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Listening to youth? BBC youth broadcasts during the 1930s and the Second World War

This article explores the largely neglected history of BBC radio youth broadcasting before the Second World War, a history eclipsed by the dominance of *Children's Hour*, first broadcast in December 1922, by schools broadcasts, which began in 1924 and became a national service in 1927, and by the growth of television and mass popular youth culture from the late-1950s. In some respects, this neglect is hardly surprising given the sharp division between school children and wage-earners in an era when most left school at fourteen. A daily 'Adolescents' Hour' comparable with 'Children's Hour' was thought unnecessary because 'boys and girls' aged between fifteen and twenty were assumed to be satisfied with general programming for adults.¹ Nonetheless, by the 1930s, some progressive programme makers were becoming more sensitive to the interests of young people who had left school and from the middle of the decade were developing experimental broadcasting techniques with which to draw fifteen to twenty-year olds into this new public sphere. These initiatives included programmes like *The Under Twenty Club*, first broadcast in 1938, and *To Start You Talking*, aired during the Second World War, which illustrate contemporary concerns about the condition of youth but, more unusually, offer insights into what young people themselves thought about many contemporary issues. Yet, if belief in radio's potential as a significant social influence encouraged innovative efforts to shape a public broadcasting space in which young people could express themselves, continuing tension with the demands of adult programming established a pattern which would persist after the war, when broadcasting to teenagers, uncomfortably situated between the competing demands of adult and children's broadcasting, continued to be inadequately supported.² Despite teenagers' growing cultural significance after the war and the introduction of popular television entertainment programmes for them from the late-1950s, those in their teens

remained at the periphery of broadcasting. A Gulbenkian report in 1979, for example, commented on a lack within broadcasting organisations of departments devoted to ‘producing programmes for teenagers or young adults’, and the rarity with which young people were ‘specifically catered for’.³ This broader context of continuing neglect throws into relief the ground-breaking nature of these earlier programmes, in asking those in their teens to speak for themselves and valuing what they thought at a time when children’s education and the workplace were dominated by adult-centred approaches and assumptions.

These programmes were also expressive of broader social, cultural and political changes in the 1930s, when the growth of the child guidance movement and professional advice-giving about how to bring up children also drew attention to the needs of adolescents. Working-class young people in their teens and early twenties, despite unemployment, had greater economic independence and leisure opportunities due to changes in the labour market in expanding areas of the economy, which shaped an incipient youth culture and sense of difference from adult society, albeit different from the youth ‘explosion’ of the later-1950s and 1960s.⁴ Among a minority, a politicised youth sensibility, motivated by the growth of fascism and threat of war, assumed greater importance, especially from the middle of the decade, a broad youth movement which drew together many voluntary youth organisations. The notion of listening to and articulating the views of subaltern groups, including young people’s, was also focused by a radical younger generation of middle-class literary intellectuals and artists, disconcerted by the popular appeal of fascism in Europe and wanting to know more about the lives and views of ‘ordinary’ people. At the BBC, the introduction of audience research from the mid-1930s stimulated not only sensitivity to regional differences in listening but also encouraged greater receptiveness to the idea of capturing different

voices, not only working-class ones but those of youth.

New ways of listening in the 1930s

Innovative approaches to programming for young people in the 1930s were influenced by the BBC's Talks Department, established in 1927, to educate and inform the general public.⁵ Led by Hilda Matheson, socialist, feminist and modernist, the Talks Department quickly became known as 'the most exciting and innovative branch of the BBC', helped by the autonomy of producers and the fluid 'form and content' of programmes not yet 'systematised and routinized'.⁶ Their progressive approach to social and political issues attracted much criticism in the right-wing press, and Matheson's attempts to push the boundaries of what was seen as morally acceptable eventually fell foul of John Reith, culminating in her resignation, in December 1931.⁷ Charles Siepmann continued her commitment to social issues until his own departure, in 1935, when the Talks Department was dismantled and its programme-makers dispersed,⁸ a clear retreat from Matheson's 'liberal, ideas',⁹ although radio talks remained 'a conduit for progressive opinion' and it is possible to see this tradition in *The Under Twenty Club* and *To Start You Talking*, developed under the BBC's Central Committee for Education and the powerful personality of the dynamic Mary Somerville.¹⁰ Somerville, one of the first women radio producers, became Director of School Broadcasting in the early 1930s where her 'passion and vision' for education, based on genuine concern for how children learned, had a profound impact on schools broadcasts.¹¹ She disliked stilted formats and encouraged accessible programmes which did not talk down to children.¹² More interested in 'the receiving end' of listeners than the 'transmitting end', her emphasis on getting 'in touch' with young people themselves informed the experimental techniques of *The Under Twenty Club* and *To Start You Talking*, which not only targeted young people but also used them as broadcasters.¹³

The 1930s was a decade of contrasts and paradox. Substantial sections of the population lived with chronic poverty, poor housing, ill-health and unemployment, yet living standards were rising for many in work and dramatic and often unsettling cultural shifts disturbed many the older people, introducing new anxieties to how the period between childhood and adulthood was perceived. Young people's lives and imagination were shaped by an array of visual and auditory stimuli, through the cinema, in popular magazines and advertisements and through the soundscapes of everyday life, in the dance hall, on the gramophone and on the radio. The susceptibility of the vast majority who left school at 14 to 'passive' commercial pursuits, stimulated concern about how to develop 'active' and socially engaged citizens and made youth a target for citizenship training and civic education through youth organisations, government policy and the BBC, as the radio became a dominant form of public communication and helped re-conceptualise the public sphere.¹⁴ The notion of broadcasting to a mass audience was mitigated by establishing a personal connection with the 'individual' listener; long-established forms of public speaking and literary technique were re-shaped to a conversational tone more suited to the notion of a family audience listening together.¹⁵ The BBC took ways of listening extremely seriously in on-going debates about the style of broadcasting most suited to the intimacy of a domestic setting, and how the radio's 'domestication' for a home audience has received considerable attention.¹⁶ Less familiar are the collective forms of listening also important in this early history of broadcasting, which significantly influenced the content and format of the programmes examined here.

