of getting caught up in the conflict and paramilitary organisations.

Although Albemarle was for England and Wales and did not apply in Northern Ireland, there were similar developments here, particularly in regard to providing more buildings for youth work, and in a drive towards increasing the number of professional workers. While the Fairbairn/Milson report, *'Youth and Community Work in the 70s'* was not fully adopted by the Westminster government, it was influential in the development of the practice of youth and community work in Northern Ireland. These influences can be seen as the statutory bodies in Northern Ireland took on more responsibility for youth services in the face of political upheaval.

Internment introduced 1971

Internment (the arrest and detention without trial of people suspected of being members of illegal paramilitary groups), was introduced on 9 August 1971 and continued until December 1975. Almost two thousand people, mainly Catholics/Republicans, were arrested which had a devastating effect on many local communities and hardened attitudes between communities. Some youth workers experienced members of their clubs being wrongly arrested and others were motivated to want to join paramilitary groups:

"The Unionist controlled Stormont Government convinced the British Government of the need, and the advantages, of introducing internment as a means of countering rising levels of paramilitary violence. The policy proved however to be a disastrous mistake. The measure was only used against the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Catholic community. Although Loyalist paramilitaries had been responsible for some of the violence no Protestants were arrested (the first Protestant internees were detained on 2 February 1973). The crucial intelligence on which the success of the operation depended was flawed and many of those arrested had to be subsequently released because they were not involved in any paramilitary activity.

In response to interment the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association began a campaign of civil disobedience which culminated in a 'rent and rates strike' by those in public sector houses. The Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) was forced to end co-operation with the Northern Ireland government. In addition many commentators are of the opinion that internment resulted in increased support, active and tacit, among the Catholic community for the IRA. The level of civil unrest and the level of IRA violence surged.

While unionists would have initially welcomed the stronger security measures represented by internment they would perhaps have been less enthusiastic for the policy if they had foreseen the consequences for the Northern Ireland parliament."

Youth Work practice, as we will examine later, was not immune from the impact of internment on local communities. Whilst we have tracked, above, the policy developments in England and Republic of Ireland in these early years of 1970s, it was the dramas on the streets of Northern Ireland that led to some dramatic changes politically, socially and economically here.

Other Political Changes

In spite of the worsening political situation, or perhaps because of it, the youth service in Northern Ireland continued to strengthen, particularly in regard to the support provided by statutory bodies. One major factor was the reorganisation of the local political structures. In response to the demands of the civil rights movement, the Macrory Report [329] was responsible for re-shaping local government and re-designing the administration.

"The Macrory Report (1970) proposed radical changes in local government. Following the report, local government as it had traditionally existed, was virtually eliminated. There were no longer to be all-purpose authorities for a geographical area; these were to be replaced by separate administrative structures for each major service."[330]

Macrory recommended two levels of executive responsibility:

(a) the elected regional Government responsible to Parliament and working through Ministries; and
(b) up to 26 elected district councils working as local authorities responsible to their electorates.

The Ministries were to be responsible for regional (NI-wide) services and the district councils responsible for district (or local) services and these Ministries were to decentralise the day-to-day management of regional services under non-departmental public sector bodies appropriate to the particular service eg. health, housing, welfare and child care. As mentioned above education, youth work and public libraries were made the responsibility of Education and Library Boards in five geographical areas. Other services were delegated to local offices or district councils.

[329] Macrory Report (*Report of Review on Local Government in Northern Ireland. 1970)* Ibid Opt Cited
[330] McCready Ibid Opt Cited

The new 26 District Councils would not be responsible for some of the key functions which are the responsibility of local government elsewhere in Britain, like housing, education, health and social services, but would remain responsible for local functions in five categories:

(i) Executive functions directly conferred on them by law.
(ii) Agency functions delegated by Ministries.
(iii) Representative role on area boards and other agencies.
(iv) Consultative role as consumer councils.
(v) Ceremonial.

Rates were to be struck in two parts: regional and district. Interestingly, Macrory recommended that *"the formation of community groups for small localities should be encouraged."*

Another interesting point regarding Macrory was that the civil servant who was Secretary to the Macrory Review was John Oliver who had been a long-standing committee member of Northern Ireland Association of Boys' Clubs.

Education and Libraries (Northern Ireland) Order 1972[331]

Following on from the Macrory report, the legislation that impacted directly upon the Youth Service at this time was the *Education and Libraries (NI) Order 1972*, which established five area Education and Library Boards that replaced the previous Education Authorities. The five Boards were to be known as Belfast Education and Library Board, North Eastern Education and Library Board, Western Education and Library Board, Southern Education and Library Board and South Eastern Education and Library Board. Among other things, the Boards were to provide primary and secondary schools, special schools for handicapped (sic) pupils requiring special educational treatment and institutions of further education. They were to make contributions towards the cost of maintaining voluntary schools, provide transport for pupils and enforce school attendance. In addition, they were to regulate the employment of children and young persons and, crucially for youth work, secure the provision of recreational and youth service facilities. Boards were also required to develop a comprehensive and efficient library service for persons living, working or undertaking courses of education in their areas.

Under the Education and Libraries (Northern Ireland) Order 1972 the Boards would:

(i) provide controlled youth clubs and outdoor pursuits/activity centres;
(ii) assist with the recurrent costs of registered voluntary youth organisations;
(iii) provide advice, support and guidance for youth groups;
(iv) operate summer activity schemes; and
(v) assist individual young people/groups visiting other parts of the UK/Ireland/overseas in connection with annual camps, Outward Bound, Duke of Edinburgh's Award, Courses, Conferences etc.[332]

[331] HMSO Education and Libraries (Northern Ireland Order) 1972
[332] Education Order Ibid Opt Cited

The five boards were to be made up of representatives of locally elected district councillors, transferors of the school and maintained school authorities, teachers and other persons appointed by reason of their interest in or knowledge of the services for which the Boards are responsible.

This legislation established formally the statutory service through the Education and Library Boards and introduced the concepts of *controlled youth clubs* and *registered voluntary youth organisations*. Within a year of this legislation the *Recreation and Youth Service (Northern Ireland) Order 1973* created a Youth Committee to advise the Department of Education and the new Education and Library Boards and other bodies on the development of the youth service and, in turn, the Youth Committee would sit alongside the Standing Conference of Youth Organisations (SCOYO) that co-ordinated and represented the views of all the statutory and voluntary youth organisations in Northern Ireland. They in turn sat alongside the many Headquarter Organisations that had grown and developed over the years. The structure of the modern youth service was emerging.

Recreation and Youth Services (Northern Ireland) Order 1973[333]

The earlier part of the Order, Articles 3 to 8, relates to the establishment of separate bodies for youth and for sport to take the place of the Youth Welfare Committee and Sports Committee that existed as a Council. As previously mentioned, this combined body had been established under the *Youth Welfare, Physical Training and Recreation Act 1962*. In practice it operated largely as two separate youth and sports committees, but the new Order now allowed for the formation in Northern Ireland of a new organisation to assume responsibility for the services provided in the past by the Central Council of Physical Recreation. The proposed new Youth Committee would carry on the advisory role of the Youth and Sports Council specific to the youth services. Both bodies under this new Order were to consider and make recommendations to the Ministry on applications for grants.

Key Civil Servants

It was mentioned earlier that F.W.C. 'Con' Smith was the first Youth Work Inspector in the Department of Education. He had previously been a Youth Officer in Sheffield and encouraged a 'hands on' approach to the work. He received a number of mentions from the people interviewed for this publication and, it seemed, he set much of the tone for the Inspectors that were to follow him.

Another key civil servant at this time was Ernie Martin who was an Associate Secretary and then Deputy Under-Secretary in the Department of Education. He was a key player in helping the Education and Library Boards to establish a statutory youth service and had first-hand experience of youth work through his work as a voluntary youth worker and chair of the Belmont Youth Club. His awareness of hands-on practice and management in youth work was invaluable in understanding what was needed at grass-roots level. As the new statutory youth service was getting established Paddy Mc Dermot, who came into the Inspectorate for Youth Service in 1972 with special responsibility for Youth Work, following on from Con Smith, also deserves special mention. He had been both a school

[333] HMSO Recreation and Youth Services (NI) Order 1973

principal and voluntary youth worker. When he was appointed an Inspector in the Department of Education, with special responsibilities for youth work, he formed a close alliance with Ernie Martin to bring youth work into the heart of government thinking.

Later in the 1970s, Stanley Smith was another Principal Officer who was part of this influential group. Stanley Smith, in his interview, mentioned that his boss, Permanent Secretary, Arthur Brook, told him to get out and about in the youth service and find what needed to be done. The Education and Library Boards, which were newly in existence, welcomed the advice and guidance of these key officials at the Department of Education in the early days. Without their influence, appropriate funding might not have been found and, without the funding, it is unlikely that a Statutory Youth Service would have grown in the way that it did.

The Youth Welfare Committee

Whilst events on the ground in Northern Ireland were difficult, the Youth Welfare Committee, which had been appointed on 16th September 1968 by Minister of Education, Captain the Right Honourable WJ Long MP, continued with its business and the report covering the period 1968-71 made reference to the civil disturbances.

