Youth & Policy

Number 96
Summer 2007

The National Youth Agency

Contents

Contributors

Sue Maguire is a Principal Research Fellow at CEI, University of Warwick. She undertakes research and evaluation in the fields of education, training and employment.

Joanne Thompson is a Research Fellow at CEI, University of Warwick, with experience on a range of projects in the field of education policy.

Terry Barber is Lecturer in the Department of Community Education in the Faculty of Education and Social Work at the University of Dundee, Scotland.

Adrian Barton, School of Law and Social Science, University of Plymouth.

Sally Barton, Landmark Trust.

Jim McKechnie, Child Employment Research Group, University of Paisley.

Sandy Hobbs, Child Employment Research Group, University of Paisley.

Seonaid Anderson, Child Employment Research Group, University of Paisley.

Cathy Howieson, Centre for Educational Sociology, University of Edinburgh.

Sheila Semple, Centre for Enterprise, Career Development and Work, University of Strathclyde.

Ross Fergusson is Senior Lecturer in Social Policy in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Open University.

Tony Jeffs teaches on the Youth and Community Work programmes at Durham University.

Young people not in education, employment or training (NEET) – Where is Government policy taking us now?

Sue Maguire and Joanne Thompson

This paper examines recent policy development, which has focused on meeting the needs of young people who are not in education, employment or training (NEET), particularly relating to financial incentives. It outlines one current policy initiative, namely Activity Agreements (AAs), which are being piloted in some areas of England for two-years from April 2006. AAs offer young people who have failed to participate in post-16 education, employment or training, financial support coupled with individualised learning packages to encourage re-engagement in learning/training. The paper discusses the potential importance of elements of the AA package such as one-to-one support and delivery of flexible provision in securing learner re-engagement, using evidence from a similar policy initiative that has been developed in Australia.

Keywords: NEET, Social exclusion, Activity Agreement, Australian Youth Allowance, EMA, One-to-one support

Young people who are 'not in education, employment or training' (NEET) were brought firmly within the political agenda in 1999 with the publication of the Social Exclusion Unit's (SEU) report *Bridging the Gap* (SEU, 1999). The SEU report drew attention to a growing body of evidence about the experiences and barriers that some groups of young people face. In recent years, a number of policy interventions have aimed to address social exclusion and disadvantage among young people, as well as to further support young people's transitions into education, training or employment. This paper draws on research evidence to highlight the issues that face young people who are defined as NEET. It describes recent policy developments, particularly in relation to the introduction of financial incentives, which are targeted at reducing the percentage of young people who do not engage in formal learning, work or training at the end of compulsory schooling. It also highlights the importance of establishing personal and trusting relationships between young people and their advisers as an effective tool for re-engagement. The article outlines the most recent policy initiative being piloted – Activity Agreements (AAs). AAs are designed to offer financial incentives, as well as flexible and responsive provision to address the needs of young people who are defined as long term NEET. One lesson learnt from a similar policy intervention which was introduced as part of the Australian Youth Allowance, showed that an inability among some advisers to establish positive relationships with young people hampered take-up of the initiative. Also, in some circumstances, young people did not feel part of the process in which they should have had a voice in determining the make-up of tailored flexible education and training interventions.

The NEET group

Prior to the publication of *Bridging the Gap*, research conducted in the early 1990s had identified the proportion of the youth cohort which was effectively disengaged from education, training and the labour market and the severity of associated problems (Istance, Rees and Williamson, 1994; Wilkinson, 1995). Regulations contained in the 1988 Social Security legislation had withdrawn mainstream entitlement to Income Support for most young people under the age of 18 and, in so doing, removed their status within the unemployment statistics, as well as their entitlement to financial support. While Istance et al defined the young unemployed as the Status0 group, in order to reflect their marginal status in society, the term NEET was later adopted by policy makers and academics to reclassify young people under the age of 18 who were not participating in any form of education employment or training. However, some debate exists about the extent to which the term 'NEET' effectively articulates and defines the needs of the very different groups of young people who are clustered within this category (Furlong, 2006).

Research evidence suggests that spending time in the NEET category can have a detrimental effect not only upon a young person's future but also for society as a whole. Non-participation in education, employment and training has been linked to a number of short and long-term consequences, including unemployment, poor health, drug and alcohol misuse, parenting at a young age and criminal activity (Coles et al, 2002). Findings from the 1970 British Birth Cohort Study showed that a NEET spell of six months or more between the ages of 16 and 18 was the greatest predictor of unemployment at age 21 (SEU, 1999). Where young people who were previously NEET enter the labour market, their earnings were likely to be lower than those of their counterparts (Coles et al, 2002). Research evidence also highlights the psychological impact of NEET group status on young people's lives. For example, Bynner and Parsons, analysing longitudinal data from the 1970 British Birth Cohort Study, found that negative psychological effects, such as a lack of a sense of control over life and dissatisfaction with life were more prevalent among young women in the NEET group (Bynner and Parsons, 2002). It is also widely reported in the literature that young people within the NEET group are not a homogenous group; instead they comprise individuals from a variety of backgrounds with a range of experiences (Payne, 2000; Scottish Executive, 2005; LSC, 2006). The reasons behind a young person's disengagement can be wide-ranging and include social, economic, cultural and motivational factors and becoming NEET may result from a combination of these factors and influences (LSC, 2006; York Consulting Ltd, 2005).

While there is evidence that there is diversity in the make-up of the NEET group, there are also certain economic, social and personal characteristics that are more common amongst this group of young people. Such characteristics include low socio-economic status, greater likelihood of poor educational qualifications amongst parents, low Year 11 attainment levels and a greater propensity to live in the social housing sector (Payne, 2000; Pearce and Hillman, 1998; Rennison et al, 2005). The link to educational experience and disadvantage was also highlighted in the *Bridging the Gap* report. The principle drivers leading to non-participation for young people aged 16 to 18 were cited as 'educational underachievement and educational disaffection, and family disadvantage and poverty' (SEU, 1999:24). Data from the Youth Cohort Study showed a link between low Year 11

attainment and an increased propensity among young people to enter the NEET group (Payne, 2000). Furthermore, it has been asserted that qualification attainment at age 16 is the most powerful predictor of a young person's future participation in education and their prospects in the workplace (Payne, 1998; Pearce and Hillman, 1998). Those over-represented in the NEET group include young people in care, those who are carers, young people with disabilities or who have health problems, young people with special education needs or mental illness, teenage parents, young people involved in crime and young people who have a history of truanting or have been excluded from school (Payne, 2000; Coles et al, 2002).

Although the proportion of young people aged 16-18 who are NEET at any one time has remained relatively consistent at around ten per cent over the last ten years, the composition of the young people within the NEET group is not static (HM Treasury, DfES and DWP 2004; Rennison et al., 2005; Sachdev et al., 2006). To break down the complexity of the group, a common approach to defining young people within the NEET group has been to categorise them by the length of time they have spent holding this status. Young people who have been continually NEET for the most prolonged periods are likely to be the most disadvantaged and have complex needs (Payne, 2000). In addition, there is evidence that has shown that the NEET group is not solely made up of young people who have entered this destination after leaving compulsory education. A significant proportion of young people who are NEET at age 17 and 18 had first entered an education, work or training activity (Rennison et al., 2005; Coles et al., 2002). Also, the risk of a young person becoming NEET is greater from some destinations than others. Analysis of data from the evaluation of the Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA) pilots showed that the risk of becoming NEET at age 17 was greatest for young people who had entered work with no training at the end of compulsory schooling. A young person undertaking work with no training was three times more likely to become NEET at age 17 than young people in full-time education (Rennison et al., 2005). This cycle of movement that young people make between work with no training and NEET, is referred to in the literature as the 'NEET churn' (Mauger, 2005; Furlong, 2006). Once a young person has been disengaged from education, employment or training, they are more likely to become so again. Analysis of the Scottish School Leavers survey found that the incidence of becoming NEET was more likely for young people who had experienced an earlier spell in this status (Raffe, 2003).

As well as the variation in characteristics and circumstances, the proportion of young people who are NEET differs from one region of the country to another and the composition also varies between localities (LSC, 2006; Sachdev et al., 2006). Recent research examining regional and sub-regional variations in two regions of England illustrated the disparities in the proportion of NEET young people. The proportion of 16-18 year olds who were NEET in the South East region ranged between 3.1 per cent in Surrey and 7.8 per cent in Berkshire. In Yorkshire and the Humber, this variation was between 4.2 per cent of 16-18-year olds in North Yorkshire and 11.2 per cent in South Yorkshire (Sachdev et al., 2006: November 2005 figures). Local factors such as persistent high rates of social deprivation in an area or the prevalence of a large traveller community highlighted that there are different characteristics and needs of the NEET population between regions (LSC, 2006). This would suggest that strategies which are aimed at re-engaging young people who are NEET need to be responsive to local needs.

In recent years, with an increasing emphasis within education and training policy on a strategy which encourages young people to remain in full-time learning beyond compulsory schooling, there has been limited research activity which explores the structure and functioning of the youth labour market. Thus, there is little research which explores the labour market experiences of young people and the attitudes and motivations of employers to recruit school leavers into jobs. Studies of the youth labour market have become increasingly focused on policy evaluation, particularly on a raft of youth training initiatives. In contrast, studies conducted in the 1970s and the 1980s, when significant proportions of young people entered the labour market at the end of compulsory schooling and staying on rates were much lower, contributed more widely to academic debate about the composition of a distinct youth labour market.