Encouragement of collective listening reflected the BBC's sensitivity to the power and potential of broadcast technology and its capacity to educate and inform. Keen to discourage the idea of radio of background sound and to train audiences to

become active rather than passive listeners, it supported a variety of organisations and institutions to set up listening groups in libraries, workplaces, adult education classes and youth groups, whose members were encouraged to feed back their views on programmes. Early programme producers had little hard information about their audiences and listening groups were an important way of gauging public opinion, especially as Reith's belief in the BBC's cultural leadership and mission to broadcast to the whole population held back more systemised audience research into diverse listening patterns until the mid-1930s. Paternalist efforts to cultivate critical listeners through such groups and equip them with strong discussion and debating skills grew from the late-1920s, especially in relation to young workers in their teens. For reasons discussed earlier, the BBC's Schools and Adult Education Councils came to recognise adolescents as a significant listening group in the 1930s, although tension persisted between the provision of populist, accessible broadcasting and the belief that broadcasting should have a learned, expert tone.¹⁷ Progressive broadcasters, like Somerville and her team, were genuinely interested in bringing young voices to the airwaves, but others nearer the top of the BBC persisted with the belief that listeners aged between 15 and 20 were well-served by existing school and adult broadcasting schedules and that young people's views should only be broadcast if subject to criticism by 'experts'. In September 1934, Guy Pocock, head of the 'new' General Talks Department, who had formerly taught at Dartmouth Naval College, broached the idea of 'an optimistic and constructive series' to 'really represent Youth's outlook on the world and the future' to an audience of those from their mid-teens.¹⁸ Pocock supported a top-down approach led by contributors in their twenties and early thirties from politics, the arts and theatre.¹⁹ Randolph Churchill, aged 23, R.H. Crossman, aged 27, Tyrone Guthrie aged 34, and John Gielgud, aged 30 and the young head of a public school were all suggested as potential contributors.²⁰ His format received little support, described as

‘quite definitely Public-Schoolish’ and hardly likely to be popular because it savoured ‘too much of the schoolroom’. ²¹ ‘Many people will say that they [the contributors] are a very bourgeois lot; most of them indeed hail from Oxford University, and in that sense are quite unrepresentative of youth in the country as a whole’. ²² Attempts were made to broaden the programme’s appeal, with participants sought from less elevated backgrounds, including through the Workers Educational Association (WEA), which was informed that: ‘We badly want’ a young man or young woman - working class or unemployed perhaps’. ²³ Eventually, an experimental series called *Young Ideas* ran for three months from October 1935 under Felix Greene in the Talks Department. Greene, a cousin of Graham Greene, was left-wing and progressive, a ‘pioneer’ of ‘social action broadcasting’. ²⁴ Interested in issues surrounding work and unemployment, he introduced a ‘My Job’ item ‘contributed by people in their teens’, which included a girl pig keeper’, a worker in a Northampton Shoe Factory, and a Junior in a large West-End Store. ²⁵

Experimental broadcasting: pioneering new broadcasters

Original broadcasting for fourteen to eighteen year olds really started to develop from the mid-1930s, ²⁶ with the aim of being ‘fundamentally different from that of the Children’s Hour’, yet also entertaining. ²⁷ ‘Good stories, talks on adventure and travel, something on hobbies, maybe occasional musical items... reviews of current affairs’ were recommended, ²⁸ although an internal memo suggested that some broadcasters remained ‘rather vague’ as to the requirements adolescents. ²⁹ Still finding its way with their interests and attitudes, BBC researchers continued to canvass young people’s views about the content of programmes through its educational and youth club networks. An Education Officer from its Leeds offices not unsurprisingly reported on young people’s enthusiasm for ‘gramophone records – preferably dance music’,

although the possibility of expanding this part of the BBC's repertoire was something of a lost cause.³⁰ Dance music was played, but between 10.30 and midnight and Sunday schedules, dedicated to religious and serious music, turned many listeners away to the less stuffy, American style of commercial stations such as Luxembourg, which was very popular among young people, especially as reception improved across the country, after 1935.

The BBC's approach to youth broadcasting was more serious and educational, especially as how to train those aged sixteen to twenty in democratic citizenship and the responsible use of leisure time assumed greater social and political importance.³¹ In 1935, the King George's Jubilee Trust, was founded to highlight issues surrounding the training and recreational pursuits of young people aged 14-18.³² Political and religious youth organisations became involved in a range of 'peace activities' in the late 1930s.³³ Opposition to European fascism and concern with social issues, including unemployment, health and education and youth conditions, brought together diverse voluntary youth organisations in a broad youth movement focused on humanitarian projects and political campaigning.³⁴ Communist influence increased in many student and youth-oriented political groups as the Communist Party developed alliances on the left.³⁵ A national 'Youth Hearing', in January 1939, which involved the National Union of Students, highlighted class inequalities perpetuated by the education system. In March 1939, a National Parliament of Youth proposed far-reaching educational reform, from nursery schooling to university, expressing the kind of frustrations which young correspondents articulated in letters to the BBC during the same period.³⁶ Charles Madge observed how, 'For better or worse the young' of these years had become age-group conscious'. They wanted 'recognition in some form as a social group', and made 'demands at conferences and Youth Parliaments for the right to

express “Youth’s views” (both generally and on the air)’.³⁷ This youth consciousness also encompassed a radical younger generation of middle-class literary intellectuals, worried by the popular appeal of fascism in Europe, the disconnect between the beliefs of ordinary people, what politicians professed they thought, and media representation of public opinion. Madge, with the documentary film-maker Humphrey Jennings and unconventional anthropologist, Tom Harrisson, channelled these feelings of class distance into Mass Observation, specifically to investigate the habits and customs of ‘ordinary’ people.³⁸ There were similar impulses in the documentary film movement’s stories of ‘ordinary’ working-class people, in publishing and educational ventures like Victor Gollancz’s Left Book Club, and in the social realist photo-journalism of magazines like *Picture Post*, first published in 1938,³⁹ whose founder, Stefan Lorant, urged that ‘photo-reportage should concern itself with men and women of every kind and not simply with a small social clique’.⁴⁰

At the BBC, some producers were similarly motivated to develop less elitist programming, which included making greater use of speakers from the regions who did not speak ‘standard BBC English’, although as Asa Briggs pointed out, ‘The BBC, by the nature of its social context, never found it easy fully to penetrate the working-class world which provided it with by far the largest part of its audience’ in the 1930s.⁴¹ Nonetheless, its producers brought greater spontaneity to broadcast debates and pioneered new cultural forms, such as the radio documentary and radio feature, which focused on ‘private and human problems’.⁴² The introduction of audience research in 1936 also made programme-makers more receptive to regional differences in listening patterns and preferences and to the notion of capturing different voices, not only working-class ones but those of young people in their teens and twenties.⁴³