Mr F. Jeffrey OBE BA AKC was chair of the Council and there were two separate committees. There was one for Sport and one for Youth Welfare, which was made up of R.A. Ardill, W.S.J. Baird, T.M.R. Harshaw - local education authority; Rev. Chisholm; Dr. Liam Conlon; R.J. Dickson; Rev R.J.G. Gray; M.J. Harte; Rev. P. McCann; W.J. Maultsaid; Mrs S.V. Peskett; and Miss D.M. Wadsworth. In attendance was the Ministry's Assessor Con Smith who held special responsibility within Ministry of Education for Youth Services.

The report opened positively by *"welcoming additional funds of some £6.9m made available for social and recreational facilities in mid-1970 as a result of the Government's five-year Development Programme"* but once again the Committee continued to be critical of Local Authorities and urged them to "*to give urgent attention to this (playgrounds) much needed pressing need*."

The timing of this report and the period it covered (1968-71) meant that the committee would be expected to make some comment on the 'Troubles'. Under the heading 'Civil Disturbances' they commented that, *"the civil disturbances in the Province caused considerable concern amongst members and in September 1969 the Chairman sent a letter to all youth organisations expressing the hope that leaders and members in the Youth Service would continue to do all in their power to promote goodwill, harmony and fair dealing in the Community."*[334]

They stressed that, *"more facilities were needed in a wider development of the youth and sports service,"* and they praised voluntary bodies, the local Education Authorities and the Army that "*sought to make emergency provision and deserve credit for all their efforts as summer play schemes were provided at very short notice and at a time of economic stringency are one example, and only one, of this".* The tradition of summer schemes became established from this point.

[334] Youth Committee Report 1968-71

The '*Council Structure'* takes up space in the report and the report explained that although there were 2 committees (Sport and Youth Welfare) *"the full Council met on matters of common interest such as the consideration of Macrory Report on Local Government Reform."*[335] *W*hilst there were separate bodies for Sport and Youth Welfare, the Sports Committee recommended that provision for recreation and sport should be made a separate matter, possibly under a different Ministry, though the principle of cross-representation should be preserved. The Youth Committee's response was that it felt the present arrangements allowed for effective co-ordination in the provision of facilities and as, *"much of the recreation provision is in fact youth welfare" and would require legislation to change*, the structure should stay as it was.

On the section covering the 'Youth Service', the Youth Committee seemed a little hurt at the lack of response to its previous report, *"our last report was more widely circulated than on previous occasions, without a great deal of comment coming back. The Youth Committee feels that the time and money could be used to best advantage by a report that simply highlights the important points."* [336]

On '*Long Term Policy of the Youth Service'* the Committee felt that the need for *"co-ordination in the planning for the youth service is urgent. A sub-committee of the Standing Conference of Youth Organisations (SCOYO) has attempted valuable work but feels the task requires adequate staff. It may very well be that the personnel required is not immediately available".* They go on to acknowledge the state of play in England and Wales with regard to their latest policy report:

"W*e have carefully examined the 1969 proposals of the Youth Service Development Council to the Department of Education and Science (Westminster) entitled "Youth and Community in the 70s" and have endeavoured to relate them to the situation in NI... The vision of the 'Active Society' that underlines the general theme of the Report serves to emphasise that the youth service is not something in isolation. It is part of the modern concept of the life-long nature of education concerned with the whole community. This we envisage the youth service as being (i) closely linked with the other educational provision (ii) primarily concerned with social education for active participation and responsibility and (iii) complementary to home, formal education and work. In the fast changing society of today we must be ready for experiment and new developments than ever before. The youth service of NI is showing some of these new developments, as for example in more open clubs and less formal methods, in involving the young people in decisions and policy making, in more mixing of the sexes as well as in a less rigid application of age and other limits. This is not to say the traditional club or unformed organisation has had its day but rather that other approaches should come in addition, just as those clubs and organisations were an addition, a new approach, at one time."*[337]

On the one hand, the *Youth and Community Work in 70s* report was not fully accepted by the statutory authorities in England and Wales and it had limited impact at a policy level and on the other, as suggested above, it did have an impact on the NI Youth Committee at that time. It is worthy of note that "*social*

[335] HMSO Youth Committee Report 1968-71
[336] Youth Committee Report Ibid Opt Cited
[337] Youth Committee Report Ibid Opt Cited

education for active participation" was highlighted by the Youth Committee in their report as well as their support for the complementary nature of youth work to formal education, the home and workplace.

In the Youth Committee Report they go on to quote from the Milson/Fairbairn report and acknowledged that the figures produced in *Youth and Community Work in 70s "were very similar to those produced by a National Opinion Poll carried out for Belfast Telegraph".*

Milson/Fairbairn had stated that *"the main conclusions that can be drawn from the membership figures are:*

(a) The proportion of young people attracted by the youth service is some 29% compared to Albemarle estimate of "one in three."
(b) The proportion of membership falls away markedly by the ages of 19-20.
(c) The voluntary organisations, many of whom are grant aided, attract a higher proportion at all ages, not only below 14.
(d) Club attendance by those in full-time education is disproportionately large and the appeal is mainly to those of 14 and 15.
(e) A smaller proportion of girls is involved than boys and they lose their interest more quickly."[338]

The NI Youth Committee Report comments on the limited resources available and, therefore, the need to prioritise the work. Their list of priorities for the Youth Service was as follows:

- Young people who have left school and whose social environment is inadequate (They made reference to 220 Boys leaving one secondary school of whom only 25 would gain immediate employment. This brings the boys high up on their priority list).
- Encouraging youth organisations to be more open.
- The appointment of community youth workers. *"It is essential that the wider use of trained leaders be examined for the still larger group of those not in existing service".* This had been a theme of previous reports and the committee appeared to be edging toward a local course for youth workers.
- A relaxing of the strict rules regarding age, "*so long as activities of different age groups are organised to suit the requirements"*
- More enthusiasm for "youth wings" in schools and encouraging the dual use of school premises.
- And finally encouraging the Youth Service to be more closely associated with Voluntary Service Belfast (VSB), *"so that opportunities for voluntary community service by young people is more widely known".* Given that the Head of VSB was a committee member this was perhaps not a surprise inclusion in their priorities.

Also of note is the use of the term *community youth workers* in the report. This reflected the influence of Milson's part of the *Youth and Community Work in the 70s* report. It was also a term that was yet to be in common use in Northern Ireland. At that point in time, the term most commonly used was *youth and*

[338] Youth Committee Report Ibid Opt Cited

community worker as reflected in the emerging Community and Youth Services Association (CYSA).

On '*Leadership Training*' the Committee saw that there was *"the continuing great need for adequate supply of trained leaders",* and went on to offer a perspective on what should be included in this leadership training:

"Much of the progress to be made in integration in society, the counselling for young people and the achievement of accepted standards depends on the way the leader works. This is especially so in the atmosphere of increasing freedom associated with increasing confusion. The training (initial and refresher) provided should be such to take full account of all this."[339]

The Youth Committee, since its inception, had been advocating for more and improved youth leadership training and now the Committee identified two specific aims that would help to bring this about:

"We consider there is a great need for improvement in the field of youth leadership training and shall give urgent consideration to the Ministry's recent suggestion that a sub-committee of the Council be set up to bring together representatives of LEAs and Voluntary organisations to further consider this aspect of the youth service. We consider that the ultimate aims in this field should be:

(a) The establishment of a Youth Leadership Training Board; and
(b) The clear outlining and co-ordination of schemes for full time, part time and further training."

The above lead to Recommendation (17) in the Report which states that, *"Youth Leadership training should be closely associated with the various universities and colleges of education in Northern Ireland."*[340]

Within the next couple of years, Northern Ireland would have its first dedicated youth work training course in the Ulster Polytechnic at Jordanstown.

Expenditure by Department of Education 1970-73

The Youth Welfare Committee was responsible for advising the Department of Education on Youth Work, but the Department was the body that was responsible for giving grants. In the 1970-73 period the grant figures were as follows:

[339] Youth Committee Report Ibid Opt Cited
[340] Youth Committee Report Ibid Opt Cited

Year	Voluntary Sector Capital Expenditure	Youth Welfare/ Youth Organisations	Grants to Voluntary Youth and Sports Headquarter Organisations	Grants for youth leadership training and to youth groups towards leaders' salaries' equipment, etc.	Total
1969/70		£36,822	£41,814	£60,583	£139,219
1970/71		£7,697	£43,308	£74,979	£195,984
1971/72	£125,538	£43,948	£23,263		£192,749
1972/73	£ 57,077	£53,503	£21,919		£132,499

Grants reached a peak of £195,984 in 1970, but by 1972/3 had fallen below the level of grants three years earlier in 1969/70. This does not indicate a significant commitment by the Department of Education.

The list of Headquarter Organisations in receipt of grants from Department of Education in 1970 and 1971 provides us with a clear idea of this part of the service at this time. Those in receipt of grants for these two years were:

- Army Cadet Force Association NI
- Belfast Girls' Club Union
- Boys' Brigade NI District
- British Red Cross Society, NI Branch
- Boy Scouts (NI Scout Council)
- Churches' Youth Welfare Council
- Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme
- Girls' Brigade NI District
- NI Association of Boys' Clubs
- NI Association of Youth Clubs
- Ulster Girl Guides Association
- Young Farmers' Clubs of Ulster
- The St John Ambulance Union (Ulster Branch)

The grants ranged from a modest £112 (1969/70) and £124 (1970/71) for the Army Cadet Force to £7,322 (1969/70) and £10,849 (1970/71) for the Boys' Brigade.