For example, Ashton et al were able to identify that not only were there broad differences between the types of occupations that young people entered, but that there existed a youth labour market, which was distinct from that available to adults, and differed in terms of its entry patterns and in the selection criteria used by employers. The labour market which young people entered was characterised as being made up of a number of segments, each offering different levels of pay, security of employment, training and prospects (Ashton et al., 1982). Evidence from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) 16-19 Initiative which included longitudinal surveys of 16-19 year olds in four contrasting local labour markets between 1987 and 1989, provided substantial weight to Ashton et al's finding that local labour market conditions also had considerable impact on the job and training opportunities available to young people (Ashton et al., 1982; Ashton and Maguire, 1988; Bynner, 1990; Roberts and Parsell, 1992). In addition, the Scottish Young People's Surveys were used to identify differing routes into the labour market, as well as to measure the impact of education and training policies on the employment opportunities available to young people (Raffe, 1988; Furlong, 1992).

Between 1989 and 2004, while there was a dramatic rise in the proportion of 16 year olds remaining in full-time education, this was largely achieved by reducing the proportions of young people entering both employer and government supported training programmes (Table 1). For example, in 1989, 55 per cent of 16 year olds were in post -16 education, 6.1 per cent were in employer funded training and 21.7 per cent were in government supported training. By 2004, while the proportion of 16 year olds in post-16 education had risen to 74 per cent, this corresponded with a significant downturn in the proportion of 16 year olds in employer and government supported training programmes, which were 3 per cent and 7 per cent respectively. Significantly, increases in post-16 education participation rates have been achieved without reducing the proportion of young people who enter the NEET group. In fact, between 1994 and 2004, the proportion of young people in the NEET group actually increased from 5 per cent to 8 per cent (Table 1).

Table 1 16-year olds in post-16 education, employer based training, government supported training and NEET category

Percentage

Year	Post-16 education training	Employer funded training	Government supported	NEET
1989	55	6.1	21.7	unknown
1994	71.4	3.2	12.6	5.0
1999	70.4	3.4	8.1	7.0
2004	74.0	3.0	7.0	8.0

Source: Adapted from *Participation in Education and Training by 16-18 Year Olds in England: 1988 to 1998* SRF 13/1999 (DfEE, 1999) and *Participation in Education and Training by 16-18 Year Olds in England: 2004 and 2005* SRF 21/2006 (DfES, 2006a).

Policy response

The SEU report *Bridging the Gap* (SEU, 1999), set out four main elements to an approach which sought to ensure that young people stay in education, training or work with a strong education or vocational element until the age of 18. These elements were:

• Ensuring that young people establish clear goals to aim for by the age of 19;
• Introducing a variety of pathways in education and training, which meet the needs of all young people;
• Establishing systems of financial support, which encourage all groups of young people to participate in education and training, and
• The creation of a new support system for young people which gives priority to those who are most at risk of underachievement and disaffection.

Recent years have seen an array of policy initiatives targeted at meeting the SEU agenda and which in particular, seek to address the needs of young people who are defined as NEET. This has included the establishment in 2001 of the Connexions Service, which, through a network of Personal Advisors (PAs), provides information, advice and guidance to 13-19 year olds on a wide range of issues to assist them in making a successful transition to adult life. In addition to providing a universal careers service for 13-19 year olds, a particular focus for the Connexions Service has been on providing support for NEET young people, with the aim of engaging them in education, employment or training (EET) for which there are nationally set targets (Hoggarth and Smith, 2004; Britton et al., 2002; Sachdev et al., 2006). However, Connexions Services are currently undergoing a period of change. The Green Paper for young people, *Youth Matters*, which was published in July 2005, set out the Government's measures for empowering young people and involving them in local decision making. Plans to reform universal services for young people were also outlined, including reshaping the

delivery of information, advice and guidance (IAG) (DfES, 2006b). Connexions Services will be devolved into Local Authority control to form part of Children's Services provision. This process of transfer is taking place between 2006 and 2008. Local Authorities will take responsibility for the commissioning and provision of guidance and support services to young people (HMSO, 2005). From 2008, Local Authorities will be allocated a single grant for Connexions resources (DfES, 2006b).

Tackling financial barriers to participation in full-time learning among young people from lower income families was addressed in policy terms by the national roll-out of Education Maintenance Allowances (EMAs) from 2004. The EMA aims to increase the participation, retention and achievement rates in post-16 education among 16-19 year olds from lower income families and to help prevent entry into the NEET group through offering young people weekly and incentive payments (Maguire and Rennison, 2005). The national evaluation of the EMA pilots found that the introduction of EMA increased participation in Year 12 participation in full-time education by 5.9 percentage points in pilot areas, compared to matched control areas. As a result, fewer young people entered work or training (-3.4 per cent) and the NEET group (-2.4 per cent) (Ashworth et al., 2002; Maguire and Thompson, 2006). In terms of longer-term effects, the EMA was found to impact on Year 13 post-16 education retention rates by 6.2 percentage points overall. The majority of the pull came from work or training (-5.4 per cent) with a more modest effect on the NEET group (-0.8 per cent) (Ashworth et al., 2002; Maguire and Thompson, 2006). Analysis of young people's trajectories after leaving compulsory education found that the EMA had only a limited impact on encouraging young people who had become NEET to return to full-time education. The allowance was, however, more successful at preventing young people's entry to the NEET group at age 16 (Maguire and Rennison, 2005).

Running alongside the drive to increase participation through the introduction of targeted financial incentives has been the long running debate about the structure and composition of the 14-19 curriculum. The Tomlinson Review, which reported in October 2004, and the subsequent publication of the White Paper *14-19 Education and Skills* (February 2005), established a reform programme which is aimed at ensuring that all young people achieve and continue in learning until at least 18. Following recommendations made by the Tomlinson Review, proposals to introduce a unified system of vocational and academic qualifications have been largely replaced with government plans to introduce from 2008 a range of Diplomas, which will sit alongside the existing range of academic qualifications. There will be Diplomas in 14 lines of learning covering many different industrial and commercial sectors, which will be available at three levels of learning. It is envisaged that the new Diploma qualifications will further diversify the 14-19 curriculum and encourage the retention in learning of more young people, in particular among those who may be at risk of dropping out (DfES, 2007).

With regard to early labour market entrants, further initiatives which have been developed and implemented have included the introduction of a National Minimum Wage rate for 16 and 17 year olds, the Right to Time Off to Train and changes made to the Apprenticeships system (Mauger, 2005). From its introduction in 1999, the National Minimum Wage applied only to employees aged 18 and over, with two payment bands, one for 18-20 year olds and a higher rate for employees aged 21 and over. In 2004, as part of the wider review of

financial support for 16-19 year olds, the Government implemented the recommendations of the Low Pay Commission through the introduction of a minimum wage for 16 and 17 year olds (exempting apprenticeships) (HM Treasury, DfES and DWP, 2004). A minimum wage for 16 and 17 year olds was introduced to ensure young people were not left vulnerable to exploitatively low wages, but, at the same time, it was set at a level which aimed to maintain incentives for this age group to remain in education or training (HM Treasury, DfES and DWP, 2004). The Right to Time Off initiative was brought into effect in 1999. Under the scheme, low skilled young people aged 16 or 17 who are not in full-time education and have not already achieved a level 2 qualification have an entitlement to paid time off to study for approved qualifications (Economic Research Services Ltd, 2002; HM Treasury, DfES and DWP, 2004). Eligible young people take up this right by agreeing a package of paid time off and training with their employer. Research to evaluate the impact of the initiative has found that, although awareness of the policy amongst employers was rising, take-up rates were lower than had been anticipated (HM Treasury, DfES and DWP, 2004). Government supported training provision offered within the Apprenticeship programme comprises two options for young people aged 16 and over; a Foundation Modern Apprenticeship (FMA) which offers training to Level 2 standard, and an Advanced Modern Apprenticeship (AMA) which trains to Level 3 standard. Strategies are currently in place to improve the quality of training delivered through Modern Apprenticeships and to tackle the problem of a high rate of non-completions (HM Treasury, DfES and DWP, 2004).

The latest DfES destination figures reveal that the proportion of young people who are NEET has actually increased in recent years. Eleven per cent of 16 to 18 year olds in England were NEET at the end of 2004 compared to a figure of 9 per cent in 1997 (DfES, 2006a). The Government's commitment in the current Public Service Agreement (PSA) is to 'reduce the proportion of young people not in education, employment or training (NEET) by 2 percentage points by 2010' (DfES, 2006a: 2). In the 2003 Budget, as part of the drive to tackle the issue of disengagement amongst young people and to enhance the development of young people's skills to prevent social exclusion, it was announced that a review of financial support and incentives for 16-19 year olds would be conducted. This followed the success of the EMA pilots in increasing participation and retention rates in post-16 education. The review involves cross-departmental working between the Treasury, the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) and the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) (HM Treasury, 2005). In 2004, the publication of the report *Supporting Young People to Achieve* outlined plans to improve financial support for 16 to 19 year olds, with the ultimate goal of achieving a cohesive and unified system of financial support for young people between all post-16 destinations.

The 2005 Budget implemented recommendations made in *Supporting Young People to Achieve* by announcing the introduction of two new pilot initiatives, which sought to extend participation in education and training amongst young people in jobs without training (JWT) and young people who are NEET. Sixty million pounds was allocated to support the piloting of the Activity Agreement (AA), which aims to extend participation in education and training among 16 and 17 year olds who are long-term NEET. The initiative offers young people (and in some pilot areas their parents) financial incentives to support and encourage re-engagement in learning or training. In addition, eighty million pounds was allocated to pilot a Learning Agreement. This pilot policy is charged with encouraging young people in

jobs without training to re-engage with formal learning in return for a financial incentive which will be paid to the young person (in two areas, wage compensation will be made available to their employers). The Activity and Learning Agreements form part of the wider agenda towards establishing a greatly simplified single financial support system for 16-19 year olds. The pilots started in April 2006 for a two-year period and are each being trialled in eight areas of England.