It was against this background that in 1937, Mary Somerville's education team in the Central Council for School Broadcasting broached the idea of an experimental series of talks, aimed at 'most of the former elementary school population' aged between 14 and 20, which would not only use actors, sportsmen and 'experts' but also include young people themselves from different backgrounds all over the country as interviewers and broadcasters.⁴⁴ Adolescents in youth groups and organisations canvassed about the idea were especially enthusiastic about young people being able to represent their own point of view, and suggested programme themes which ranged from work concerns like factory regulations and holidays with pay to current affairs, politics, sport and travel.⁴⁵ They liked debates, wanted 'as much Drama as possible' and were interested in hearing 'about what other adolescents' did, not only in Britain but also abroad. They 'very definitely' liked celebrities, 'even if they were very bad broadcasters'.⁴⁶

Consultation with listening groups and education officers and letters from young people themselves produced a card-index of potential participants, most of whom had left school at fourteen, with a few still in secondary education. Emphases on the right voices and personalities and working-class 'authenticity' interlace BBC commentaries on those considered possible broadcasters. Regional 'types' found favour, as in the case of a 17-year old, commended as a 'good Yorkshire tyke' (sic).⁴⁷ There was, however, some exasperation at the difficulty of finding 'good ordinary people', with calls to find more young people from the north and the west country, rather than just London and the South-East.⁴⁸ Requests to a range of youth organisations and unions, including the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks drew in new possibilities, including a cleaner at the London, Midland and Scottish Railway works in Carlisle, spotted during a visit to a local boys' club.⁴⁹ One of the most successful of those who eventually took to the airwaves was Bill Whittaker from

Manchester, an engineering apprentice at the English Steel Corporation. Aged seventeen and a half and recommended by the Secretary of Crossley Lads' Club, Whittaker was not nervous, had 'plenty of character in his voice' and 'quite a strong Lancashire accent'.⁵⁰ He was in a trade union, had 'views' on politics and religion, was keen on dirt track racing and any form of speed (Manchester was a centre of speedway racing) and House Captain in his club.⁵¹ As anticipated, he blossomed as a broadcaster and was taken on for several programmes in the new series.

Skilled workers, shop workers, clerks, a chorus girl, a gardener, sixth formers, college students and the occasional university student, besides a good sprinkling of aspiring young journalists, flit through BBC archive correspondence, with programme ideas and requests to take part, expressing aspirations and opinions which suggest both the appeal of being heard on the radio and the new cultural interests and habits influencing youthful autodidacts in their teens and twenties. Many were tempted by the opportunity to set themselves apart from the 'herd' by getting their views heard on the new medium of the radio.⁵² Robert J. Woods, 'just eighteen and "a bit"', who worked in a booksellers was keen to show 'what a lot' he could tell listeners.⁵³ Kenneth C. Barker, from Hertfordshire, 'a science student at King's College London; a Christian Pacifist; and an ex-factory worker', was 'desperate' to take part because it was only a matter of weeks before he turned 20 and would be disqualified.⁵⁴ Letters hint at this sense of difference and thirst for recognition and self-improvement, frequently cut short by having to finish education at fourteen, as well as the personal interest Somerville took in some of those who took part in the programme. They suggest the frustration of bright working-class boys and girls held back by lack of educational opportunity, as was also clear in the notes BBC researchers made about those whom they thought would make good broadcasters. Jimmy Taylor, aged 18, from Leeds, who had left school at 14

and was now a 'lab boy' in Leeds Medical School 'told me rather pathetically of his regret that he could not have a secondary education'.⁵⁵ Dottie Thomson from a coal-mining village in County Durham, desperate to go to secondary school, but unable to do so, wistfully asked whether she would have been allowed to go, had her parents been able to pay.⁵⁶ Several correspondents were endeavouring to improve themselves at evening classes.⁵⁷ Others were trying to advance themselves through journalism of various sorts. William Greenwood, a foundry hand aged 17, from Bradford, who ran a newspaper in his Boys' Club attracted attention as 'a most ambitious young man', 'trying hard to get into journalism against the handicap of a very poor schooling. I would very much like to hear him in conflict with some of our London intelligentsia'.⁵⁸ Jimmy Booth, from Bolton, had left school at fourteen to become a shop assistant and started writing when he was 19 to supplement his income but 'chiefly as a "way" of escape'.⁵⁹ At 26, he was outside the age-range of *The Under Twenty* Club but wrote in hoping that he might contribute to a club discussion on journalism, explaining how he was correspondent to a Sunday newspaper and several trade journals, and also contributed to publications from the Co-operative Press Ltd.,-while 'of course, serving behind the counter of a shop from 8-30 until 7-o'clock six days in the week' (*sic*).⁶⁰ Not mentioned was that he was also contributing to Mass Observation's Worktown project, based in Bolton.⁶¹

BBC correspondence frequently emphasised the importance of finding 'good ordinary hearty young people without intellectual pretensions, as well as the intelligent and politically-minded ones'.⁶² Mary Jackson, a student at Leeds Training College was praised for having 'escaped what seems to be a normal failing of Training Colleges', by not being 'addicted to platitudes, and high-falutin theories'.⁶³ Geoffrey Stuttard, the eighteen-year old Head Boy of a grammar school in Yorkshire, found less favour as 'a

very conceited arrogant youth', albeit starred as a potential contributor with plenty of ideas.⁶⁴ BBC staff who dealt with a letter from B.T. Leech, a sixth former and prefect at a Grammar School in Staffordshire putting himself forward as a potential contributor, thought him 'a prig', although during a follow-up visit to his school his head teacher described him one of the most brilliant students he had ever had, likely to get a scholarship to Balliol.⁶⁵ Comments such as these suggest tensions between the class assumptions of frequently Oxbridge-educated BBC researchers and working-class young people aspiring to a similar education. Leech, son of a local 'artisan', had a 'noticeable Potteries accent', was a pacifist, keen on political affairs, and described himself as having 'opinions of a modern progressive nature'.⁶⁶ He had no interest in proposed broadcasts such as 'Parents and how to live with them', and 'obviously' thought 'such personal problems' were 'a bit beneath him.' 'I have not the slightest doubt that his opinions would be worth listening to, but I think he might sound "dull" through the microphone'.⁶⁷