Some Headquarters Organisations

Northern Ireland Association of Youth Clubs (NIAYC)

In the early days of NIAYC they occupied a small office in the YMCA building in Wellington Place, in the centre of Belfast. This was becoming inadequate *"for an ambitious organisation and the Committee was considering the need for more suitable premises from which to develop training. A bomb detonated nearby*

precipitating a move. In the midst of this turbulence the Association started looking for a residential centre."[341]*.*

The organisation had no capital reserves but a major fundraising effort, under the Presidency of Lord O'Neill, the Chair May Seth and Director Maurice Brown, enabled them to purchase and renovate Hampton, a Victorian mansion situated in a quiet residential area of east Belfast in 1971.

The purchase of Hampton was quite a strategic move of behalf of NIAYC as it seemed removed from the violence and disorder that was in many areas of Northern Ireland at this time although it was easily accessible from inner city Belfast and the surrounding areas. It was to be officially opened two years later in 1973 as a residential training centre for youth work. *"It had around 30 beds and was very popular for residential work. It provided a sanctuary for young people during some of Belfast's most turbulent times"*[342]

It was in Hampton that the first McAllister Brew[343] course ran in Northern Ireland. Later this course was renamed *Young People at Work.* The Centre would go on to become a major feature in youth work and training and provided many innovative and creative programmes for the youth service over the next 43 years before NIAYC relocated to the centre of Belfast in the form of Youth Action NI.

Belfast Girls' Club Union (1970-73)

The period 1970-73 was a difficult one for the Union, as the annual reports recorded:

"This has been a difficult and frustrating year (1969/70) for Clubs because of riots in the city. Some club premises have been seconded for the use of HM Forces. In areas where danger existed, there was a short period when Clubs could not meet. However, after a few weeks when tension waned most clubs were able to carry on normally."[344]

The following year the Acting Secretary reported that, *"in spite of disturbances in the City, I am glad to report that we have been able to carry on fairly normally. Manor Street and College Square have had their premises returned to them."*[345]

The 1973 Report records that *"the tragic death of Mr and Mrs Nichol's baby son, in an explosion on the Shankill Road. Both parents have had a long connection with Manor Street Club and Anne has been leader of the Girls' section for several years"*[346]*.*

This was the reality of the situation at this time, but the reports also show an increase in their affiliations. At the start of 1970 there were 20 affiliated clubs and by 1973 there were 10 new affiliates from Braniel, Parkmore, St Brendan's, the Arelian Club, Belfast Central Youth Club, St Patrick's Youth Club (although

[341] Youth Action 2006
[342] Ibid Opt Cited
[343] A personal development programme based upon the ideas of Josephine McAllister Brew who wrote "Informal Education" in 1946
[344] Belfast Girls' Club Union 61st Annual Report (1969-70)
[345] Belfast Girls' Club Union 62nd Annual Report (1970-71)
[346] Belfast Girls' Club Union 63rd Annual Report (1971-2-3)

their premises were destroyed by fire 1972), Olympus Girls' Club, The Bridge Youth Club Lisburn, St Agnes' Youth Club and Red Triangle Club in Shankill YMCA. This brought numbers of affiliated clubs up to 30.

In each year, the work in Drumalla House was reported as a big feature of their work and from the 1969/70 report we learn that, *"during the most difficult months Drumalla House has been much used by all creeds for Conference and training Courses. Our Club Motto, 'The Utmost for the Highest' has given food for thought and many guests learn that what unites us is more important than what divides us."*

However, by 1973 it was clear that the work of Drumalla House was being badly affected by the 'Troubles', *"we regret that our 1972 camps at Drumalla fell victim of the difficult situation and it was only possible to have the House open for one week."*

Much of the normal service of the Belfast Girls' Club Union did continue in these years with annual reports on *training week-ends for leaders: Top Teen Talent Contents; Girl of the Year; and participation in Lord Mayor's Show.* The Reports highlighted the annual *Continental Holiday* for senior girl members to Sitges in Spain (1970), Majorca (1971), Italy (1972) and Majorca (1973).

Northern Ireland Association of Boys' Clubs (1970-73)

The ongoing challenge of negotiating an amalgamation with the Northern Ireland Association of Youth Clubs was addressed at the beginning of 1970. At the NIABC AGM meeting of September 1970 they resolved unanimously that:

"...no action to be taken until an official letter was received by NIAYC (to accept the Constitution). If no letter was received within one month then the Chairman should write to Colonel Hughes (SCOYO) and/or NIAYC stating that we do not regard the letter to Colonel Hughes to be a proposer acceptance of the draft Constitution as they have not given notice of their intention to change, that this is not in the spirit of previous negotiation, that as NIAYC are well aware. The Affiliation Clauses were put in to protect the Boys' Clubs position, and that as they have given notice that they will seek to change this we must regard the Affiliation Clauses as unchangeable so long as National Association of Boys' Clubs remains a separate entity."[347]

This was not the end of the matter and the two organisations continued to meet to consider how merger problems could be overcome. In March 1972 NIABC decided:

"That the Chairman now write to NIAYC to inform them that the draft Constitution is now being forwarded to NABC and, subject to their approval, the way would be open for the Working Party to work out a detailed plan for the merging of the two bodies."[348]

[347] Williamson Ibid Opt Cited
[348] Williamson ibid opt cited

However, at the Extraordinary General Meeting of NIABC held in Presbyterian Community Centre at QUB on 9th November 1972, by 10 votes to 5 with one abstention, the following notion was carried:

"The Executive Committee recommends that at the present time the amalgamation of the two Associations is neither feasible nor opportune. The Executive Committee also recommends that wherever possible close co-operation should be developed and extended as between the two Associations."[349]

As with the Girls' Club Union, from 1970, the sectarian conflict was an issue for Boys' Clubs. Local area committees were asked to carry on as normally as possible in the hope things would get back to normal as soon as possible.

In 1970 the Boys' Club membership stood at 85 and within the next couple of years this would grow to almost 100 clubs. This showed the efforts that the NIABC was making to promote and develop the work of the Boys' Clubs despite the ongoing strife.

The Churches and Youth Work

In previous chapters we described the continuous involvement of churches in providing the accommodation for uniformed organisations such as BB, GB or Scouts and their own direct provision for young people. In regard to youth clubs there were different approaches. For the most part, churches wanted to concentrate on Sunday School for younger children and Youth Fellowships for older teenagers.

The Methodist Church

As discussed in Chapter 3, the Methodists had established a Youth Department and the Irish Methodist Association of Youth Clubs (IMAYC). IMAYC supported youth clubs in Methodist Churches throughout Ireland, arranging competitions and annual events. There was a strong connection with MAYC in England and in May each year IMAYC organised a trip to the MAYC London Weekend. This was a gathering of young people from all over the UK. Thousands were hosted by the London MAYC members in homes or church halls and weekend of events culminated in a major event in the Albert Hall.

IMAYC provided support and training for youth workers. In Chapter 3 it was mentioned that the youth worker in Rathcoole Methodist Youth Club, Billy Barret, in 1968 had attended the emergency course in Leicester and had become a professionally qualified youth worker. The Rathcoole Youth Club was, by mutual agreement, taken over by the local community association. In England, MAYC employed around 30 full-time youth workers. In Ireland, however, the Methodist Church did not follow suit. In 1971 there were two Methodist youth workers who went to England to obtain professional youth work qualifications. On their return, however, there were no full-time posts within the Methodist Church for them to apply for.

[349] Williamson ibid opt cited

Church of Ireland

The current Church of Ireland Youth Department was set up in 1971[350]. The first chair of the Department was the Rev. Charles McCollum.

Presbyterians

The PCI Youth Board first met in October 1972 and published their first report at their first conference in January 1973 which highlighted the role of youth fellowships within the Church:

"By the time the Presbyterian Youth Board came into existence in 1972, youth fellowships were very much seen as the main forum for learning, exchange of ideas and debate of Christian principles, implications, events and structures."[351]

Thompson (see also Chapter 3) goes on to describe a move promoted by the newly formed Youth Board to *open youth work:*

"Another significant declaration to notice around this time was the central commitment to 'Open Youth Work', ie. 'our concern is for all the young people and, indeed, perhaps especially for those who are beyond the reach of the institutional Church and our fellow organisations and clubs."[352]

The creation of this Youth Board had promoted recognition that young people could no longer be assumed to be connected to a local church and that the church may need to be thinking more strategically about reaching out to them and offering them something that may be more in line with the times. It seemed that, at this time, the centre of the Church was being sensitised and challenged by its Youth Board.

Churches' Youth Welfare Council (CYWC)

Lexi Kennedy[353] (CYWC secretary 1972 -74) summarised the, role that CYWC was able to play in the development of youth work and the reason for its demise:

"After the 1947 Education Act financial grant aid was available to youth clubs for the first time allowing for the employment of full-time and part-time staff. CYWC was able to organise this financial support for clubs which were affiliated to them. The main Protestant churches were represented on the board of CYWC along with other nominated members. A similar organization was established by Down and Connor to promote youth by the Catholic Church. Both of the foregoing bodies became major youth providers until the 1972 Education Act when one condition of grant aid was that assistance would only be offered to individual autonomous clubs and committees. This sounded the death knell for CYWC as the organisation's main role had been the administrative support for affiliated clubs."