Young people aged 16 or 17 years old who have been NEET for at least 20 consecutive weeks are eligible to receive the Activity Allowance over a 20-week period. While recipients of Income Support or Job Seekers Allowance are able to participate in Activity Agreements, they are not eligible to receive the allowance (unless they have a disability or are a lone parent). The allowance does not affect other benefits that a family may receive, nor is it means tested. Within the eight pilot areas, three variants of the Activity Allowance, which differ in terms of the weekly allowance and to whom it is paid, are being tested. Weekly payments of £20 and £30 are made to young people and in some areas a weekly payment of £20 is paid to their family.

The initiative is managed at a local level by Connexions Partnerships/Services. Connexions Personal Advisors (PAs) engage with young people on a one-to-one basis to design and implement action plans, with the aim of moving the young person into education, training or employment. In return for an Activity Allowance, the Activity Agreement forms a contract which is drawn up between the PA and the young person, and outlines the steps that the young person will take to demonstrate progress. This approach builds on the 'something-for-something' principle on which the EMA was based (HM Treasury, 2005). The AA is made up of three elements: engagement activities; development activities; and exit activities. PAs have a large amount of flexibility over the type of activities they can source, depending on the needs and requirements of the young person, and can go beyond existing mainstream provision to tailor individual programmes. The role of the PA as both administrator of the AA and issuer of the Activity Allowance payments is an extension of the prescribed responsibilities of the Connexions Service. Not only will the allowance be delivered through Connexions, but in cases where young people do not meet the conditions set out in their AA, the PA has the power to issue sanctions, which can include the withdrawal of weekly payments to young people.

Research which has focused on investigating the role of Connexions has highlighted the importance of securing positive relationships between the young people and PAs in order to achieve positive outcomes (Coles et al., 2004; LSC, 2006; Hoggarth and Smith, 2004). A study by Coles et al, highlighted in particular the PA's role as advocate on behalf of the young person. The PA was described as a 'powerful friend' in dealing with other organisations (Coles et al., 2004). An evaluation of a European Social Fund (ESF) supported 'EET to NEET' project delivered by a Connexions Partnership, found that it was the individual relationship with the PA and the guidance and support provided that was most valued by young people as beneficiaries (LSC, 2006). A study which examined the impact of Connexions on young people also reported that it was the relationship that the young person had with their PA, which was most instrumental in supporting young people 'at risk'. 'The primary mechanism of impact lies in the interaction of PAs and young people' (Hoggarth and Smith, 2004:2).

The Activity Agreement (AA) is modelled on one element of the Youth Allowance (YA) which was introduced in Australia in 1998, and brought together a range of allowances into a single, unitary source of financial support for young people. The YA was introduced as a means of simplifying the financial support system and aimed to encourage participation in Further and Higher Education by offering an allowance to low income students from age 16 to 24 and by removing disincentives to study or train (HM Treasury, DfES and DWP, 2004). The benefit is means tested and conditional upon a young person's completion of an 'activity test', which enables them to prove that they are participating in education or training, or actively seeking work. Young people who do not meet the requirements of their activity test may be sanctioned, that is, their weekly allowance can be withdrawn. Although evaluations of the YA have asserted that it is difficult to disentangle the effect of various policies on increasing participation rates in education and employment, an increase of more than two percentage points was reported in the proportion of 16 to 24 year old Australians in full-time education between 1997 and 2001 (Finn and Branosky, 2004).

Under the YA, young people who are not participating in education, employment or training and have no other income are eligible to claim a strand of the allowance. The rules of the allowance permit a young person's Preparing for Work Agreement (PFWA) to include a combination of job-searching with a range of other activities which are deemed to be appropriate in promoting entry into employment. However, it was found that the flexibility which is permissible under the agreement to meet individual need was rarely applied. This has been attributed to a number of reasons (Jope and Beaumont, 2003; Finn and Branosky, 2004). Evidence suggested that the necessity for Centrelink (the Government agency responsible for delivery of the programme) staff to complete the PFWA during the first interview with the young person often resulted in insufficient time being available to identify the vocational and non-vocational barriers to young people's participation, such as a lack of access to appropriate education and training. Many young people did not have a clear understanding of the support they could receive from Centrelink or that they could influence the choice of activities included within the PFWA. It was also found that the approach taken by Centrelink to determine activities was often narrow and limited, with an over-emphasis on job search activities (Jope and Beaumont, 2003; Finn and Branosky, 2004). In essence, the opportunity to develop flexible and responsive provision to meet the diverse needs of the NEET population has largely remained unfulfilled.

The research also highlighted the importance of a trusting working relationship existing between the young person and their advisers (Jope and Beaumont, 2003). The inability of some Centrelink Officers to establish rapport with young people who were NEET, due to the negative attitudes of staff or poor communication skills, led in some cases, to the failure to obtain relevant information from the young person. This in turn meant that some young people were inaccurately assessed and did not receive the most appropriate support (Jope and Beaumont, 2003; Finn and Branosky, 2004).

Recent policy initiatives aimed at increasing post-16 participation rates in education and training have culminated in proposals set out in the Green Paper *Raising Expectations: staying in education and training post-16*, which signify government plans to ensure that all young people will stay in some form of education and training until at least the age of 18 (DfES, 2007). While a decision on these proposals has yet to be finalised, it is proposed that

post-16 participation rates will be raised to the age of 17 from 2013. This will coincide with the full implementation of new Diploma qualifications, which seek to offer young people a more applied curriculum through both practical and theoretical study. In addition, financial support packages i.e. EMA, are designed to support the needs of young people from lower income families to remain in education or training. Crucially, the Green Paper also sets out plans to ensure that young people who enter the labour market at 16 will be required to undertake some form of accredited training. Failure to comply with the proposed requirements to undertake any form of post-16 education or training will result in young people facing civil or criminal prosecution. Most controversially, this may result in the most vulnerable groups of young people being penalised for their unwillingness to participate in an education and training system, which, despite the numerous policy interventions, may still fail to either fully understand or meet their needs.

Conclusion

This paper has set out to highlight the policy attention given in recent years to young people who are categorised as 'NEET', as well as to summarise evidence from some of the studies, which have sought to define the characteristics and composition of these young people. Far less attention is placed in the literature on defining and unpacking the underlying structural issues within local areas which may contribute to a greater or lesser extent to the incidence of a high NEET population. For example, the structure and functioning of local labour markets will be critical in defining the opportunities that are open to all groups of young people in terms of work and training. Too great an emphasis has been placed within the literature, and within policy making, on defining what is perceived to be a 'problem group', rather than on tackling the exclusion that specific groups of young people within the NEET group face, particularly with regard to training and employment. With a policy push towards encouraging as many young people as possible to remain in full-time learning, this has come at a cost of inhibiting any real understanding of the alternative route that many young people still take – early labour market entry. Why do young people choose to enter jobs with and jobs without training and why do employers choose to recruit them? Why do some young people access training while others do not? What level of training exists for young people in the labour market, beyond the prescribed Level 2 demanded within government supported training programmes? Why is there such a close relationship between young people in 'jobs without training' and the NEET group and what can be done to prevent the NEET churn? There is a lack of evidence and understanding about young people's routes into the labour market, which requires full investigation, if proposals to introduce compulsory participation in post-16 education and training are to be effectively implemented.

The most recent policy initiative that is targeted at reducing the NEET population (the piloting of Activity Agreements) builds on the financial remedy provided by EMAs, by offering young people 'something for something' i.e. a package of financial support in return for young people's participation in learning and training. However, AAs also require the establishment of intensive support packages, which need to be developed between Connexions PAs and young people. Research evidence suggests that the development of positive and effective relationships between young people and their advisers is pivotal to

establishing successful outcomes. In addition, findings from the evaluation of the Australian Youth Allowance endorse the need for young people to fully understand 'the offer' and that individual learning agreements are representative of their needs and views. There are clear lessons to be learnt from the Australian model in relation to the piloting of Activity Agreements. Education and training providers will need to deliver on their commitment to provide flexible packages of learning which are attractive to, and meet the needs of, 'hard to reach' groups. The Australian experience also alerts us to potential pitfalls, in that even where there was scope to develop individualised packages of learning with young people, this often failed to happen because advisers 'stuck to what they had always offered'. The AA pilot presents itself as a real opportunity to enable young people to develop their own entry back into education and training. Therefore, as part of this process, it is critical that their advisers and learning and training providers are effective in facilitating this process.

Acknowledgments

References

Ashton, D. Maguire M. and Garland, V. (1982) *Youth in the Labour Market*, Research Report 34, London: Department for Employment.

Ashton, D. and Maguire, M. (1988) *Re-structuring the Labour Market: The Implications for Education and Training*, Labour Market Studies Working Paper, No 14, Leicester: University of Leicester.

Ashworth, K. Hardman, J. Hartfree, Y. Maguire, S. Middleton, S. Smith, D. Dearden, L. Emmerson, C. Frayne, C. and Meghir, C. (2002) *Education Maintenance Allowance: The First Two Years. A Quantitative Evaluation*, Research Report 352, Nottingham: Department for Education and Skills.

Britton, L. Chatrik, B. Coles, B. Craig, G. Hylton, C. Mumtaz, S. Bivand, P. Burrows, R. Convery, P. (2002) *Missing Connexions: The career dynamics and welfare needs of black and minority ethnic young people at the margins*, Bristol: Policy Press and Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Bynner, J. (1990) 'Transitions to Work: Results from a Longitudinal Study of Young People in Four Labour Markets', in Ashton, D. N. and Lowe, G. S (ed) *Making their Way: Education, Training and Labour Markets*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Bynner, J. and Parsons, S. (2002) 'Social Exclusion and the Transition from School to Work: The Case of Young People Not in Education, Employment, or Training NEET', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 60: 289-309.