The weekly *Under Twenty Club*, which resulted from this research, represented a new approach in broadcasting to those in their teens. The target audience was listeners in youth clubs, where discussions were intended to carry on after the broadcast had finished,⁶⁸ and the programme took the form of a discussion chaired by an adult broadcaster and sports journalist, Howard Marshall, well-known for his cricket commentaries and conversational interviewing style.⁶⁹ Working-class participants often had to miss work to attend and BBC staff circumvented administrative systems by paying for their out of pocket expenses as they went along, rather than making them wait until after the broadcast for payment.⁷⁰ Most had probably never previously spent a night away from their families, so taking part had several excitements, including being booked into local hostels and several journeys for rehearsals besides the actual

transmission. All took part in a preliminary two-hour group discussion with the chair on the topic to be broadcast, which was taken down in shorthand, typed up and edited; normal in an era of live radio when focused discussion to encourage a thought-provoking clash of opinions was seen as the basis of good broadcasting. ‘Live’ debates were carefully stage-managed, transcribed, scripted and rehearsed to avoid individuals talking over each other.⁷¹ The format was stilted, albeit interlaced with hesitations and slips of the tongue to make it seem more natural. The programme aimed to ‘produce at least the illusion of spontaneity’, but as Howard Marshall complained, it was very difficult even to pretend to be ‘spontaneous’ when having to deal with eight or more inexperienced speakers who had to shove one another out of the way to get at the microphone; he proposed using the kind of microphone used in television, suspended high above the programme’s participants, rather than the programme’s current ‘makeshift conditions’.⁷²

Early adult ‘visitors’ to the *Under Twenty Club* included celebrities such the world land speed record holder, Sir Malcolm Campbell, politicians like Ellen Wilkinson, the formidable MP for Jarrow, and Tom Harrisson, but the original intention to focus on such adult ‘experts’ was abandoned when research indicated that young listeners disliked having too many of them.⁷³ Feedback at the end of the series indicated that the discussion format with young people of a similar age to listeners had been particularly popular, because they spoke the same kind of language. The programmes’ informality was liked, although some felt they could be ‘even friendlier still’, and more ‘spontaneous’. ‘Too many facts’ were disliked, but many had warmed to the programme’s human interest element and themes such as ‘parents – and how to live with them’.⁷⁴ B.T. Leech may have disliked this theme, but a young woman who listened to *The Under Twenty Club* at home wrote to say how she had coaxed her

parents into listening with her because it helped give her ‘some backing up’ in arguments’.⁷⁵ Many thought it was about time the BBC provided ‘something’ for those in their teens, who made up a large percentage of the radio audience, yet often felt ‘quite neglected’.⁷⁶ A young woman from Hornsey, who ‘heartily’ agreed with the progressive opinions expressed in a programme on ‘class struggle’, thought young people could be even more involved and asked ‘why an “under-twenty” shouldn’t be the ‘chairman’’.⁷⁷ As a Liverpool listener put it, ‘We think the “under twenties” SHOULD have much more say themselves, and be allowed to express their opinions in a more personal fashion’.⁷⁸

Adults also commended the novelty of these ‘fresh young voices’ on airwaves dominated by the stiff and the staid and the programme was successful enough among general listeners for Somerville to support a follow-on series, despite internal disagreement over whether it should have a prime-time slot between 8.00 and 9.30, as she wanted. Irritated by such discussions, Somerville indicated that while she had ‘no wish to be intransigent’, it would be a ‘thousand pities’ if the BBC withdrew ‘this one bit of directional broadcasting for adolescents’, which was not only popular but ‘a curiously operative technique of stimulating discussion among young people who are commonly too tongue-tied to give vent to their views in their own assemblies’.⁷⁹

The Under Twenty Club was eventually given half-an-hour weekly on the Regional Wavelength on the understanding that it was ‘good enough broadcasting’ ‘to attract a reasonably large audience of adult eavesdroppers’, although it was cancelled when war broke out.⁸⁰ Gradually, however, the effects of evacuation, part-time schooling, bombing and the disruption of families and communities, renewed concern about how to maintain discipline among young people in their mid-teens, who lacked the discipline of school yet were too young for war service’.⁸¹ A rise in juvenile

delinquency reinforced such anxieties across many policy areas, including radio broadcasts including at the BBC,⁸² where programme-makers remained sensitive to how most young people under twenty were suspicious of being ‘got at’ and that to attract them as listeners, ‘we must put ourselves absolutely on their level, identify ourselves with them, accept their interests as our own’.⁸³ The tenor of programmes targeted at them nonetheless was conservative and overtly educational,⁸⁴ with ‘carefully chosen subjects’, ‘certain safeguards’, greater script control, and occasional intervention by the Ministry of Information.⁸⁵ In 1940-1 a new ‘under-twenty’ serial called *At the Armstrongs* was introduced, aimed at those listening at home, with dramatized discussions and a strong focus on personal and family problems.⁸⁶ Said to be popular among adults and young people who listened at home, others listening in clubs run by youth organizations described it as ‘phoney’.⁸⁷

It was not until the later years of the war that more innovative approaches returned, in the form of *To Start You Talking*, broadcast at peak listening time on Thursday evenings between Autumn 1943 and Spring 1944, which drew on the discussion and research techniques pioneered by the *Under-Twenty Club*. Aimed at young people aged fourteen to eighteen, the age of male conscription, in youth club listening groups, it was shaped by ideas of citizenship with an eye towards postwar reconstruction and left loose ends at the end of each broadcast, to encourage further discussion. Wartime constraints on broadcasting during peak periods meant the series was also expected to attract a substantial adult audience; over four million were listening by the end of the series.

Like the *The Under-Twenty Club*, *To Start You Talking* involved considerable background research and ‘talent-scouting’, although now some young people were also

part of the production team, offering counterpoint to adult ideas they thought might not go down well with their contemporaries. Content and approach were shaped by feedback from listening groups in youth clubs all over the country, who sent in reports to the Central Committee for Group Listening.⁸⁸ BBC education officers attended listening groups, youth organisations, conferences and youth camps across Britain to identify potential broadcasters. Sometimes, correspondents who had written in criticising the programme were taken on; serendipity continued to have its place; on one occasion a boy whom a researcher had met on a train turned out to be an excellent broadcaster.