[350] www.youth.ie/nyci/church-ireland-youth-department
[351] Thompson Ibid Opt Cited
[352] Thompson Ibid Opt Cited
[353] Kennedy L letter December 2015

Catholic Church - Down and Connor Youth Service

When Education and Library Boards were formed under the 1972 Order, those youth clubs identified as Catholic and affiliated to Down and Connor maintained their independence whilst many of the other clubs became *controlled* as they came under the new statutory control of the Education and Library Boards. A full-time Director was appointed by the Bishop to oversee the development of the Down and Connor Youth Service. A significant feature of their work at this time was the provision of its own training, *"and its workers were discouraged from participating in the state-run courses."*[354]

In an interview with that Director, he recalled that his remit with the Down and Connor Youth Council, *"was to develop youth and community provision for the community."*[355] His reflections on working in local communities through the Youth Service was that, in midst of the civil conflict and disturbances, the Church was important in people's lives. In St Teresa's Church, for example, *"there were 30/40 baptisms every Sunday and 13/15 weddings every weekend".* Inner city communities were heavily built up and there was often a lack of any social or recreational outlets for people, especially young people.

He recalls tensions with the Army and the local community and also with the IRA as the battle for hearts and minds of the community raged. In these early days he recalls how important it was to get youth clubs where young people could go, instead of being involved or observing the regular riots and battles on their street.

His approach, as Director of Down and Connor Youth Service, was to *"encourage the parish priests, as they had autonomy in their own parishes".* He also said that many of their youth club workers participated in training through the Northern Ireland Association of Boys' Clubs. *"Many of our people went to them for youth leader training."* His perspective was one of the growing influence of the Down and Connor Youth Service and getting more involved in their communities than they had been before. With Education and Library Boards coming along in 1973, he saw the opportunity of financial support, through grants, for many of their youth clubs.

A major driver for his work with the Down and Connor Youth Service was about *"protecting a Catholic ethos and extending it into the youth clubs".* In the local communities this was sometimes under threat and there was an anti-church agenda, in particular from the IRA. He talked of *"pressures from paramilitaries to run youth clubs and get their own people in them"*. The Down and Connor Youth Service, for him, was providing an excellent service for the members of its clubs and one based strongly on Catholic Church values.

Community and Youth Workers Association (CYSA)

Whilst the flurry of legislation around a new Northern Ireland political framework was ongoing amidst the continued violence and the statutory youth service was in its infancy, the youth workers in the field sought to organise themselves in an association.

[354] White P Ibid Opt Cited
[355] Interview with Father Colm Campbell 19/01/15

CYSA was established in England before Northern Ireland. The first survey on terms and condition for youth workers goes back to 1943 and CYSA in England registered as a union in 1947. In 1965, the first General Secretary of the Association in England, Sandra Leventon, was appointed.

Any written records of the Community and Youth Workers Association in Northern Ireland from this early period (1970-73) were hard to find and we relied on recollections from a few people who attended the first meetings. They referred to a conference in 1972 which attracted workers from all over the UK to Northern Ireland and from this the local Association was formed. There were a number of key individuals in Northern Ireland at this time who were active and they got in touch with Sandra Levington, who came over to Belfast and gave the gathered audience great encouragement to establish a group. Owing to of the number of youth workers by that stage, Northern Ireland was able to form its own local branch of CYSA.

From the interviews with some of the first members of CYSA in Northern Ireland, the meetings were generally described as "lively". Training was also a big topic of conversation and there is a recollection that they received some funding from Department of Education for occasional training courses which members organised themselves.

One interviewee also recalled how males dominated the membership of the early CYSA group. *"At my first meeting there were only two women."*[356]

The only documentation we could find from this period is the detailed report[357] of a well organised visit to Holland in October 1973 which lists 21 Youth Workers who participated this visit. This was a study tour organised by the Netherlands Committee for International Youth Work and the list of attendees on this visit gives us an indication of the membership of CYSA.

- Ken Allister - South Eastern Board
- George Barclay - Short and Harland, Belfast
- Maurice Brown - NI Association of Youth Clubs
- Winnie Potter - Queen's University Youth Club
- Bill Craig - South Eastern Area Board
- Claire Curry - Shankill YMCA Centre
- Tony Duffy - North Queen Street Adventure Playground
- Donald Dunlop - Craigavon Development Commission
- Tish Gunn - Divis Tower Adventure Playground
- Brendan Henry - Community Relations Commission, Belfast
- Frank Hood - Cairn Lodge Boys' Club
- George Johnston - Shankill YMCA
- Jim Loughrey - Community Relations Commission, Derry
- Colin McAuley - Archway Youth Club
- Kevin McCaul - St. Columb's Park Activity Centre, Derry
- Paddy Maguire - Ligoniel Youth Club
- Billy Maxwell - Newsboys Youth Club
- Jack Montgomery - Agnes Street Community Centre

[356] Focus Group meeting to discuss "Youth Work with girls and young women in 1960s and 70s. Held in Youth Action and organised by Gender Initiative 30/01/15
[357] Northern Ireland Community and Youth Service Association 1973

- Kay Mulholland - Rapid Youth Club
- Brendan O'Donnell - St. Mary's Youth Association, Derry
- Eddie Witherspoon - NI Association of Boys' Clubs.

This shows the early diversity of the service, the mix of community workers and youth workers and the statutory service and the voluntary service. The gender balance is clearly toward more males than females (4 women and 17 men).

In the preface to the report of the visit we learn that the first chairperson of CYSA was Colin McAuley, from Archway Youth Club in East Belfast and he acknowledges the British Council for the *"generous grant and personal interest in the venture."*[358] In the report there are individual reflections on the visit from Brendan Henry, George Johnston, Tish Gunn, Maurice Brown and Jack Montgomery. In the Introduction it was noted that *"the visitor from Ireland is perhaps shocked, and almost certainly perplexed, with the candid and tolerant way the question of drugs, alcohol and sex amongst young are treated. Most likely too we find such freedom refreshing. This is because behind the permissiveness a maturity our society cannot yet match."*[359]

From the individual reflections in the report there was mention of the strong community dimension to much of the Dutch youth work, the detached youth work that went alongside the open youth work, the training of youth workers which took place over 4 years (*"we certainly could not afford the time in Northern Ireland for this sort of training at this stage but it obviously has its advantages and it might pay the Youth Service to examine other people's training in greater detail"*[360]). The homosexual clubs in Amsterdam also made an impression on the visitors, as did the fact that "*children queued up for their turn on the trampoline, the gymnastics, vaulting, netball etc. There was no pushing or fighting or arguing. Unbelievable!... I found they did not eat as compulsively as Irish or as richly eg. small portions of meat, lots of cheese, tea without milk and raw minced meat sandwich."*[361]

The experience of the visit may be best summed up by a comment from one of the participants:

"I left Belfast with set attitudes and they were certainly shaken during my visit to Holland. I see a lot of things differently now and therefore for me I can only be grateful for the opportunity."[362]

Here is the start of an Association for community workers and youth workers and whilst international study visits and travel were always a part of the service, from this point onwards it became quite a feature in the development of the service and an experience many workers would benefit from.

[358] Dutch Visit Ibid Opt Cited
[359] Dutch Visit Ibid Opt Cited
[360] Dutch Visit Ibid Opt Cited
[361] Dutch Visit Ibid Opt Cited
[362] Dutch Visit Ibid Opt Cited

1972 - A three-year In-service Diploma in Youth and Community Work in the Ulster Polytechnic

In the various Youth Committee reports from 1944 onwards the recurring theme of training is obvious. By 1972 this was to come to fruition in Northern Ireland's first training course dedicated to providing a professional qualification in youth work and bring it into line with courses running in England, Scotland and Wales. Following on from the H.A. Thompson Committee Recommendation on youth work training, the Youth Committee had reported in 1945 that there was a *"need for more courses and trained leaders and helpers"*[363], which shows that the need to provide training course for full-time youth workers had been around for some time. Before 1972, in order to obtain a nationally recognised qualification, youth workers had to go to England, Scotland or Wales. The most frequently used course by people from Northern Ireland was the emergency one year course in Leicester. In a desire to improve the delivery of the youth service, this situation was challenged in 1970. Several leading Youth Officers within the Youth Departments of the Education and Library Boards, among them Mayne Harshaw (NEELB) and Noel Hearst (BELB), began promoting the idea that a suitable training course should be provided in Northern Ireland. Ann Dufton, the Dean of the Faculty of Social and Health Sciences at the Northern Ireland Polytechnic was sympathetic to this idea. She had an involvement in the youth service as chair of SCOYO and this assisted discussion between her, Harshaw and Hearst. For the first two years, the Youth and Community staff at the Ulster Polytechnic consisted of only Derrick Wilson, who was qualified as both a teacher and a youth worker, having completed his youth work training in Swansea University. He had a unique opportunity, however, to create an appropriate professional course for Youth and Community Work in conjunction with what was a major part of the full-time youth workers in Northern Ireland. Stanley Rowe joined the staff in 1974 and Richard Loudon in 1975.

It was extremely important that the course was a nationally recognised professional course, so that students would receive equal accreditation as those from the other courses in Britain. Derrick Wilson's task, therefore, was to design a course to meet the academic requirements of the Polytechnic (Central Committee for Education and Training of Social Workers - CCETSW[364]) as well as the demands of a national endorsement by JNC.