Coles, B. Hutton, S. Bradshaw, J. Craig, G. Godfrey, C. and Johnson, J. (2002) *Literature Review of the Costs of Being 'Not in Education, Employment or Training' at Age 16-18*, Research Report 347, Norwich: Department for Education and Skills.

Coles, B. Britton, L. and Hicks, L. (2004) *Building Better Connexions: Interagency work and the Connexions Service*, Bristol: Policy Press.

DfEE (1999) *Participation in Education and Training by 16-18 Year Olds in England:*

1988 to 1998, DfEE Statistical First Release 13/1999, Department for Education and Employment, 29th June.

DfES (2004) *14-19 Curriculum and Qualifications Reform: Final Report of the Working Group on 14-19 Reform*, DfE- 0976-2004, Nottingham: Department for Education and Skills.

DfES (2005) *14-19 Education and Skills*, Cm 6476, Norwich.

DfES (2006a) *Participation in Education, Training and Employment by 16-18 Year Olds in England: 2004 and 2005*, DfES Statistical First Release 21/2006, Department for Education and Skills, 8th June.

DfES (2006b) *Youth Matters: Next Steps*, Nottingham: Department for Education and Skills.

DfES (2007) *Raising Expectations: staying in education and training post-16*, Cm 7065, Norwich: Department for Education and Skills.

Economic Research Services Ltd (2002) *The Right to Time Off for Study and Training: A Survey of Employers*, Research Brief 03-02, Nottingham: Department for Education and Skills.

Finn, D. and Branosky, N. (2004) *Financial Support for 16 to 19 year olds: A review of the literature and evidence on the Australian Youth Allowance*, Research Report 215, London: Department for Work and Pensions.

Furlong, A. (1992) *Growing up in a Classless Society?,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Furlong, A. (2006) 'Not a very NEET solution: representing problematic labour market transitions among early school-leavers', *Work, Employment & Society*, 20(3): 553-569.

H.M. Treasury (2004) Department for Work and Pensions and Department for Education and Skills, *Supporting young people to achieve: towards a new deal for skills*, London: www.hm-treasury.gov.uk.

HMSO (2005) *Youth Matters*, Cm 6629, London: The Stationery Office.

H.M. Treasury (2005) Press notices, accessed at: http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/newsroom_and_speeches/press/2005/press_64_05.cfm.

Hoggarth, L. and Smith, D. (2004) *Understanding the impact of Connexions on young people at risk*, Research Brief 607, Nottingham: Department for Education and Skills.

Istance, D. Rees, G. and Williamson, H. (1994) *Young People Not In Education, Training or Employment in South Glamorgan*, Cardiff: South Glamorgan Training and Enterprise Council.

Jope, S. and Beaumont, R. (2003) *Preparing for what? The administration of Youth Allowance Activity Agreements for young jobseekers*, A report for Centrelink Youth and Student Community Segment, Fitzroy: Brotherhood of St Laurence.

LSC (2006) *Learning from Three Local LSC Partnerships Working to Tackle Levels of Young People Not in Education, Employment or Training: Guiding Principles for Policy and Practice*, Learning and Skills Council: www.lsc.gov.uk.

Maguire, S. and Rennison, J. (2005) 'Two Years On: The Destinations of Young people who are Not in Education, Employment or Training at 16', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8(2): 187-201.

Maguire, S. and Thompson, J. (2006) *Paying young people to stay on at school – does it work? Evidence from the evaluation of the piloting of the Education Maintenance Allowance* (EMA), The Nuffield Foundation, Accessed at: http://www.nuffield14-19review.org.uk/cgi/documents/documents.cgi?a=124&t=template.htm

Mauger, S. (2005) *Young People: Employment Without Training,* Skills and Learning

Intelligence Module Bulletin, June, Accessed at: http://www.swslim.org.uk/documents/themes/lt10_bulletin.pdf

Payne, J. (1998) *Routes at Sixteen: Trends and Choices in the Nineties*, Research Brief 55, Nottingham: Department for Education and Employment.

Payne, J. (2000) *Youth Cohort Study: Education, Training and Employment of 16-18 Year Olds in England and the Factors Associated with Non-participation*, Statistical Bulletin Number 02/2000, Nottingham: Department for Education and Employment.

Pearce, N. and Hillman, J. (1998) *Wasted Youth. Raising Achievement and Tackling Social Exclusion*, London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Raffe, D. ed (1988) *Education and the Youth Labour Market: Schooling and Scheming*, London: Falmer Press.

Raffe, D. (2003) *Young People Not in Education, Employment or Training*, University of Edinburgh: Centre for Educational Sociology.

Rennison, J. Maguire, S. Middleton, S. and Ashworth, K. (2005) *Young People not in Education, Employment or Training: Evidence from the Education Maintenance Allowance Pilots Database*, Research Report 628, Nottingham: Department for Education and Skills.

Roberts, K. and Parsell, G. (1992) 'The Stratification of Youth Training', *British Journal of Education and Work*, 5: 65-83.

Sachdev, D, Harries, B. and Roberts, T. (2006) *Regional and sub-regional variation in NEETs – reasons, remedies and impact*, Learning and Skills Development Agency.

Scottish Executive (2005) *Employability Framework for Scotland* – Report of the NEET Workstream, (web only publication), Accessed at: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2005/08/30111605/16069.

Social Exclusion Unit (1999) *Bridging the Gap: New Opportunities for 16-18 Year Olds Not in Education, Employment or Training*, Cm 4405, London: HMSO.

Wilkinson, C. (1995) *The Drop Out Society: Young People on the Margin*, Leicester: Youth Work Press.

York Consulting Ltd (2005) *Literature Review of the NEET Group*, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Thinking Seriously About Youth Work and Work With Young People

A Symposium

10.30 Monday 3rd-16.30 Tuesday 4th March 2008
Hinsley Hall Leeds
£195

Opportunities to discuss youth work in a sustained, reflective and critical manner with colleagues from different settings and localities are increasingly rare. Our intention is to offer an accessible event based upon open conversation and dialogue. This will be a small residential gathering comprising scholarly papers, workshops and space for extended discussion and debate between participants.

All those presenting papers have agreed to stay for the duration of the conference to help facilitate this process. To encourage an atmosphere of mutual commitment to learning we are asking all participants to make a firm commitment to attend for the whole of both days and are restricting the number of places to a maximum of 60.

Four writers will be offering papers: Priscilla Alderson (Institute of Education London University), Charlie Cooper (University of Hull), Mike Males (University of California) and Terry Thomas (Leeds Metropolitan University). They have been asked to help the symposium reflect upon aspects of youth work and work with young people from fresh perspectives by drawing on educational philosophy, sociology, criminology and social policy. In addition participants are invited to contribute workshops and papers to foster debate and discussion. We have already been offered papers on Dilemmas of school-based youth work and Youth Work: the essence of practice.

For further information and booking form please contact Tracey Hodgson, Youth and Policy, 24 Harle Street, Browney, Co. Durham, DH7 8HX E-mail: cyw.conference@googlemail.ot.com

If you would be interested in offering a workshop or paper please contact Tony Jeffs on 0191 414 2554. Youth and Policy, Burn Brae, Black Lane, Blaydon Burn, Blaydon on Tyne, NE21 6DX. E-mail: tony.jeffs@durham.ac.uk

Sponsored by Youth and Policy with Support from The National Youth Agency

Young People and Civic Participation: A conceptual review

Terry Barber

Young people are often perceived as politically disengaged, but even if this is true it does not mean they do not participate in civic life. Various proposals are advanced with the aim of enhancing civic engagement in this group, but nomenclature is often ill-defined and theorisation largely absent. In this paper, theoretical models which purport to explain the dynamics of youth participation are critically reviewed. From this, a new model is developed which highlights the inherent tensions and conflicts, and focuses attention on the zone where developmental progress is most likely. Implications for policy and practice are explored.

Keywords: Youth, Young People, Civic Participation, Citizenship, Consultation, Engagement, Theory, Models

There is a growing recognition that young people are the largest politically un-represented segment of the world's population and face extreme disparities in access to economic, technological and socio-cultural resources. More than one quarter of the world's population (1.7 billion) is aged 10 to 24-years; this represents proportionately the largest group in history ever to be entering adulthood. Eighty-six percent of 10 -24 year olds live in less developed countries and an estimated 57 million young men and 96 million young women remain illiterate. Sixty- six million young people throughout the world are unemployed making up an estimated 40 per cent of global unemployment (World Youth Report, 2003).

Reports from across the globe suggest that young people tend to be perceived as 'apathetic' or 'disengaged', (Millennium Development Goals Report, 2005). The policy response has then focused on the need to challenge this perceived youth alienation by engaging with young people at all levels. 'Citizenship', 'Participation' and 'Empowerment', through positive social action are terms now firmly embedded in government discourse across nations. In England, the policy agenda for children and young people is elaborated in *Every Child Matters* (2003) and in a more youth orientated fashion with *Youth Matters* (2005). These key policy documents concentrate their focus on outcomes for children and young people; as follows:

- Staying healthy
- Being safe
- Enjoying and Achieving
- Making a positive contribution
- Achieving economic well-being

These policy constructs have led to dramatic activity throughout the youth sector in England

with a 'new' emphasis on SMART performance standards, increased scrutiny of provision and for many, a 'third sector' of entrepreneurial youth services (see Williamson, 2005). The four explicit challenges facing youth providers as set out in the government's post consultation *Youth Matters: Next Steps* (2006) document was as follows:

- offering young people more 'things to do and places to go'
- encouraging them to volunteer
- ensuring they had the information, advice and guidance they needed; and
- targeting extra support on those 'with additional needs'.