Each programme was prefaced by a pre-recorded short drama on a specific issue to get debate going, a prompt for discussion in the live broadcast which reflected wartime concerns among the media, press, government, police and social workers, including the dangers of sexual promiscuity, as discussed in a drama about sixteen-year old ‘good time Annie’; anti-social behaviour and delinquency; whether the young, benefitting from higher wages, had the right to spend most of this money on themselves.⁸⁹ Several dramatic scenes were researched and scripted by Josephine Macalister Brew, ‘chief outside consultant’ for BBC youth programmes, who worked for the National Association of Girls and Mixed Clubs.⁹⁰ An experienced and innovative youth worker Brew wrote widely on youth issues in the popular and academic press in the war years, She was responsible for the first ‘modern’ youth work text, *In the Service of Youth*, published in 1943, which stressed the importance of establishing rapport with young people, ‘learning from their conversation’.⁹¹ Brew was a significant figure in the history of twentieth-century youth work, a theoretician who played an important part in the development of informal and social education in the 1940s and 1950s. Described as never losing track of ‘the individual boy or girl, puzzled, uncertain, bewildered or lost’,

her approach was well-suited to *To Start You Talking*, in scripts designed to deliver arresting topics which would get young people involved in group discussion.⁹²

As with *The Under Twenty Club*, participants in the programme had to be articulate, have a voice that listeners could distinguish easily (a range of accents was said to make it easier for the listener to pick out individual speakers), and an ability to read their own words aloud as if speaking spontaneously. They, too, took part in a preliminary group discussion about their topic, their conversations taken down verbatim, including ‘interjections’ and ‘asides’, with the transcriptions edited into a twenty minute script. ‘Speeches’ were sometimes shortened, although the young people were consulted about editorial changes before the broadcast and could remove comments that made them feel uncomfortable. Chaired and led by Douglas Allan, a highly experienced broadcaster, they were rehearsed intensively before going live, recreating the laughter and jokes of the original by marking up them up on their scripts, in order to sound natural and not as if they were speaking from a text.

The process was more self-conscious than the earlier efforts of the *Under-Twenty Club*. As their makers readily accepted, they were pre-fabricated, yet endeavoured to reflect accurately the beliefs and experiences described. Indeed, it was precisely the ‘genuine and unforced’ quality of their responses that Madge found so appealing when he listened by chance to a *To Start You Talking* programme, called ‘Money to Burn’, about whether parents should ‘make young wage earners save rather than spend’.⁹³ Madge, very familiar with the topic, having conducted surveys on the social psychology of saving and spending, was struck by responses which seemed so fresh and ‘eager’ that they ‘could not have been manufactured in a B.B.C. back-room.’ Intrigued, he wrote in requesting a script of the broadcast, together with ‘the verbatim report of the original discussion’ on which it was based, and found that⁹⁴ ‘a comparison

of the script with the original discussion' showed the editing to have been scrupulously fair, with little, if anything, lost in the process.⁹⁵ He was so taken by their novelty, which he clearly thought echoed Mass Observation, that he edited a book about them, including some of the transcripts.⁹⁶

While the views of these wartime teens reflected the traditional morality and behaviour that might have been expected, there were also less familiar veins of dissent and non-conformity, leading some adult listeners to complain that those who took part were 'too cocksure' and that their 'inexperience' was given its head far too much.⁹⁷ Participants disagreed about the extent to which they should defer to parents and insisted that they had the right to have a good time and enjoy themselves without interference from mums or dads. Their views sometimes shocked the experts who took part. The magistrate in a programme on scrounging and stealing professed himself 'a little shaken' by their 'confessions', albeit encouraged by how everyone was 'so very ready' to own up about what in their own words, they'd 'knocked off'.⁹⁸ One of the most animated and successful broadcasts was a programme called 'Learning about Sex', which found particular favour among listening groups. There was agreement that sex education should begin at the age of nine or ten. Some questioned why it was considered wrong to have sex before marriage and clash of opinion took place in one group, where 'some felt' that 'if they had enough money, they wouldn't worry about having babies out of wedlock'.⁹⁹ These were topics which some group listeners would have found it difficult to listen to at home with their parents; a married eighteen year-old woman and two other young women who were engaged did not, for example, tell their mothers that they had listened at their youth club to 'broadcasts on sex instruction'.¹⁰⁰ Collie Knox, radio critic on the *Daily Mail*, 'deluged' by 'a Niagara of protests' from readers, could not see what all the fuss was about and applauded the

BBC's 'new boldness' in attempting to 'debunk' the prevailing 'hypocrisy about sex', which unknown to his readers played a part in his own life, having to deal with the everyday pressures of sexual secrecy as part of Brighton's gay scene.¹⁰¹

Madge was similarly complimentary about how the series tackled 'subjects which might have been considered taboo'.¹⁰² He agreed with Somerville that the BBC had developed a remarkable innovative technique, a new form of social documentation' which 'seemed to provide, concisely and suggestively a record of social attitudes among the younger generation' during a state of war. He was of the view that it was an insight into much broader social attitudes and behaviours, describing those who took part as representative of the 'active twenty per cent', who reflected by 'circumstances of family, upbringing and occupation', the attitudes and ways' of the majority.¹⁰³

CONCLUSION

The broadcasting techniques pioneered by *The Under Twenty Club* and *To Start You Talking* reflected a belief among the progressive political classes that enabling young people's participation in the new public space of the radio would contribute to citizenship and a stronger democratic culture. The programmes were paternalistic, their scope inevitably limited in an era when many young people did not have access to a radio or were constrained by the nature of family listening at home, where choices of programmes, especially in the evening, were governed by what parents, especially fathers, wanted to listen to; there were frequent complaints about how dads always wanted to listen to the nine o'clock news. Democratic relationships at home, in school or in the workplace were uncommon and these broadcasts moved between desires to involve young people and expectations of keeping discussion within the boundaries of adult control, albeit not always successfully. Nonetheless, the progressive aspects of

The Under Twenty Club and *To Start You Talking* were novel in attempting to develop a public voice for young people in their teens, emphasizing collective listening, privileging and valuing their perspectives in discussion and giving them the space to say what they really felt, even when this did not ‘fit in with what they might be conventionally supposed to feel’; something also intimated by the hints of dissent and desires for self-transformation, which flit through letters young listeners sent to the BBC.¹⁰⁴ These programmes were of their time, yet also forward-looking in encouraging young people to become critical, autonomous thinkers. Their format also has an important place in the history of informal education and youth work, reflective as it was of progressive educational and youth work philosophy such as that of McAlister Brew.