In September 1972 a course was launched in the Ulster Polytechnic to provide professional training for full-time youth workers in post. Initially a six month crash course was planned but was very quickly extended to three years. The two year full-time Diploma in Youth and Community Work started in September 1973.

This part-time in-service course was the first of its kind within the UK to provide professional training for full-time workers in post (later a similar course was started in Avery Hill College London). It met the urgent need to increase the number of qualified youth workers in Northern Ireland. The first intake of 25 students (22 men and 3 women) came from all over Northern Ireland - Belfast, Londonderry/Derry, Enniskillen, Bangor, Omagh, Lisburn, Dunmurry, Lurgan and Crumlin. They were mature and experienced workers, operating in a wide range

[363] First Youth Committee of NI report 1945

[364] CCETSW was the statutory authority established in 1970 to promote education and training in social work by recognising courses and awarding qualifications across the UK

of settings, and in areas which were not only in considerable need of resources but also were experiencing civil unrest. The students were mixed in terms of religious/political tradition, with 13 Protestants and 12 Catholics.

The part-time in-service course was to be at Diploma level. The part-time equivalent of a 2-year full time diploma course normally took 4 years. This course, however, was 'fast tracked' by delivering it in a series of residentials, one week each month. This provided sufficient time to deliver the course and also provided an intensity which enhanced the learning experience, especially in regard to students returning to study or with limited academic background. To cater for such students there was a support system of one-to-one tutorials.

Holiday Schemes for young people

The opportunity to get local training that led to a professional qualification in youth work was a tremendous boost to the service and it seemed a lot was happening in relation to youth work at this time. However, there was also continuing civil disturbances that challenged youth workers in clubs and on the streets. The summer, with its traditional political and cultural celebrations, marches and bonfires, was a particularly difficult time as young people were off school and attention focused on the youth service to do something to engage these young people in positive activities.

At this point in time, and for years to come, there were major injections of funding from Government Departments for the youth service to provide some recreational diversion for young people and youth workers were prominent in offering these opportunities and diversionary activities. Furthermore, the need to get young people away from the Troubles was the driver for developing holiday projects.

Residential weekends were a part of most youth club work. Guides and Scouts had camping as a key element, BB companies would go away on summer camps, and most youth clubs had the possibility of weekend residentials, for example, through NIABC, NIAYC, or the Girls' Club Union. The initial idea, to get young people away from the dangers of the confrontational urban environment, developed into the concept of letting young people experience another country or culture. It was increasingly believed that a positive experience of seeing how others lived might have beneficial effects for the young person. This developed further to include mixed groups of young Protestants and Catholics who would experience travel to other countries together and be reconciled by the experience. Some of these holidays were organised by groups in Ireland and others by overseas groups in Holland, Germany and America. Holiday Projects West was one of the local bodies that helped develop this approach.

Holiday Projects West (HPW)

This organisation originated in Derry, as a result of Rosemount Youth Club being destroyed. What had happened was that the army had built a hut for the local education authority which was designated as a youth club, Rosemount Youth Centre. Mary Devine, a youth worker employed by the board became the leader of the Centre. This was a tricky and controversial situation because the IRA was suspicious of a Club supported by the army. In spite of this, the club was successful with over 300 members of mixed gender and religion. In 1971 the

centre was bombed and Mary had to resort to detached work on the streets of the area, trying to keep contact with the members.

She then got involved in helping Father Doherty and Bertie Faulkner run holiday schemes to get kids away from the troubles for respite. Together they organised holidays in Westport, County Mayo. This eventually became Holidays Projects West, (HPW) which was taken on by Gerry Tyrell, who had been born in west London, and went to live in Derry/ Londonderry in 1972, shortly after the events of Bloody Sunday, (he worked as Organiser of Holiday Projects West until April 1988, when he took up the role of organiser for the Ulster Peace Education Project). HPW was set up as a registered charity in March 1972, funded by the Northern Ireland Community Relations Council, providing cross-community opportunities for young people in the north west area of Northern Ireland.

HPW soon expanded, giving children from the area a holiday with families in England, Holland as well as Ireland. Part of the objective of the group was to send mixed groups of Catholic and Protestant children to homes which would provide respite from the 'Troubles' by helping the young people to meet and live and learn together during organised holidays, workcamps and other activities (the organisation closed in 1988).

Examples of Youth Work Practice in Northern Ireland 1970-1973

This set of practice examples are the stories of youth workers who were working during the early years of the 1970s. Some of these events are over 40 years old, but they come across as immediate and powerful to the reader because they carry a significant memory for the teller.

Before presenting these practice examples, however, the following is an incident, related by George Johnston of the YMCA which gives a flavour of the challenging environment in Northern Ireland at this time:[365]

"*On the 11th December 1971, an IRA bomb went off in Balmoral Furnishing Centre, a shop on the Shankill Road. Four people were killed. Two were men, a 29 year old catholic and a 70 year old Protestant, a 2 year old baby girl and a baby boy of around 6 months caught up in the blast was rushed to intensive care in hospital. On the TV news at 6.00pm the announcer Larry McCoubrey was given the news of the baby's death late when he was on camera. Something about the tragedy made him lose his professional detachment. As I watched this I shared his emotions. It was one of many occasions in the early 70s when a feeling arose that we had reached the nadir. I felt that it could not be worse and everyone would now come to their senses. This was a naïve thought. There were many more people died that year. This may not be the worst atrocity of the troubles, but something about that event involving the death of a baby and the spontaneous emotion of a news announcer carries poignancy. There has to be a numbing effect on all of us who live here, but it is our view that the evidence in the stories of practice below, show that workers maintain a positive and hopeful approach in all situations".*

[365] Johnston G 'Shankill Snapshots' Holt Trust. Forthcoming

The Strife of Daily Life - Excerpts from 'Shankill Snapshots'[366]

George Johnston was a youth worker for the YMCA in Edinburgh who came to work in Shankill YMCA from 1970 to 1973 (he went on to work for NIAYC at Hampton House, Belfast) and relates his experience of youth work in this difficult period:

"The Army had taken over the old Snugville Street Bakery as a barracks. It was built cheek by jowl between small old red brick terraced houses. This was a surprising choice and distinctly not the safest place for an army in occupation who were there to keep the peace. The YM Centre was round the corner from the barracks and we therefore had a grandstand view from our upstairs coffee bar of battles that occurred between the local Prods and the soldiers. These were often triggered by what the local people perceived as heavy-handedness on the part of the army. When things erupted members 'booked seats' to watch the turmoil unfold below. It was like watching a movie in cinema-scope through the huge bevelled windows of our coffee-bar. At other times the Centre became a first-aid centre for the civilian wounded. Rubber bullets occasionally ricocheted off our walls and gas cylinders also caused occasional injuries (I still have the souvenirs). A couple came through our glass roof. Inside, the Centre became somewhat chaotic!

One day, I remember well, Clare Curry (our able full-time community worker) and I were approaching the Centre when we were confronted by an armed patrol. It was a time of tension and an army sergeant with a loudspeaker threatened to shoot - guns were trained on us. We were told to put our hands in the air and walk backwards down the Shankill until we were a fair distance away. When we got back into the Centre, the Police arrived and started searching the members present. One young officer was particularly aggressive and I reported him to an inspector who had arrived. 'Get that guy out of here' was my request. He was instantly ordered back to barracks.

In a separate incident, a group of older local guys in their thirties (who we had never met before) arrived out of the blue and made aggressive demands of me about taking over the Centre - to what end we were unaware. (Rumour had it they were from a Protestant paramilitary group who wanted to use of the building and, in particular, our upstairs view for reconnaissance.) Word of mouth got round the Centre in minutes and Bill arrived, followed by Wylie, others from our under 23s football team and older members. I watched as Bill removed his heavy belt with buckle and others did likewise. Our guys were clearly going to protect their Centre and its leaders from any takeover. This took guts and the tale has since become folklore (and was I proud of them!) With this show of strength the visitors slowly retreated, and we heard the leader mutter 'fucking bastards!' as he left the centre. In the language of the street, this was the ultimate accolade!

We had 500 members. A few got into trouble with the law and some were murdered. Some names I can't remember, but Wesley was shot through the spine, and Nokie was found dead on a rubbish heap. Hughie was gunned down in a local bar and, to this day, has a mural there in his honour. Tragedies such as these were sad in the life of the Centre, reflected in sombre moments in our building".

[366] Johnston Ibid Opt Cited

This was some of the reality of the youth worker in inner city Belfast at this point in time. In this case, the youth club had to occasionally double as a field hospital during riots and also had a strategic place on the Road that was sought after by a paramilitary grouping. Youth Work seemingly needed to compete with the excitement offered outside:

"One frightening memory was when a well-known, well-dressed and handsome, local guy in his 20s, started coming to the centre and became involved in the Arts programme in which he had distinct skills. Skilled volunteers were always hard to find. As he introduced himself to club leaders, some knew him well and they indicated that he was an able local guy. He was welcomed as a volunteer with open arms. After being with us a few months, I happened to look out of the office window one day to see a group of our male and female members lined up with black berets and doing an 'eyes right' to his command. They had been recruited to the Red Hand Commandos, the junior wing of the UDA/UVF. This shocked me to the core. Not only had I failed to pick up on this, but neither had our strong team of indigenous leaders.