In Scotland the recently published *Moving Forward: a strategy for improving young people's chances through youth work* (2007) is the Scottish Executive's attempt to consolidate and develop youth work practice in Scotland. To some extent the strategy formulation mirrored the consultative *Youth Matters* approach but on the face of it there appears to be a much closer alignment with the ideals of the relatively new Scottish Parliament. In the short term the Executive will kick start activity by developing a year of action, providing major funding, networking opportunities and training co-ordination. The long term elements of the strategy are as summarised below:

- promote the role and contribution of youth work in developing wider policies affecting young people;
- encourage more young people to take advantage of the increased opportunities available;
- support youth work organisations at a national level through working alongside the sector, providing longer-term funding and offering support for quality improvement through HMIe;
- support organisations to improve their training, understanding and support of minority groups;
- work with voluntary organisations to develop an Action Plan for Volunteering;
- work with Young Scot to ensure young people have access to the information they require in the format most accessible to them; and
- help employers to understand and value the skills young people gain through youth work.

However, this discourse is often characterised by a lack of clear definition of terms and even more strikingly by a lack of theorization. These gaps are likely to hinder the development of consistent and effective policy and practice, and the present review seeks to address them.

Initially, this paper examines the perceptions and stereotypes which influence the positioning of young people in society. Secondly, a conceptual analysis shows how participation and citizenship are inextricably linked. Finally, theoretical models which purport to explain the dynamics of youth participation are reviewed. This examination is contextualised in the Scottish experience, but the dynamics have universal implications for those involved in both policy development and practice.

What do we mean by young people?

Perceptions of 'problematic youth' are not new. The emergence of youth 'sub-cultures' has always been perceived as a threat by the moral (adult) majority. In many ways, young people are a barometer for the social ailments of society (Brannen et al, 1994; Cote, 2002).

Perceptions of young people are subject to a great deal of distortion. The so-called 'youth problem', is in many cases an 'adult problem'; a failure of adults to understand the world in which young people function. A nation's youth are usually at the vanguard of social change and the shifting trends in society; this makes them particularly susceptible to criticism. The concept of 'status ambiguity' (Moore and Rosental, 1995; Coleman, 2004) refers to the imbalance of power which is seen to disadvantage young people and cause inequality between the generations.

Cohen (1972) describes how young people as part of youth movements were seen as 'folk devils'; a threat to the accepted social order. He proposed a process of social amplification wherein these folk devils created a form of 'moral panic', fuelled (amplified) by society's moral thinkers, represented in social institutions such as the media and politics. Similar positioning of young people is still very much evident today, more than three decades after Cohen's work. Griffin (2004:10) summarises:

> Youth is...treated as a key indicator of the state of the nation … it is expected to reflect the cycle of booms and troughs in the economy; shifts in cultural values over sexuality, morality and family life; and changes in class relations, concepts of nationhood, and in occupational structures. Young people are assumed to hold the key to the nation's future, and the treatment and management of 'youth' is expected to provide the solution to the nations 'problems', from' drug abuse', 'hooliganism' and 'teenage pregnancy' to inner city riots.

Citizenship and young people

The concept of Citizenship is as old as democracy itself, but for our purposes the classic analysis by Marshall (1950) is a useful starting point. The three core elements of citizenship postulated by Marshall were:
- Civil rights
- Political rights
- Social rights

The civil elements are made up of the right to individual freedom (primarily freedom of speech, thought and faith), the right to own property and conclude contracts, and the right to justice. The political element asserts that people have the right to vote, join a political body of their choice and influence the institutions of the state. The social element relates to the right to expect economic welfare and security, as well as the right to ...'share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in society' (Marshall, 1950: 249). For Marshall, the institutions most likely to uphold these values were the education system and social services. He describes the expansion of citizen's rights from the eighteenth century, culminating in the redistribution achievements of the post war welfare state. The implication was that citizenship could counterbalance the negative effects of capitalism and the free market:

> The dynamic of class inequalities stemming from the capitalist market organisation of society can be moderated to some degree. The worst excesses of class inequality can be

> *successfully 'abated' through the expansion of democratic social rights.*
> (Marshall,1950: 244)

Marshall's work focused on rights but it must be stressed that citizenship implies responsibilities or obligations to match these rights. In essence this means that the rights I expect from fellow citizens are the obligations I have in my interactions with these same citizens. This 'reciprocity' is stressed in current thinking about how to implement citizenship education (*Education for Citizenship* 2002). Some commentators are more critical of the motives underpinning citizenship education.
France(1996:28) observes that:

> *The re-structuring of citizenship for the young is the growth and development of new forms of social controls, which limit young people's choices and restrict their opportunities to become autonomous adults.*

This perspective alerts us to the fact that the concept may be open to some distortion. France cites a number of government instigated examples to support his argument including the detrimental changes in benefit entitlements for young people and the increasing dependency on the family for both advantaged and disadvantaged youth. To enable us to examine more critically the concept of citizenship and how it relates to participation it would be useful to establish some working definitions.

This concept of citizenship is debated by many. Willow (1995) has developed an explanatory framework, which draws upon Marshall's three core elements but with a clear focus on participation by young people and the use of global 'legislation' as a way of achieving citizenship. The emphasis in this work is on the political, legal and social arguments for developing more effective participation.

The Political Case:
The so-called democratic deficit is often highlighted as arising out of youth alienation and disenchantment. At the last United Kingdom election in 2005 only 37 per cent of eligible 18-24 year olds voted. The number of young people who said they actually care who wins the next election fell from 68 per cent in 1994 to 39 per cent in 2003. (MORI Market and Opinion Research International, 2005)

The Legal Case:
This focuses primarily upon the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (resolution 44/25, 1990) as ratified in 1991 by the UK Government. The ratification is a declared intention that law, policy and practice will be compatible with the principles and standards of the convention; 40 of its 54 articles ascribe direct rights to those less than 18 years old. Willow (1995) categorises three aspects of legal rights relative to participation.
- participation rights
- protection rights
- provision rights

Although the articles contained in the convention appear to be global and relatively non-specific, they have the potential to influence the policy and practice which nurtures youth

participation. Article 12 (the right to be involved in all decisions concerning them) could potentially influence statute and policy in a wide range of decision-making contexts, for example schools, planning consultation, neighbourhood development strategy, leisure, sports, and health care. This new way of working requires a more open and democratic approach by all those who come into contact with young people; a shift from the paternalistic working for, to a more egalitarian working with.

The Social Case:

Willow (1997) highlights the fact that young people have concerns which to a great extent mirror those of the adult community but also require more immediate action e.g. bullying, parental arguments, and violence. Whilst acknowledging that young people may not always have the skills, knowledge or experience to make decisions at all levels, Willow argues in favour of Article 5 of the Convention that children's 'evolving capacities' should be nurtured to promote their active participation (p13). This suggests a much more dynamic and proactive approach for those services involved in youth participation.

A radical shift in the cultural ethos of learning institutions will demand a new way of working towards a 'liberatory approach' (Moir, 1999). A more creative stance which 'embraces uncertainty' and nurtures critical dialogue is proposed as the new guiding dynamic (Taylor and White, 2000; Pease, 2002). This transformation, it is argued, could have substantial implications for institutions engaging with young people. Britain is one of the few 'advanced' countries that have not had (until recently) a school citizenship curriculum, (Haste, 2004:427). The major government initiative exploring citizenship led by Crick (1998:10) outlined the educational purpose for addressing this deficit.

> *We aim at no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally; for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life and with the critical capacities to weigh evidence before speaking and acting, to build on and to extend radically to young people the best in existing traditions of community involvement and public service, and to make them individually confident in finding new forms of involvement and action among themselves.*

Participation Models

In 1969 Sherry Arnstein produced a typology of participation. This adopted a controversial stance by suggesting that public participation in planning and power sharing was flawed at best. The focus of Arnstein's attention was the poor practice she observed in her own work and the work of others seeking the meaningful engagement of existing and potentially new participants. Her ladder of participation models a framework from the bottom rung of manipulation through to aspirations of citizen control. (See Figure 1) Manipulation and therapy were perceived as window dressing or a form of cosmetic public relations exercise, whilst informing, consulting and placating were seen to be tokenistic forms of preserving the uneven distribution of power.

Arnstein (1969) highlighted key limitations in her ladder typology, acknowledging that in

the real world there could be hundreds of rungs on a particular ladder with a progression up or a regression down depending on the context and the resilience of power holders. There is also some contemporary resonance in her observations of how to de-skill opposition by encouraging a form of pseudo-participation which appears to promote consensus and in some cases compliance.

Figure 1. Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation'

Eighth rung	**Citizen control**	Included in this level are programmes which give power and control to citizens.
Seventh rung	**Delegated power**	Citizens have significant control. If disputes arise, citizens enter into a bargaining process with officials rather than officials deciding outcomes.
Sixth rung	**Partnership**	Planning and decision-making is shared at this level.
Fifth rung	**Placation**	Tokenistic exercises such as allowing a small number of selected people to become members of official committees, with no real intent to redistribute power or resources.
Fourth rung	**Consultation**	This can be a step toward full participation but consultation alone is not enough to secure citizen participation in ensuring that ideas and opinions are carried into action.
Third rung	**Information**	Information can be a precursor to full participation but one-way flow of information is ineffective in finding out people's views.
Second rung	**Therapy**	Here citizens are encouraged to join groups to share their experiences – this level serves to pathologise individuals while leading to little social change.
Bottom rung	**Manipulation**	Here citizens are placed on 'rubber-stamp' committees to give the appearance of consultation and participation.

The ladder of participation in some ways is stereotypical, presenting stages with little reference to context and this has led many critics to perceive it as an over-simplistic generalisation. In its time, it presented practitioners with a useful model through which they could reflect on their own practice and the intent of their employing agencies more radically. Were they actually enabling young people to participate effectively or were they indeed 'agents of social control'?