For all their limitations, these programmes accepted young people as ‘protagonists with valid voices’ and recognised the importance of them developing critical understanding in order to play an active and participatory role in society, lessons all too easily forgotten not only in the years which followed the war, but also in the present day.¹⁰⁵ These efforts to shape a participatory public space in which they could express their own views in debate remain important in a globalised world.¹⁰⁶ Emphases on audience participation and interactivity, asking those in their teens to talk for themselves, connect with the persisting yet still too often neglected importance of asking young people what they think, what they feel, and listening actively to what they have to say.

Note

All the BBC sources mentioned in this article are to be found in the BBC Written Archives Centre in Caversham, whose staff have been have been unfailingly helpful in dealing with my enquiries. Note that the real names of all the young correspondents have been changed in compliance with the Data Protection Act 1998. BBC copyright

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¹ BBC Internal Circulating Memo. Subject: Weekly Talks for Adolescents', from Mr G.N. Pocock to DT. 8 April 1935.

² *Young People and Broadcasting*, Commissioned from the British Youth Council by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and carried out by Peter Mandelson, London, 1981, p. 4.

³ *Broadcasting and Youth*, A study commissioned by the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Independent Broadcasting Authority and the Manpower Services Commission, London, 1979, p. 9.

⁴ Simon Bradford, 'Managing the spaces of freedom: mid-twentieth-century youth work', in Sarah Miles and Peter Kraftl (eds), *Informal Education, Childhood and Youth: Geographies, Histories Practices*, Basingstoke, 2014, p. 185.

⁵ David Crook, 'School broadcasting in the United Kingdom: an exploratory history', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 39:3 (December 2007), p. 218.

⁶ Jeremy Lewis, *Shades of Greene: One Generation of an English Family*, London, 2011, p. 115; Paddy Scannell, 'Broadcasting and the politics of unemployment, 1930-1935', in Richard E. Collins, James Curran, Nicholas Garnham, Paddy Scannell, Philip Schlesinger, Colin Sparks (eds) *Media, Culture and Society: A Critical Reader*, London, 1986, p. 226.

⁷ Paddy Scannell, 'Broadcasting', p. 225.

⁸ Hilda Matheson, *Broadcasting*, London, 1933, pp. 512, 514, cited Scannell, 'Broadcasting and the politics of unemployment', p. 225.

⁹ Fred Hunter, 'Hilda Matheson and the BBC, 1926-40', in Caroline Mitchell (ed.), *Women and Radio: Airing Differences*, London, 2000, p. 45; Fred Hunter, 'Matheson, Hilda (1888-1940)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004; online edn, May 2012 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49198>, accessed 1 Feb 2015]

¹⁰ Anne Karpf, 'Constructing and addressing the "ordinary devoted mother"', *History Workshop Journal*, 78:1, Autumn 2014, p. 88.

¹¹ Catherine Murphy, 'On an Equal Footing with Men? Women and Work at the BBC, 1923-1939', Doctoral Thesis, Goldsmiths, University of London (2011), pp. 22, 243, 246.

¹² Asa Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom. Volume II, The Golden Age of the Wireless*, Oxford, 1995: 2000, p. 173. Somerville's father had been chair of a School Board in Scotland.

¹³ Asa Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting*, p. 181.

¹⁴ Kate Lacey, *Listening Publics: The Politics and Experience of Listening in the Media Age*, Cambridge, 2013.

¹⁵ Karpf, 'Constructing and addressing', pp. 89-90.

¹⁶ See, for example, Maggie Andrews, *Domesticating the Airways: Broadcasting Domesticity and Femininity*, London, 2012.

¹⁷ BBC Internal Circulating Memo, 'Talks for boys and girls between 14 and 18', 22 March in the 1930s, From Miss Wace to Miss Wall.

¹⁸ Memo from Mr G.N. Pocock. Subject: Youth Series, 24 October 1934. File R51/663 Talks. Youth Looks Ahead. 1934-1935. Acc. No. 1814.

¹⁹ Memo from Mr G.N. Pocock, Subject: Youth Looks Ahead, 26 September, 1934; Memo from Mr G.N. Pocock. Subject: Youth Series, 24 October 1934.

²⁰ Memo from Mr G.N. Pocock, Subject: Youth Looks Ahead, 26 September, 1934.

²¹ Memo from Mr G.N. Pocock. Subject: Youth Series, 24 October 1934. Memo from Mr G.N. Pocock. Subject: Youth Series, 24 October 1934. File R51/663. Talks. Youth Looks Ahead. 1934-1935, Acc. No. 1814.

²² BBC Internal Circulating Memo from Mr. G.N. Pocock. Subject: 'Youth Looks Ahead', 26th September, 1934. File R51/663 Talks. Youth Looks Ahead. 1934-1935, Acc. No. 1814.

²³ Letter, 8 January 1935 to H.C. Shearman, Chairman, Workers' Educational Association Eastern District, 2, Warwick Avenue, Bedford. File R51/663 Talks. Youth Looks Ahead. 1934-1935, Acc. No. 1814. H.C. Shearman was Chairman of the Eastern District of the WEA (Beds., Cambs., Essex, Herts., Hunts., Lincs. (South), Norfolk, Northants and Suffolk.

²⁴ Lewis, *Shades of Greene*, p. 117.

²⁵ Letter from Malcolm Brereton, for Director of Talks, to a hotel worker in London who had written in enquiring if the 'My Job' part of the programme would be interested in featuring his work as a chef-de-cuisine. File R51/9/4 Adolescents (Talks for). Young Ideas. 1936-7, Acc. no. 1228/4.

²⁶ BBC Internal Circulating Memo. Subject: Weekly Talks for Adolescents', from Mr G.N. Pocock to DT. 8 April 1935.