This radicalisation was happening right under our noses, and we didn't know. It makes me wonder about parallels with what's happening to young people in today's world…"

Cross-community work was an essential part of youth work in the 70s and George Johnston maintained this within the Shankill YM programme. Cross-community work with the Catholic Falls Road was instigated and the YMCA maintained particularly good relationships with the Rapid Athletic Club and other similar groups in West Belfast.

Such were the tensions between communities; it was rare to have cross-community activities on the YMCA premises. It was, to put it bluntly, simply too dangerous and inflammatory to the rest of the community. The youth club could not be seen to disregard or ignore public opinion at the time. Instead, activities were organised elsewhere, such as the Corrymeela Centre (a Christian residential reconciliation centre) in County Antrim for cross-community weekend residential experiences. But there were dangers for youth workers, like anyone else, who was around at this time. George Johnston's words again:

"Towards the end of my period with the Shankill YM Youth and Community Centre, I drove to Derry to meet the club leader in St Mary's Youth Association to plan a joint training programme. The Creggan was the one estate in Northern Ireland that had no police presence for a period prior to 'Operation Motorman'. As I drove into the estate, which sits on top a hill overlooking the Bogside, I was followed and then overtaken by a yellow electricity van which forced me to stop. I rolled down the car window and a guy in his late 20s brusquely demanded ID. This was not the police! Having shown my driving licence and answered a few questions, he stated he was 'not satisfied' and I had to come in for questioning. He then whistled toward the van. A young modest kind of guy, who looked about 16, got out of the van carrying what I thought was a Kalashnikov rifle and soon he had parked himself on my passenger seat. Due to the size and position of the gun, its barrel ended up pointed at my head. The young guy's hand on the trigger was shaking. I could well have been his first assignment. The thought occurred immediately that I needed to talk to him to try to help him relax a bit. But what

does one say in this circumstance. My humble spur of the moment casual offering was, ' Well, how's life treatin' you?' I was surprisingly relaxed. Unable to cope with the humanity of it and possibly bearing in mind he might have to shoot me, his low-key response was to mutter - 'just drive on ...just drive on...' I then rabbitted on about the Creggan, the workers I knew there and the fine Centre they had there. I was told to follow the van which drove to the courtyard behind the local Inn amid the empty beer canisters. I was ordered out of the car and told to put my stretched arms against the wall while I was searched, as was my car.

This was, to say the least, a scary 20 minutes as I didn't know what was going on behind my back. Then I heard the 16 year old lad's voice repeating parrot fashion everything I had said, almost word for word. After about 20 minutes, I heard the leader report back to base, and I was apologetically released. I then had my delayed meeting with Peter and advised him of the circumstances of my delay. This resulted in a glass of Scotch being produced. I then drove via the Bogside through Derry on my way back to Belfast. On this journey I was waved down twice by community workers I knew, who had already heard of the situation and were looking out for me. Grapevines work fast in Derry!"

One of the ex-members of Shankill YMCA quoted the words of someone else describing the value of the work of youth workers like George Johnston at that time, "*In a way, the youth and community workers doing this job were guardians of hope for the young people they encountered. A last chance to help them get a life that offered something different to death or jail."*

Youth Work in early 1970s in West Belfast

The following is a story of a young teacher-trained woman, had been through the Brownies and Girl Guides in her own home town, and who had returned from Africa and, fresh from summer scheme volunteer work with Voluntary Service Belfast (VSB), was looking to work with young people. In 1971, a post in Ballymurphy Youth Club was advertised and, looking for professional advice on a career move from teaching to youth work, she asked the local Youth Officer within the Education Authority if it would be a good move for her. *"Rather you than me"* was the Youth Officer's reply. Ignoring this advice she applied for the job and was appointed:

"I was very inexperienced but the main leader was Paddy McCarthy an experienced worker who had worked in London. Unfortunately, during one of the riots he took a heart attack and died (Paddy collapsed with a heart attack when he returned to Whitecliff Drive after delivering milk to local families in the area and having been stopped and assaulted by an army patrol. He was dead on arrival at hospital, one of eleven Ballymurphy residents who would have died by the end of Internment Week)[367]. This left me in charge. The club was huge. There were 3 sections and we had around 500 members."

It was as much about crowd control as it was youth work. With this weight of numbers each night the worker managed to organise what she referred to as "*mixed activities."* The fact that the girls played football and the boys did knitting was certainly different. Alongside this ran the training night for the football team

[367] De Baroid C.2010.

and there was a special art room. There was no particular activities for girls. It was certainly a challenge to deal with such large numbers of young people each night and she tried to organise sessions according to age:

"*I didn't have time to plan programmes specifically for young girls at this time. I was on my own with volunteers and the numbers of young people were very high. I just asked the kids what they wanted and tried to provide this. I remember there was a black and white minstrel troop at the time and a lot of the young girls were attracted to be part of that. Young girls tended toward the arts side of youth clubs. Disco dancing was a really big thing for the girls. It was a key activity for them and I recall dancing competitions and groups of disco dancers. However, the idea of young girls getting all 'glammed' up was a bit problematical for me.*"

The largest proportion of youth club membership was the primary school age group. It was not unusual that whole families were sent to the youth club. Big sister looking after baby brother was a common experience. Sectarianism and dealing with paramilitaries was a regular experience:

"The impact of the troubles was severe. We were operating in a sectarian society. In Ballymurphy the republican organisations were in control and you were constantly negotiating with them. They often wanted to use the club for something, or borrow your car. As a youth worker, when you were in the middle of this you probably didn't realise how serious it could be or that your life may be in danger... we hardly even noticed the sectarianism"

In August 1971, Operation Demetrius occurred (Internment without trial). In a series of raids across Northern Ireland, 342 people were immediately arrested by the British Army, mostly suspected of being in the IRA, and taken to makeshift camps:

"There was an immediate upsurge of violence and 17 people were killed during the next 48 hours... Over the following days thousands of people (estimated at 7,000), the majority of them Catholics, were forced to flee their homes. Many Catholic 'refugees' moved to the Republic of Ireland, and have never returned to Northern Ireland."[368]

As the youth worker in a predominantly Republican community it was clear to her that this event had a massive impact on that community. Life in the youth club could not be immune from the reality outside. But with challenging situations, at times, comes opportunities. The Youth Work Committee in the Club was mostly male but this was really affected by internment when five young men were interned. The worker's role changed and she found a lot of her work taken up by supporting many young women whose boyfriends were either interned or moved out of the area. She also encouraged the young women to become more involved in the club as a means of coping with the impact that internment had made in households and in the community.

On reflection, the youth worker saw women, young and old, emerge as leaders in their community at this time of Internment. She saw the early days of women's' centres, but the problem for many of her young female youth members was their

[368] CAIN Internment: A Chronology of the main events

age and many were too young to join these centres and therefore support for them fell on the youth worker and the youth club.

Coming up Through the Ranks

This is a story of a young woman who was inspired by her mother's commitment to start a Girl Guide troop in their local town:

"When I was young I just wanted to be a Brownie! This meant going "across town" so I did that. It was only when this became difficult that my mum started the Briginis. She was a role model for me because was determined to do what was necessary. We became totally involved in the organisations, which expanded to the Guides, Scouts etc."[369]

From the mother's perspective starting a Brigini group was important but she had few resources:

"*In the Briginis we saw there was nothing for younger girls and this was why we started it. We did simple tasks with the Briginis. We taught them to use the telephone directory to help their reading, or knitting their own hats with pieces of wool. We used to get them to make speeches to overcome shyness. We gave a girl the task to make a speech, but her mother came and asked for her not to have to do it. You looked for their talent and brought it out, get them to do it, but we always encouraged everyone to take part."*

From the Briginis, the next stage was the organisations for older age groups. *"At one point we had a mixed sex group of Adventure Scouts but were made to disband it by 'the powers that be'."*

In the above quotes, so much about life in Northern Ireland at this time is alluded to. The crossing of the town to join a uniformed organisation does not immediately offer itself as a significant event, but the quote suggests that in order to go to the Brownies she was not only crossing town, but also going into an area of a different religious/political tradition. In Northern Ireland, with its single identity schools and housing, to be introduced to other young people from a different tradition early on in your life can be a significant event. When it was difficult to continue going to the mainly Protestant Brownies, her mother started the equivalent Catholic uniformed organisation, the Briginis.

The disbanding of a mixed sex troop of Adventure Scouts shows the conservative nature of the society. When our interviewee was asked who were the *'powers that be'* and why had they requested disbandment she smiled and commented with her tongue in cheek, "*Boys and girls couldn't go camping together or be in the same uniformed organisation together in those days. What would boys and girls get up to? The church couldn't condone that!"*

There were significant others in her local community who also tried to impose their views upon this girl and her organisation:

[369] This is a euphemism for going from one community to another. In this instance from the 'Catholic' side of town to the 'protestant' side.

"One year I was awarded the local Guide of the Year award. The prize was another outdoor trip. I was really looking forward to the travel and the camping. The Republican News got hold of this and said we were not to go on these things. We did not respond to this threat. No one was going to tell us what to do in this way."