The strengths of Arnstein's model lie in its accessibility. Having a sense of the graduations involved in citizen participation is a useful starting point for developing genuine partnerships. The weaknesses relate to the assumptions it makes about progression from one stage to another. The participation of young people is more dynamic, unpredictable and situation specific than the model suggests. A refinement of Arnstein's work was constructed by Roger Hart (1992) (See Figure 2). Hart's model is perhaps the most widely used by those involved in youth participation (Barn and Franklin, 1996).

Figure 2. Hart's Ladder of Participation[1]

8 Child-initiated
shared decisions
with adults

7
Child-initiated
and directed

6 Adult-initiated
shared decisions
with children

5 Children
consulted and
informed

4
Children
assigned but
informed

Degrees of Participation

3
Tokenism

2
Decoration

1
Manipulation

Non-Participation
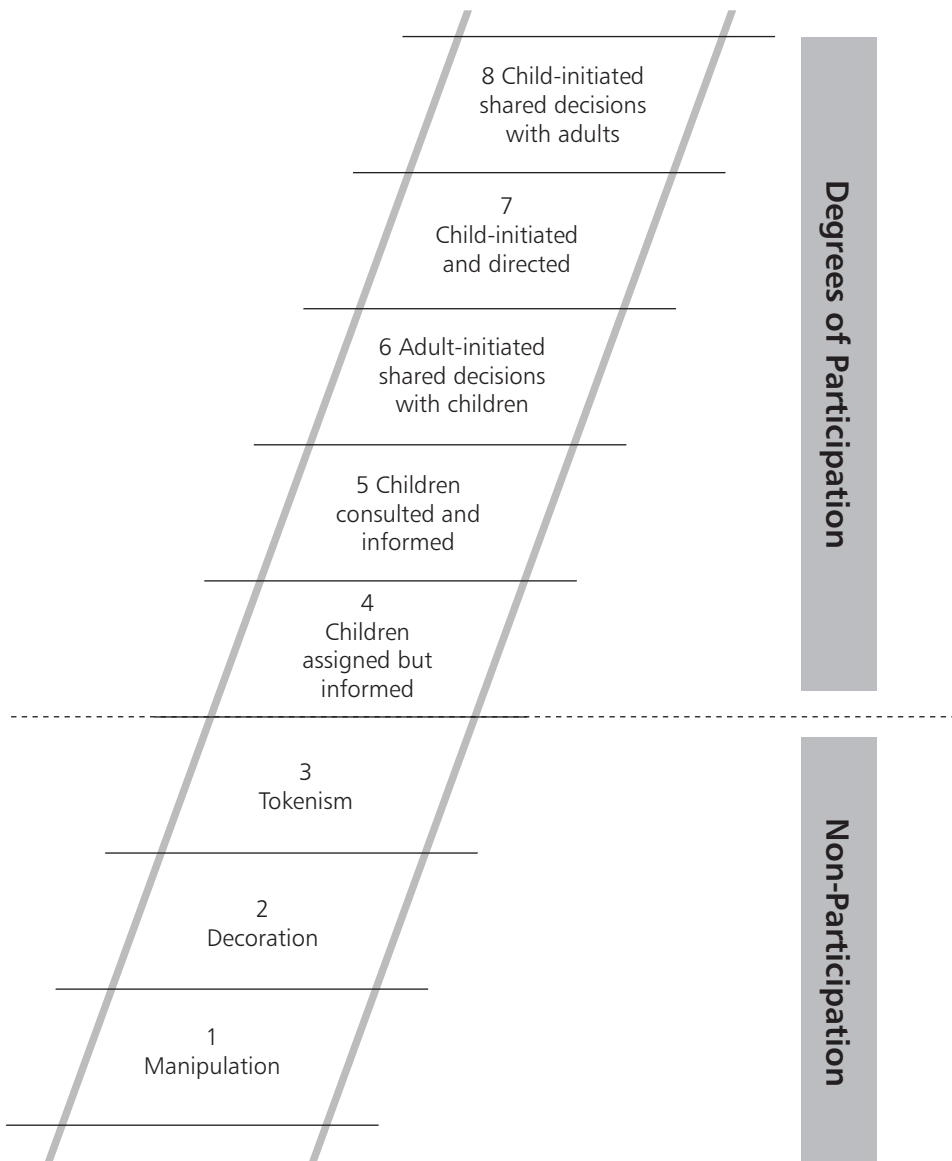
Hart's eight 'rungs' were as follows:

8) **Youth-initiated shared decisions with adults** is when projects or programs are initiated by youth and decision-making is shared among youth and adults. These projects empower youth while at the same time enabling them to access and learn from the life experience and expertise of adults.

7) **Youth-initiated and directed** is when young people initiate and direct a project or program adults are involved only in a supportive role.

6) **Adult-initiated shared decisions with youth** is when projects or programs are initiated by adults but the decision-making is shared with the young people.

5) **Consulted and informed** is when youth give advice on projects or programs designed and run by adults. The youth are informed about how their input will be used and the outcomes of the decisions made by adults.

4) **Assigned but informed** is where youth are assigned a specific role and informed about how and why they are being involved.

3) **Tokenism** is where young people appear to be given a voice, but in fact have little or no choice about what they do or how they participate.

2) **Decoration** is where young people are used to help or 'bolster' a cause in a relatively indirect way, although adults do not pretend that the cause is inspired by youth.

1) **Manipulation** is where adults use youth to support causes and pretend that the causes are inspired by youth.

The 7 or 8 Debate:

Roger Hart's Ladder of Participation shows Youth-initiated, shared decisions with adults as the top form of youth participation, followed immediately by Youth-initiated and -directed. This is a somewhat controversial issue for many people working with and around young people. Which of these levels of participation is actually the most meaningful?

Hart's model may actually have more utility in identifying the false types of participation, as much as his classification of positive types of participation (Shier, 2001). The focus of Hart's work is the progression of young people towards a more democratic ideal, but it says little about the responses needed to make this happen. Participation in decision making simply means 'taking part'. This covers a huge range of possibilities. The implication suggested in Hart's model is that the 'lower rungs' are of little value. The reality may be however that young people may not be ready to climb the ladder and that a more gradualist approach based on adult advocacy is more sustainable.

An alternative and perhaps more realistic model taken from Treseder (1997) is outlined in

Figure 3. This model recognises that different types of involvement are valid for different young people at different times, according to their own wishes, as well as what is possible for an organisation.

Figure 3. Treseder's (1997) Model of Participation

Assigned but informed
Adults decide on the project and children volunteer for it. The children understand the project, they know who decided to involve them, and why. Adults respect young people's views.

Consulted and informed
The project is designed and run by adults, but children are consulted. They have a full understanding of the process and their opinions are taken seriously.

Degrees of Participation

Adult – initiated, shared decisions with children
Adults have the initial idea, but young people are involved in every step of the planning and implementation. Not only are their views considered but children are also involved in taking the decisions.

Child – initiated, shared decisions with adults
Children have the ideas, set up projects and come to adults for advice, discussion and support. The adults do not direct, but offer their expertise for young people to consider.

Child – initiated and directed
Young people have the initial idea and decide how the project is to be carried out. Adults are available but do not take charge.

Treseder stressed that these forms of activity should be perceived as 'equal but different' in terms of the particular context and also the methodology deployed to encourage participation. The framework proposed by Treseder is perhaps more pragmatic and accepting of adult involvement in seeking to involve young people. Importantly, the model highlights the distinction between consultation and participation and this is an important principle.

Bell (2004) further developed the distinctive nature of involvement, consultation and participation.

Involvement is a generic or umbrella term covering a range of activities. These can include information giving and receiving and consulting on specific issues. It does not define the extent of power young people may have to influence the process or outcomes.

Consultation can mean many things from adult-led activities aimed at exploring opinions

that may be acted upon later, to approaches that encourage and support child-initiated and child-driven approaches and self-determination. Consultation can be undertaken on a large formal scale or on a personal, informal level. It is often equated with participation – but crucially, it is usually adults who hold the power to decide what to do with the information.