²⁷ BBC Internal Memo, 'Weekly Talks for Adolescents', 10 May 1935, Mr G.N. Pocock, Midland Regional Director, for the attention of Mr Francis. File R51/9/1 Talks. Adolescents (Talks for), 'Young Ideas', 1A March-July 1935.

²⁸ BBC Internal Circulating Memo. From DT to Controller (P). Subject: 'Talks for Adolescents', 22 March 1935. BBC Internal Circulating Memo, From DT to Controller (P), Subject: Talks for Adolescents, 22 March 1935. File R51/9/1. Talks. Adolescents (Talks for), 'Young Ideas'. File 1A, March-July 1935.

²⁹ BBC Internal Memo – West of England Region, Subject: Broadcasting for Adolescents, 10 March 1938. File R51/8/1 Talks. Acc. No. 1229/1. 'Adolescent Talks – Under 20 Club'. File 2A. Oct 1937- June 1938.

³⁰ Preparation for UNDER TWENTY CLUB, 4th October 1938. File R51/8/3. Acc. No. 1230/1. Talks. Adolescent Talks – 'Under 20 Club'. File 3A. October 1938.

³¹ Lewis, *Shades of Greene*, p. 116.

³² Reports subsequently completed for the Trust included A.E. Morgan, *The Needs of Youth: A Report Made to the King George's Jubilee Trust Fund*, London, 1939 and A.E. Morgan, *Young Citizen*, Harmondsworth, 1943.

³³ J. Jupp, *The Radical Left in Britain, 1931-41*, London, 1982, pp. 67-70.

³⁴ Brian Simon, 'The student movement in England and Wales during the 1930s', *History of Education*, 16:3, 1983, p. 192.

³⁵ The depression, unemployment, the rise of fascism, distrust in capitalism and interest in Marxism influenced many students who went to university between 1932 and 1939, whom Simon describes as a 'very specific generation'. B. Simon, 'The student movement in England and Wales during the 1930s', *History of Education* 16:3 (1987), pp. 189-203, republished in B. Simon, *The State and Educational Change: Essays in the History of Education and Pedagogy*, London, 1994, pp. 109. 111.

³⁶ Simon, 'The student movement', p. 193; Simon, *The State and Educational Change*, p. 103.

³⁷ Charles Madge, A.W. Coysh, George Dixon, Inez Madge, *To Start You Talking, An Experiment in Broadcasting*, London, 1945, p. 5.

³⁸ During the Second World War, Madge drifted away from Mass Observation and became involved in planning for the post-war period. In 1944, was appointed to one of the first chairs in sociology, at the University of Birmingham.

³⁹ Michael Hallett, *Stefan Lorant: Godfather of Photojournalism*, Lanham, Md., 2006, p. 72.

⁴⁰ Michael Hallett, *Stefan Lorant*, p. 72; *Picture Post* ceased publication in October 1957, by which time its direction had shifted considerably from earlier emphases on social and political issues

⁴¹ Briggs, *History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom. Volume II*, p. 39.

⁴² Karpf, 'Constructing and addressing the "ordinary devoted mother"', p. 96; Briggs, *History of Broadcasting. Volume II*, p. 140.

⁴³ Paddy Scannell and David Cardiff, *A Social History of British Broadcasting, 1922-39*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 172, 268,

⁴⁴ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 5.

⁴⁵ Broadcasts to Adolescents. Provisional Proposal for an Experimental Series of Broadcasts During the Autumn Term, 1938. Marked confidential. File R51/8/1 Talks. Acc. No 1229/1. 'Adolescent Talks – Under 20 Club'. File 2A. Oct 1937- June 1938.

⁴⁶ Broadcasts to Adolescents.

⁴⁷ Central Council for School Broadcasting. Internal Circulating Memo: Under Twenty Club Auditions – Leeds, December 15, 16 December 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No. 1230/2. Talks Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B Nov-Dec 1938.

⁴⁸ Note, 'The Under Twenty Club Auditions', 7 October 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club, File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938

⁴⁹ Central Committee for Group Listening, Internal Circulating Memo. Subject: 'Under 20 Club' – Auditions, 27 October, 1938.

⁵⁰ Central Committee for Group Listening. Internal Circulating Memo. Subject: 'Under Twenty Club - Auditions, 27 October, 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club, File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938

⁵¹ Central Committee for Group Listening, Internal Circulating Memo, Subject: 'Under Twenty Club': 20 September 1938.

⁵² Melanie Tebbutt, *Being Boys: Youth, Leisure and Identity in the Interwar Years*, Manchester, 2012, pp. 268-9.

⁵³ Letter, 11 October 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No. 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938.

⁵⁴ Letter, 6 November 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No. 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938

⁵⁵ Central Council for School Broadcasting, Internal Circulating Memo: Under Twenty Club Auditions – Leeds, 15 December, 16 December 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No. 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club, File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938.

⁵⁶ Undated letter, 1939, 'Educational Opportunities', to Miss Somerville. File R51/8/7 Talks. Adolescent Talks – Under 20 Club. File 5A. Feb 1939, Acc. No. 1233/1.

⁵⁷ Central Council for School Broadcasting, Internal Circulating Memo: Under Twenty Club Auditions – Leeds, 15 December, 16 December 1938.

⁵⁸ Central Council for School Broadcasting, Internal Circulating Memo: Under Twenty Club Auditions – Leeds, 15 December, 16 December 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No. 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938.

⁵⁹ Letter, 4 October 1938. To the Talks Programme Division, British Broadcasting Corporation, Broadcasting House, London, W1. Details provided in attached Memorandum, p. 2. File R51/8/3. Acc. No 1230/1. Talks. Adolescent Talks – 'Under 20 Club'. File 3A, October 1938.

⁶⁰ Letter, 4 October 1938.

⁶¹ http://www.sussex.ac.uk/library/speccoll/collection_catalogues/tclists/WT17.html, accessed November 2015.

⁶² Education Officer for North Region. 'Under Twenty Club Audition – Newcastle', 8 November 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938.

⁶³ Education Officer for North Region. 'Under Twenty Club Audition – Newcastle'.