At this point in time, tensions in local communities were high. The line of thinking from the Republican movement was, she thinks, that the prize was sponsored by the Community Relations Branch of the Department of Education and involved travel to an Outdoor Adventure Centre, which would expose this young woman to the danger of being recruited by the security forces and pumped for information about her community. "*But this just made me, and my mother, more determined. Why are these people preventing children going away and getting involved in uniformed organisations? Why were they threatening families and telling us what to do?"*

From crossing town to join a Brownie Pack, to standing up to people who did not want her to accept her prize, to breaking new ground with a mixed Adventure Scout Group, our interviewee was:

"..*too busy to get involved in anything sectarian. I remember from the age of 9 cooking meals on an open camp fire from the age of ten. Being in an all girls uniformed organisation meant no-one could tell me that I couldn't do anything because I was a girl. I didn't know I was a feminist until I met someone who wasn't! As girls we just got on with it and this is why all girl groups like the Guides were important. It gave girls and young women a chance to be on their own and grow their self-confidence. It gave me adventure and travel. With the travel I saw that change was possible and everything wasn't about sectarianism or sexism. In the guides we explored different things; it opened up things for us. We realised things aren't fixed and we could change them."*

An Adventure in Play

I started as a play leader and I remember that we were left to get on with it. I am not sure what 'it' actually was and I remember whenever we did met members of the voluntary committee that set the Association up they seemed a bit in awe of us actually going in and working in the conditions they had set up at this time in 1970. I started in April 1971 and worked for them for 2 years 4 months in Turf Lodge and Shankill Road, west Belfast.

To be honest the Troubles were a big thing at that time. It was desperate. All of us witnessed things with young people, weapons, shootings and bombings that seemed to be out of a living nightmare. I was personally 'interrogated' by local paramilitaries when I got moved from Turf Lodge to Caledon Street which crossed the religious divide. The interrogation assessment was necessary, they thought, in order to assess my background and motives for coming to work in their area. I was informed at this interrogation that, in the event of full-scale war, the Caledon St. building was going to be designated a field hospital. I also got pulled into an alley and a gun put to my head at one stage on a visit to Derry and they thought I was special branch. This was not unusual. All of us involved had almost daily contact with violence and countless stories of its impact including young people and personal friends killed and injured. I lost count of the bombings we were close to and I would say that for all of us on all working on playgrounds it was not

possible to operate without personally knowing fairly well the local paramilitary commanders and some of their immediate shock troops. For me this was also compounded in Turf Lodge by the intra paramilitary rivalries at this time between Provisional IRA and the Official IRA. It was dangerous for the workers. Similarly Caledon St was on the waste ground demarcation line between the UDA of Caledon St and the UVF of Battenburg St and there was really no love lost between them either. The young people joined and gave their loyalty to the group of whatever geographical area they were in.

There was one paramilitary member, who I believed to be the local commander in my playground area, and he was constantly trying to find out my background and my motivation for doing the work across the community. He finally told me that he had got me sussed and that I was in fact a 'card carrier'. I genuinely hadn't a clue what he was talking about, thinking at one stage that this meant he believed that I had some sort of disability or other. When I finally found out that this was the local term for a member of the communist party I decided it was really time to move on. People were being killed for all sorts of strange reasons in that paranoid environment and it wasn't the last time I was labelled a communist, simply for putting in some time to work with young people or community engagement, but also by not showing any particular sympathies for local militarism or 'defence' activities as they were invariably termed in the Protestant community. I'm sure my experiences weren't unusual for workers at that awful period.

But there was good work going on with young people despite this backdrop. It didn't stop us but we had to have our wits about us. I used caving trips to Fermanagh with young people from all of these groups in order to try to get them out and about and also to get them talking. It was on many, many times genuinely frightening and probably the main reason I moved from the Association up to the North Coast to Portrush in 1973 in order to get a break from it. I genuinely think that it's not too dramatic to say that every one of us were traumatised in some way by our experiences.

"I'm sorry you can't have my car, you're not insured to drive it"

As we have read, there was an inevitability that a youth worker who was involved with young people in local communities during this 1970-73 period would inevitably face challenges that may not be in the normal day-to-day running of things. For example, being asked for your car by paramilitaries was not an unusual request in some communities at this time, but our next story offers an example of the skill and quick thinking of a youth worker to dismiss a request of this nature. The youth worker was discussed under Holiday Projects West above:

"It was Derry in the early 70s and I was teacher trained. I drifted into youth work by getting involved with older school kids. I learnt 3 chords on the guitar and this led to working in the school to start a folk club. It was an all-boy's school so we invited the girls. This eventually became a youth club. After a time in London as a student volunteering in a youth club, I returned as the statutory Youth Service was starting in Derry in 1970 but there was no youth club available for me to go to. Then the Army built a hut for the Education Authority and this became Rosemount Youth Centre. This remained controversial because of the supposed army connection. Some of the kids thought I was an army plant. There were 300 members, a mixed club of gender and religion. There was a lot of suspicion about

the club. One of the members from my previous club would not come in because of this, but would meet me outside. One day when I was coming out of the club and I was approached by him and he seemed apologetic as he started to speak to me:

"I need your car"
This threw me and I came back at him
"What for?"
"I have been sent by the 'RA to get your car"
"I'm sorry you can't have it. You're not covered by my insurance to drive it"
"Somebody might come back with a gun to take it!
"Well he won't be insured to drive either!" was my retort.

He turned on his heel and walked off. Later that day there was a car bomb incident in town and so I knew some poor soul had their car taken instead. I met him two weeks later and asked him, "What happened when you didn't get my car?"
He replied, 'I went up to the main road and hi-jacked the first car that came by!'

The worker presented this in a matter-of-fact and amusing way. There was an advantage being local and known to the potential hijacker, but there was always a danger, given the happenings on the street. But the worker takes the story, alluded to under Holiday Projects West, above, on:

"Inevitably Rosemount, my club, was blown up and I was out of a job. I began to do detached work for a while… I moved to the Creggan Estate where there was a new centre, St Mary's Youth Club. There was a team of 4 workers but it was hard work. There was a riot every day at 4.00pm! We had a girl's session and an unemployed session. The unemployed session was all male, of course Girls were too busy to be unemployed they were helping run the house and looking after young siblings".

"I'm going to be a youth worker in Belfast"

We see from our stories to date the different ways people get involved in youth work, their motivations, and their desire to make a difference in the lives of young people. We reproduce the next story from a book[370] written by a youth worker who tries to explain the desire to come from Cork to be a youth worker in Belfast in 1972:

"Two months had passed (since we returned home from the 'Hippy Trail' in Asia Minor) and I was looking for a job... Belfast had gone back (in my mind) to being a war on the telly until I turned to the employment section of the paper. And there it was. The only ad not boxed, it ran scrappily down the right-hand side to the bottom of the last page like a mistake. 'Youth Leader Belfast' was the post title. Ballymurphy Tenants' Association was looking for a 'Community Centre Youth Leader (male)' to work with its youth development group. Salary: £1070 to £1620 with a 'responsibility allowance' of £250... I read the ad several times and, failing to realise that 'responsibility allowance' meant danger money, decided to apply... For relevant experience I had to dig deep. In my late teens I'd been

[370] De Baroid C. 2010

involved in the committee of a rather rowdy version of a youth club...I had also organised a small group if my peers into a thing called Action Now which went around the tenements of the inner-city decorating the homes of pensioners. 'You have a hell of a neck looking for an interview with that.' (partner).

I'd never been to Ballymurphy, but in early 1972 it was an Irish household name, synonymous with the Troubles...With the introduction of internment without trial in August 1971 and an accompanying spate of military killings, the district had become a virtual no-go area for the British Army...Applying for a post in Ballymurphy was not generally considered the soundest of ideas around Cork; but as it turned out, it was the best decision I have ever made in my life.

I was called for interview for the second Saturday in April 1972. I took the train north and was met at Great Victoria Street station by a friend of my father who had invited me to stay with him and his family in north Belfast... (Belfast) was like a blitzed zone of blackened buildings and rubble... To our left two armoured Land Rovers came racing along the pavement... 'You get used to it. There are bombs every day in the city.'

As we took the bus out of Belfast centre to his house the passing walls screamed 'Fuck the Pope' and 'Kill all Taigs' and called on people to join the loyalist UDA and UVF.

"What are Taigs?" I asked.
"The likes of me and you"
"Oh" I said, and mulled it over

...As part of my preparation for interview my hosts took me to Ballymurphy. I recall meeting a local woman. "He's down from the Free State. He's going for an interview tomorrow for the job in the community centre". My friend introduced me.

"God bless you son. You'll never last. You know, don't you, that the last man in that job was killed during Internment Week and they haven't been able to fill the job this past seven months. This is Ballymurphy you're talking about son. If you were into taking advice, you'd get the train back to Cork."

...The next day's interview made no mention of how the post became vacant, nor why the interview was held in the far side of the city. Otherwise it went as well as it could be expected. I was met at the Star of the Sea youth club by two members of the Ballymurphy Tenant's Association, the chair of Star of the Sea Youth Club and the youth work Inspector from Department of Education.

...The conversation then moved to the matter of salary.

"The advertised salary is for a qualified worker. Someone with a third level qualification would start at £1070 per annum – but you don't have a third level qualification...that would mean a salary of £800 per year along with the responsibility allowance. But there might be a training course in Youth and Community Work starting at the Polytechnic in Jordanstown in the autumn. It would be an in-service course – you study as you work. Would you be interested in doing a course like that if it was to come about?"