Participation refers to young people taking an active part in a project or process, not just as consumers but as key contributors to the direction and implementation of work carried out. Young people are proactive in this process and have the power to help shape the process – their views have the same weight as the adults they are working alongside.
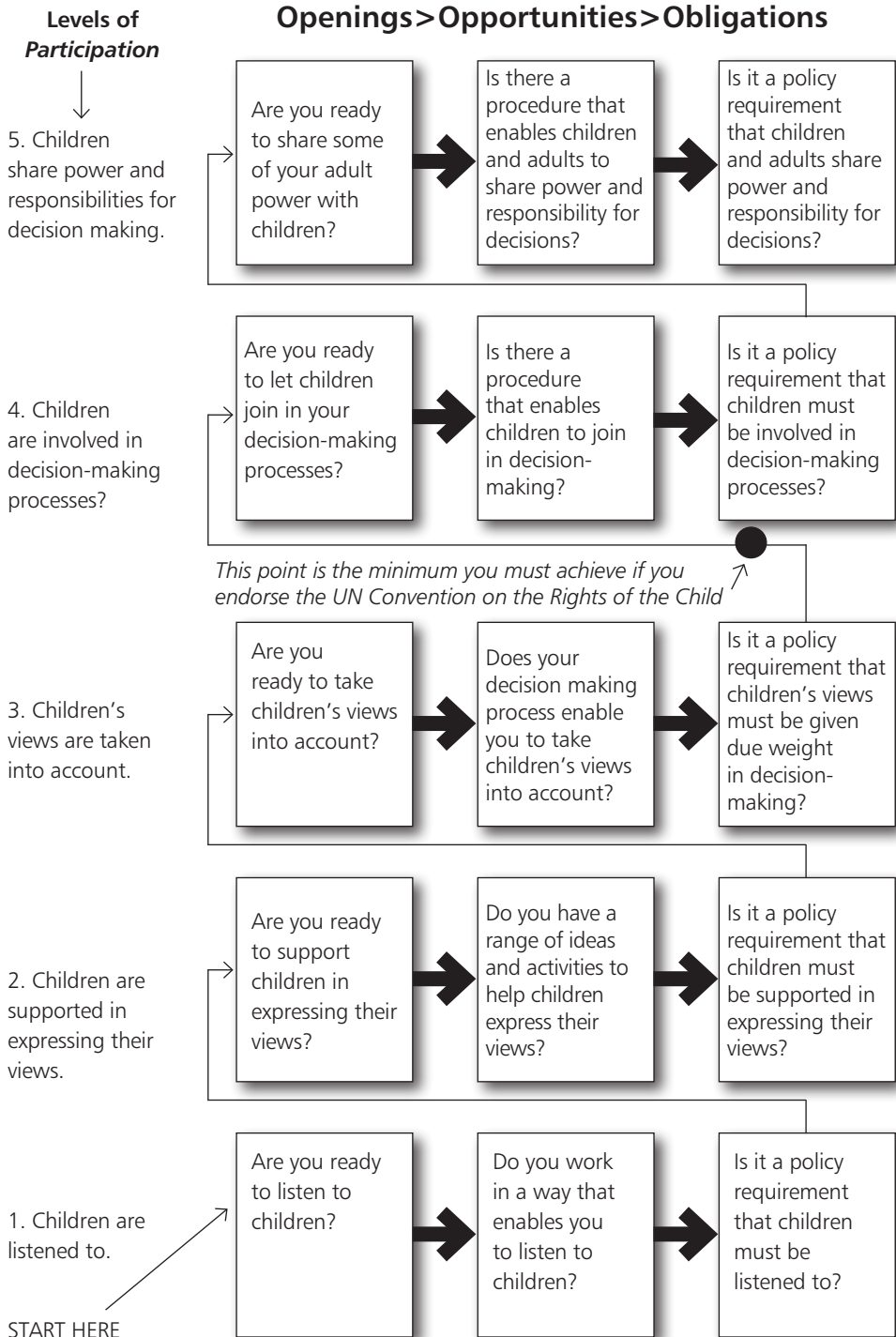
The distinction proposed by Bell offers the possibility of more precision when analysing what is meant by participation and consultation. Participation refers to children's and young people's involvement in decision-making, whatever form this may take. Consultation means deliberately asking children and young people about their views. These views may or may not be incorporated into political decision-making. Contemporary propositions have built on the work of Arnstein and Hart but have focused on the structural readiness of organisations to involve young people authentically. The recognition that young people have been largely excluded by dominant structures and discourses is well documented (Prout, 2001; 2002; Smyth, 1999).

Shier (2001) is a good example of this change in emphasis, from the young person to the organisational culture and its capacity to involve young people (children) authentically. Shier's model outlines five levels of participation. At each level the individual has different degrees of commitment. This is clarified by identifying three stages of commitment at each level… openings...opportunities...and obligations. Shier describes these discrete but interconnected stages as follows. The openings describe the stance of the worker who makes a genuine commitment to working democratically with the young person. This could take the form of a statement of intent and does not necessarily mean anything other than solid relationship building. The opportunity stage focuses upon the infrastructure to support practice. This could include resources, training and more participative systems within the organisation. The obligation stage models the existence of built in systems within the organisation where democratic participation becomes a policy norm which is reflected in a new way of working with young people. The model (See Figure 4) is based on five levels of participation which are:

- Children are listened to
- Children are supported in expressing their views
- Children's views are taken into account
- Children are involved in the decision-making process
- Children share power and responsibility for decision-making

The model proposed by Shier is in contrast to other hierarchical participation models in that it focuses not only on what young people need to do to progress, but importantly what the organisation needs to do to create participative access. Encouraging young people to be vocal can be problematic and this weakness can often be manipulated by adults who engage in filtering what they have to say. Fine (1994:19) refers to this phenomenon as 'ventriloquism'. In the Shier framework there is an opportunity to challenge this by posing key questions as a potential audit function for organisations using the model. The linkage with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child also adds to the potential of the model.

Figure 4. Shier's (2001) Pathways to Participation

Levels of
Participation
↓

Openings>Opportunities>Obligations

5. Children share power and responsibilities for decision making.

| Are you ready to share some of your adult power with children? | → | Is there a procedure that enables children and adults to share power and responsibility for decisions? | → | Is it a policy requirement that children and adults share power and responsibility for decisions? |

4. Children are involved in decision-making processes?

| Are you ready to let children join in your decision-making processes? | → | Is there a procedure that enables children to join in decision-making? | → | Is it a policy requirement that children must be involved in decision-making processes? |

This point is the minimum you must achieve if you endorse the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child ↗ ●

3. Children's views are taken into account.

| Are you ready to take children's views into account? | → | Does your decision making process enable you to take children's views into account? | → | Is it a policy requirement that children's views must be given due weight in decision-making? |

2. Children are supported in expressing their views.

| Are you ready to support children in expressing their views? | → | Do you have a range of ideas and activities to help children express their views? | → | Is it a policy requirement that children must be supported in expressing their views? |

1. Children are listened to.

START HERE ↗

| Are you ready to listen to children? | → | Do you work in a way that enables you to listen to children? | → | Is it a policy requirement that children must be listened to? |

The Ultility of Participation Models

The models presented thus far do clarify the conceptualisation of factors which influence the participation of young people. This opportunity however must be complemented by local knowledge of specific contexts and the underlying processes which influence the adult-young person relationship. Arnstein's Ladder of Participation may have application in promoting democratic involvement, particularly in local government contexts, but the reformulation offered by Hart may be more useful for some, given its more flexible reasoning.

The Treseder model places much more emphasis on power sharing moving towards more gradual achievement of democratic youth participation. Importantly, it also suggests that consultation may be more appropriate for some young people. This 'readiness to participate' theme is further developed in Shier's work, which emphasises the rights of young people and the ability of those who work with young people to respond effectively. In terms of 'real world' application, Badham and Wade (2005) offer a useful set of shared values in the *Hear by Right* standards document which offers the potential to resource, evaluate and improve the infrastructure of participation provision structurally and methodologically. The shared values outlined in the standards document are as follows:

- Children and young people's participation is a visible commitment that is properly resourced
- Children and young people's involvement is valued
- Children and young people have an equal opportunity to participate
- Policies and standards for the participation of children and young people are in place, evaluated and improved

In some ways these models may all represent/present a misleading picture of how young people do and might participate in civic life. In practice, participation may have a dynamic which is much more complex than these models suggest. Other processes influencing this dynamic will be examined later in this paper.

Engagement, Citizenship and Participation

There is evidence to suggest that explanatory models have become more sophisticated over time (Howard et al. 2002; Rocha, 1997; Rajani, 2001). However, in some ways there is a need to move further still and to offer a more dynamic model which illustrates the interplay of forces impacting upon the 'engagement' of young people.

For example, the simplistic notion that consultation is somehow less effective than self-directed participation may be flawed. If we acknowledge that some young people may not feel comfortable, or indeed motivated to participate fully at a given point in time, then a more consultative approach may be far more appropriate and less tokenistic. Advocacy, or acting on behalf of some vulnerable young people, may be more honest than some forms of pseudo participation.

There is currently an interesting shift taking place in practitioner understanding of what appears to influence disengagement by young people from societal institutions in general. The core characteristics identified by theorists in this area (Davies and Docking, 2004) suggest the need to 'actively embrace the young people's collective identities and seek to help them assert these identities more confidently' (Davies, 2005a:18). Historically, attention has been focussed on a participation gap, fed by a lack of confidence or motivation in young people. The mission has been to 'skill up' young people thereby enabling them to participate more effectively. The intention was always that a fully participating young person, supported by a nurturing adult or two, would somehow influence the structure in such a way that real change would result over time. The reality has been that structure in general has resisted this change and many young people and practitioners have become disillusioned in the process. Many commentators working in policy and practice now challenge the mythology of youth disengagement and to some extent the acceptance of youth sub-culture as a defining metaphor (Bennett, 2004; Muggleton, 2000). Coleman (2004:2) describes the phenomenon as 'mass generational migration from old-fashioned forms of participation to newer more creative forms'.

It has been argued that in British society, internet use by young people leads to a loss of civic engagement. Research carried out by Livingstone et al (2004) challenged this assertion, offering an insight into how young people participate civically on-line, with diverse networks leading to new forms of activism. This trend has been observed in the United States, research uncovering a new kind of citizen entering public life – the 'Dotnets' – young Americans born after 1976 with a positive attitude towards diversity and the role of government (Bennett and Xenos, 2004). In this context, the development of so called 'soft skills' becomes central to understanding youth motivation and behaviour.

Developing social and emotional competence in young people is the foundation of effective engagement (Goleman, 1996; Elias et al, 1997). The coping mechanisms needed to deal with the stress that relates to participating in new engagement frameworks should be a key priority for those involved in training and education programmes. Research carried out by Edwards (2003) supports the view that resilience can be developed in the most extreme but also in everyday contexts. The following dialogue model of youth engagement is offered as a basic trigger for discussion, seeking to explore short, medium and long term change (See Figure 5 over page).

Top-Down Pressures

This area focuses on the structural and societal pressures facing young people and those who work with them. Recent empirical research carried out by Barber and Naulty (2005) suggests that top-down, structural understanding of young people is still largely driven by fear and the need to control.