⁶⁴ Memo, 'Under Twenty Club Auditions – Leeds, 15 December, 16 December 1938. Central Council for School Broadcasting. Internal Circulating Memo. Subject: 'Under Twenty Club Auditions – Leeds, December 15th 1938'. Dated 16 December 1938. R51/8/4. Acc. No. 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938. A pseudonym has not been used in this case, as Stuttard died on the 17 November 2013. Details on Ancestry.co.uk and an obituary in *The Times*, 28 November 2013. In 1939, Stuttard went to Downing College, Cambridge, to read English under F.R. Leavis, switching subsequently to history. He was called up in 1941 and returned to Cambridge

after the war, graduating in 1947. He became a tutor for the Workers' Educational Association and a Tutor and Lecturer in Industrial Relations, with London University Extra-Mural Department and then at Cambridge. His taste for the airwaves did not disappear and from 1950 he had a 'parallel career' as a broadcaster on BBC radio and television, largely dealing with industrial democracy and training. Downing College, Alumni Association Newsletter, Magenta News, College Record, 2014, pp. 88-90.

⁶⁵ Memo, 'Under Twenty Club, 27 October 1938. R51/8/4. Acc no 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B. Nov-Dec 1938.

⁶⁶ Central Council for School Broadcasting. Internal Circulating Memo. Subject: 'Under Twenty Club', 31 October, 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No. 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938; Letter, 15 October 1938. R51/8/4. Acc. No 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938. The author had been encouraged to write by his teachers.

⁶⁷ Central Council for School Broadcasting. Internal Circulating Memo. Subject: 'Under Twenty Club' 31 October, 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938.

⁶⁸ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 3.

⁶⁹ Only one episode survives, from 1938.

⁷⁰ BBC Internal Circulating Memo. Subject: The Under Twenty Club, 22 September 1938.

⁷¹ David Cardiff, 'The serious and the popular: aspects of the evolution of style in the radio talk 1928-1939', in Collins, Curran, Garnham, Scannell, Schlesinger and Sparks, *Media, Culture and Society*, pp. 229, 235, 237.

⁷² Letter from Howard Marshall to F.N. Lloyd Williams, 24 November 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No. 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938.

⁷³ *BBC Handbook 1939*, London, 1939, p. 25.

⁷⁴ Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 6; *BBC Handbook 1939*, p. 25.

⁷⁵ Undated letter to Howard Marshall –File R51/8/6. Acc. No 1234/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks – 'Under 20 Club'. File 4B, Jan 1939.

⁷⁶ Undated letter to Howard Marshall.

⁷⁷ Letter, 16 November 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938.

⁷⁸ Letter to the Education Officer, British Broadcasting Corp., Picadilly, Manchester, 2 November 1938. File R51/8/4. Acc. No 1230/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks: Under 20 Club. File 3B, Nov-Dec 1938.

⁷⁹ BBC Internal Circulating Memo, 'Under Twenty Club: 1939-40. 21 June 1939, from Mary Somerville. R51/8/8. Acc No. 1233/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks – 'Under 20 Club'. File 5B, March, 1939-Oct 1940.

⁸⁰ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 4.

⁸¹ Christina L. Baade, *Victory through Harmony: The BBC and Popular Music in World War II*, Oxford, 2012, p. 110

⁸² Internal Circulating memo, 5th December 1939, from the Secretary to C(P).

⁸³ Memo, 30 October 1940

⁸⁴ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 8.

⁸⁵ BBC Internal Circulating memo, 12 December 1939, from C(P) to DSB. File R51/8/8. Acc No. 1233/2. Talks. Adolescent Talks – 'Under 20 Club'. File 5B, March 1939-Oct 1940.

⁸⁶ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 7.

⁸⁷ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 8.

⁸⁸ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 3.

⁸⁹ Sonya O. Rose, 'Sex, citizenship, and the nation in World War II Britain', *American Historical Review* 103:4, October 1998, pp. 1150, 1165; Harold L. Smith, *Britain in the Second World War: A Social History*, Manchester, 1996, p. 71; Mark Harrison, 'Sex and the citizen soldier: health, morals and discipline in the British army during the Second World War', in Roger Cooter, Mark Harrison, Steve Sturdy (eds), *Medicine and Modern Warfare*, Amsterdam, 1999, p. 235.

⁹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 August 1946, p. 5. Josephine Macalister Brew, 1904-1957.

⁹¹ Josephine Macalister Brew, *In the Service of Youth: A Practical Manual of Work among Adolescents*, London, 1943, p. 16. She also wrote *Informal Education. Adventures and Reflections*, London, 1946, and *Youth and Youth Groups*, London, 1957. See M. Smith, 'Josephine Macalister Brew: youth work and informal education', in Ruth Gilchrist, Tracey Hodgson, Tony Jeffs, Jean Spence, Naomi Stanton, Joyce Walker (eds) *Essays in the History of Youth and Community Work*, Leicester, 2001.

⁹² Obituary by John Wolfenden in *Nature*, 180, 13 July 1957, p. 68. Brew was a member of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) and education and training adviser to the National Association of Girls' Clubs of Great Britain, of which she became Education Secretary in 1942.

⁹³ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 13.

<http://infed.org/mobi/josephine-macalister-brew-and-informal-education/>, accessed December 2015.

⁹⁴ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 1.

⁹⁵ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Made, *To Start You Talking*, p. 2. *To Start You Talking: An Experiment in Broadcasting*.

⁹⁶ *To Start You Talking: An Experiment in Broadcasting*.

⁹⁷ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 9; BBC Internal Memo – Plymouth. Subject: 'To Start You Talking', from the Plymouth Director, 17 December 1943. File R51/7/6. Talks. Adolescent Talks: To Start You Talking, Oct-Dec 1943, Acc. No. 1239.

Memo, 'To Start You Talking', 17 December 1943, from Plymouth Director.

⁹⁸ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 107.

⁹⁹ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 131.

¹⁰⁰ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 160.

¹⁰¹ *Daily Mail*, 20 December 1945, p. 2. See OurStory Project, *Daring Hearts: Lesbian and Gay Lives of 50s and 60s Brighton*, Brighton: QueenSpark Books, 1992.

¹⁰² Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, *To Start You Talking*, p. 9.

¹⁰³ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, pp. 2, 11.

¹⁰⁴ Madge, Coysh, Dixon and Madge, *To Start You Talking*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Rosa-María Torres, *What Works in Education: Facing the New Century*, Report for the International Youth Foundation: 2001, p. 16.

¹⁰⁶ Torres, *What Works in Education*, pp. 11, 34.