"Yes" I said, "I would have done a course like that in Cork, if it had been available"

...On Sunday morning I took the train back to Cork and as I crossed the border to the South from Newry, I felt as if I'd just had a terrible dream. For two days I had lived in a world that couldn't possibly exist a mere 264 miles from Cork...For the next days I waited to hear how well or poorly my interview had gone. Then, in one single day, two letters arrived. The first was from Dublin offering me one of the other posts I had applied for. The second was from Belfast. My interview, it transpired, had gone better than I could have expected..."it had been a unanimous decision of the interview panel" my letter began. Delighted by this commendation, I declined the Dublin post and decided to set off for Belfast immediately, though the job did not start for another two weeks....April 1972 was coming to a close. If anyone had told me then that Belfast would still be home four decades later, I would've told them to double up the medication".

Whether this was the lure of wanting to work in an area of greatest need or the lure of being a youth worker we are not sure. Either way, the danger was secondary to the mission and desire to make a positive difference in the lives of young people for this worker. The love for youth work was strong.

"You're at university. You look after the kids"

Another story of how one became a youth worker in those days from someone who was to be the detached youth worker in the East Belfast in 1972.

"In 1971 I was at Queens University. In my community that was a rarity. I never knew anyone who went to university before me from this community. My friend was studying to be a teacher at Stranmillis. There were two of us now. We were the only two from our community who had passed the 11+.[371]

Life was good. I was getting a grant to attend Queens and although the Troubles had kicked off, being at Queens provided respite from the daily television pictures of bombing and rioting. One night there was a rap at the door. Someone asked for me and when I went out I was greeted by a local community representative who told me that, 'We are starting up a vigilante group to protect the community from the threat of republican attacks. But as you go to Queens I want you to look after the kids in the area.'
'OK' I said.
For some reason I was given immunity from patrolling the area, watching across the Bog Meadows for the imminent attack, which of course never came. I was reprieved from the night patrols that sometimes involved a shift that ran from 3.00-6.00am. It wasn't the same for my mates who were all 'signed up'.

The next night I met with my door caller and he took me to the local church hall at the top of the street. He pushed at the open door (it wasn't locked) and said 'there it is. This is your hall keep the kids occupied and out of trouble.'

[371] 11+ was an examination administered to pupils in their final year of primary school to determine admission to various types of secondary school e.g. grammar or non grammar school.

I had no experience of youth work. Yes, I had been in the Cubs and went through the BB but what do you do with 50 kids and no equipment, with the threat of a riot in the area at any time or any night?

I loved it. I went to the local grocery store (Smyth and McClure's) and asked them for some empty boxes. I got the kids to put the boxes on their feet and we played football. This meant girls and boys could play without any obvious advantage coming from gender. Other parents called in to give a hand and advice. As a young 21 year old with a responsibility for 'looking after the kids' I was given a lot of respect from those older than me and there was always a promise that 'I should let someone know if any of them stepped out of line.'

I recall one parent who told me he had been a long-standing member of College Square Boys' Club and he advised me to keep them active and 'make sure they go home tired every night.'

This two nights-a-week youth club went on until I left Queens in June 1972. I had been lucky. I was not asked or felt the need to sign up to the local paramilitary grouping. 'Looking after the kids' provided an alternative choice. When I visited the postgraduate careers advice in Queens and I told them what I was doing in my own community they pointed me to a one-year postgraduate course in Westhill, Birmingham for Youth and Community Work qualification.

I recall being interviewed by the chair of the Youth Committee and other Youth Committee members at the time and I was awarded a bursary to do the course. I was so, so lucky. Someone was going to give me money to train in something that I had discovered, from this accidental introduction to 'looking after the kids', that I loved doing. In July 1973 I was to return from Westhill a qualified youth worker and become employed as a detached youth worker in the Ballymacarret area of inner east Belfast.

My time in formal education was over and now my 'real' education was about to begin."

Summary : 1970-1973

This chapter covered the shortest time in years but it witnessed some of the biggest changes both in terms of youth work policy, community conflict and violence and political changes.

In England, the Fairbairn/Milson report, *Youth and Community Work in the 70s* was just as significant a watershed as the Albemarle Report but was not accepted by the Westminster government. Nevertheless it had a huge impact on the delivery and practice of the youth service. The one year emergency course at NCTYL Leicester was closed and replaced by six two year courses providing professional training for Youth and Community Workers in England, Wales and Scotland. Albemarle had increased the number of buildings for youth work and many of these were underused. This highlighted the lack of effectiveness of the youth service with older teenagers. Many alternative projects were set up to tackle this issue.

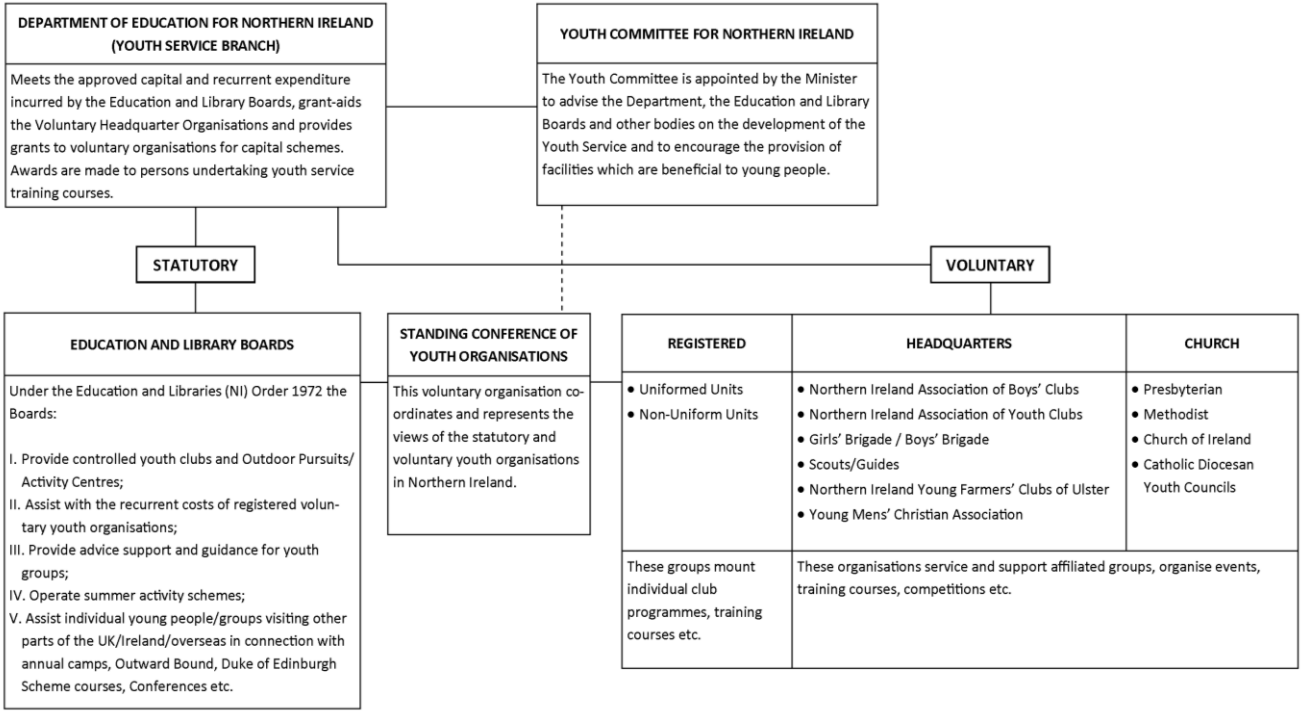
In Ireland at the start of the 1970s there was talk of the development of youth work with the Irish state having introduced state aid for youth work the year before. The number of youth clubs increased. The Minister of Education announced a special study into the long-term objectives of youth work and established a Youth Advisory Committee to offer advice to the Minister of Education. The National Youth Council called for a clear youth work policy and continued to promote and develop the now expanding Irish Youth Service.

In Northern Ireland there were seismic changes. Internment without trial was introduced in 1971. This is now recognised as a failure since many of the wrong people were interned and it only encouraged angry young people and adults to join or support paramilitary organisations, which, in turn, exacerbated the violence. There were some youth workers who had innocent members of their club put in prison.

As the crisis spun out of control, the Stormont Government was eventually prorogued and Direct Rule was imposed from Westminster. Local government structures were changed, with responsibility for housing, education, health and social services being transferred to sub-regional professional public bodies. Education and Library Boards were given statutory responsibility for youth work.

The structure of the Youth Service in Northern Ireland was now taking shape and at the end of 1973 it had this form (See figure below).

STRUCTURE OF THE YOUTH SERVICES 1973



With this new youth service structure and in the face of all of all other happenings in this short period, the experiences of youth workers are presented in the examples of practice at the end of the chapter. The stories speak for themselves and demonstrate important aspects of the nature of youth work in these extreme circumstances. The workers in each setting were deeply committed to the needs of the young people. This meant that they had to resist, at times, their clubs being taken over, or their cars being taken for use as bombs and be aware that members may be tempted to *join a cause*. They had to try to present the possibility of an alternative society that was not conflicted. This is crucially important to the young people involved. One of the young men who benefited from youth work in Shankill YM put it very starkly. *"The club helped young people get a life that offered something different to death or jail."*

As we have travelled from 1844 to 1973 the journey was always one of hope and belief in youth work as being an important contribution to the lives of young people. The civil disturbances and community upheavals have dominated the end of this first part of our history but we do not leave this Volume pessimistically. The innovative methods of practice, shown clearly by many of our practice examples, have responded so positively to the needs of young people and provide hope and a springboard for the road ahead and our next volume.

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