Adultising – refers to behaviour by adults who do not fully accept young people as they are. Instead there are great efforts (sometimes overt, sometimes manipulative, paternalistic and hidden) which seek to accept young people only if they mimic 'responsible' adult values and behaviour. A great deal of the window dressing and politically populist programmes

Figure 5. The TB (Top-down/Bottom up) Model of Youth Engagement

Barber (2006)

Adultising

Control

Fear

THE ENGAGEMENT ZONE

Identity

Risk Taking

Developing Capacities
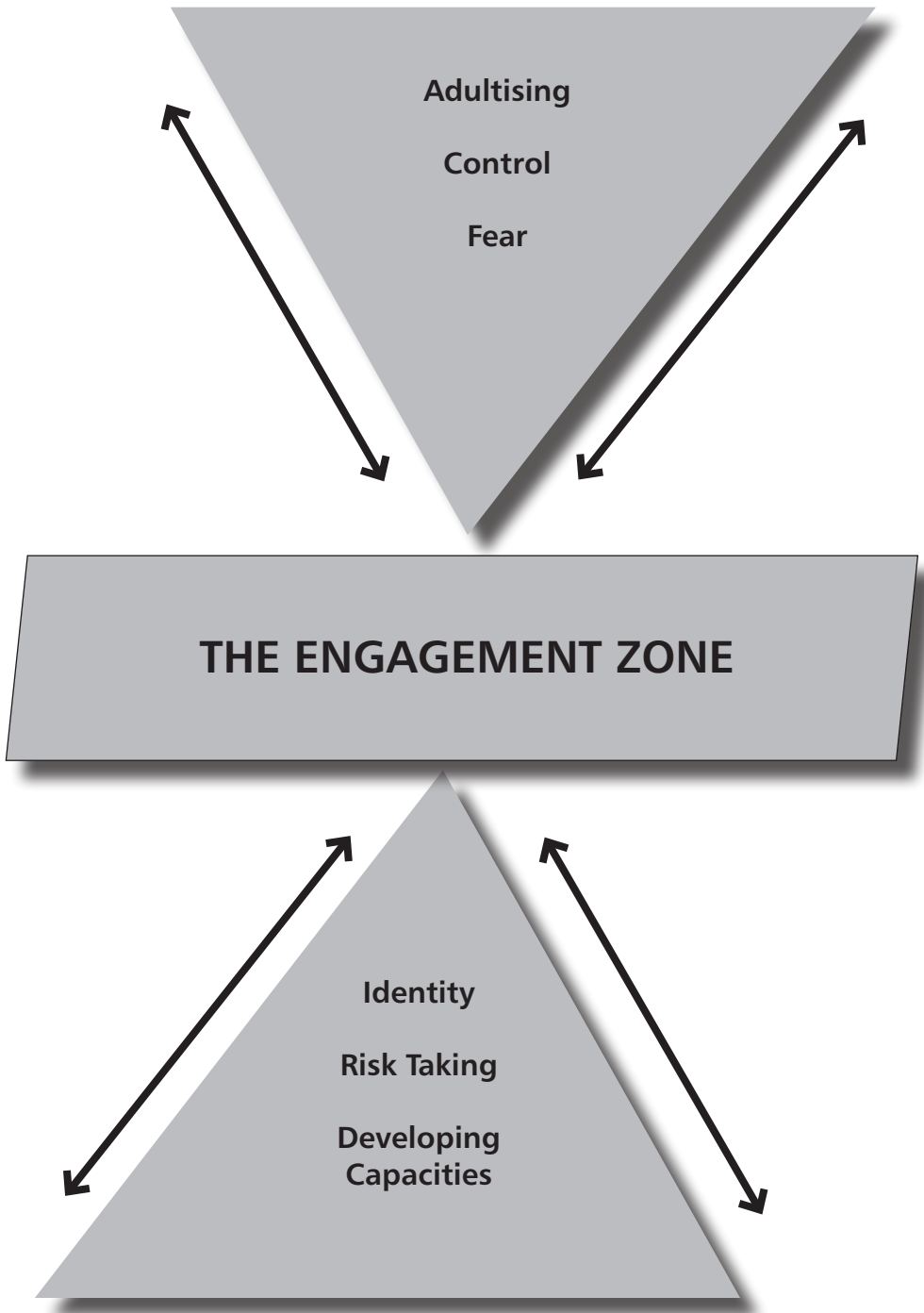
subscribe to this approach. Adult perceptions of young people as hedonistic and lacking in 'moral fibre' abound at most levels of our society. The unprecedented rise of information technology and globalisation has brought with it a schism between young people and many adults. Recent research published by the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR, 2006) supports the proposition that 'adults have become estranged', from the world of young people. It also highlights the potentially negative influences caused by the rise of teenage consumerism and social immobility for a significant number of young people in the United Kingdom as a whole.

Control – refers to the much held view that young people must be kept in check at all costs if social order is to remain intact. A spectrum of control ranges from soft socialisation in institutions such as the school and the family unit through to more coercive tactics by the more negative elements of state control. Bandura (1994) asserts that self-efficacy (how we construe our own capabilities and sense of control) is critical both for the learner and educator and this appears to have a resonance in the adult to youth interaction.

Fear – refers to the socially constructed perception of youth as synonymous with rebellion and deviancy. Fear of young people is a global phenomenon, quite often finding expression in moral panics in society and community. The Anti-Social Behaviour Orders being applied across the United Kingdom are not primarily designed for dealing with young people exclusively but their application suggests something different. Curfews, Tagging and the ubiquitous CCTV surveillance in communities may be adding to the climate of fear. Davies (2005b:7) summarises this potential 'disproportionality' in current policy discourse.

> In the youth policy field what is crucially different from the 1960s is that today a strategy is being developed based on deliberately exploiting popular tensions and frustrations – on playing directly on fear and prejudice. The result is to encourage blanket demonising and dehumanising of a whole generational segment of the population by resort to, and then the widespread and continual recycling of, labels such as 'yob' and 'feral youth'. In order to turn the full weight of the state against these demons, disproportionate public and policy responses are then endorsed, which involve serious distortion of the operation of judicial and law enforcement procedures.

Bottom-Up Pressures

This area describes the aspirational pressures exhibited by young people in the process of engagement.

Identity – Finding Self, Being Self – refers to the need for young people to develop their own identity internally and through social interaction with others in a diverse range of contexts. Youth work practitioners must be aware of the dynamics which encourage a healthy self-concept...the cognitive (how we think)....the affective (how we feel) and the behavioural (how we act). Newman (2002:5) points to resilience as the key to an integrated sense of identity:

The recognition that adversities can be overcome is crucial in developing an approach to life that is active rather than passive, and optimistic rather than pessimistic.

Risk Taking – The possibility of challenging the status quo and the 'wisdom' of adults is a fundamental part of being young. How this finds expression is a matter of debate. Those working with young people need to understand this principle if they are to relate effectively. Perhaps adults need to better understand the difference between that which is 'citizenlike' and 'citizenship' itself. Being citizen-like implies an altruistic, helping, but more passive approach to social change. Citizenship is potentially a more political form which could involve challenging the status quo actively. Sparks (1997:75) Refers to the notion of 'dissident citizenship':

dissident citizenship describes oppositional democratic practices through which dissident citizens constitute alternative public spaces to pursue non-violent protest outside the formal democratic channels.

Developing Capacities – proposes that young people are in a state of transition; their needs, wants and capabilities in a high state of flux. Recognition that young people need emotional and physical space to work this through with adults and peers who respond congruently is essential. Goleman (1996) offers a useful summary of the emotional intelligence which is central to the developing capacities of young people.

- Self-awareness...knowing your emotions, recognising feelings as they occur, and discriminating between them.
- Mood management...handling feelings so they are relevant to the current situation and you react appropriately.
- Self-motivation...'gathering up' your feelings and directing yourself towards a goal, despite self-doubt, inertia, and impulsiveness.
- Empathy...recognising feelings in others and tuning into their verbal and non-verbal cues.
- Managing relationships...handling interpersonal interaction, conflict resolution, and negotiations.

The Engagement Zone

This is the term for the dynamic context where adults engage and interact with young people and structure meets personal agency. Many commentators (see Waiton, 2001) argue that this is the biggest challenge facing the field of youth work. An exaggerated climate of mistrust has perhaps created an insidious form of 'paedophobia' (a fear of young people) which creates distance between adults and young people. The zone can potentially challenge this unhealthy state by focusing upon dialogue, compromise, insight and a spirit of well-being. In this area there will be expression of anger, cynicism, tokenism, humour, creativity and positive change. Some adults and young people will leave the zone when they feel that their needs are not met; some will remain and continue to struggle optimistically in the hope that change can be achieved.

The TB engagement model is a representation of complex processes but it is hoped that those committed to authentic work with young can use it as a prompt for discussion and dialogue. Not all top-down pressures are negative. In fact some structural forces can, in the right context, be productive and developmental. The demands from bottom up similarly cannot be assumed to be positive and altruistic. The pressures from young people in some ways may be unrealistic, unattainable and naïve. What remains in the zone is the commitment to listening and dialogue between adults and young people. Smith (2005) in *Transforming Youth Work*, criticises the trend of managerialism which he believes dominates our thinking about what constitutes well-being. We must not be seduced into believing that young people are objects to be 'delivered to' and that educational attainment and employment targets subsume the more affective aspects of growth.

Conclusions

From this conceptual review there are strong indications to suggest that the effective participation of young people is dependent on support systems which nurture sustained involvement. Many young people are confused about how and where they are able to participate in civic life.

There is a need to understand the problematic nature of moving from a state of dependence to adult independence. 'Status ambiguity' refers to the phenomenon of not knowing the extent of your own rights and responsibilities and this has significant effects on the sense of purpose felt by both adults and young people (Moore and Rosenthal, 1995: 234). Coleman (2004: 228) develops this theme:

> *The question of 'status ambiguity' is a key one because of what it tells us about the balance of power in the relationship between adults and young people. If the individual's status is ambiguous, and if his or her rights are not clearly defined, then inevitably he or she will lack the power to influence events and to take control of his or her life......it is essential that we recognise the effects of the inequality between the generations. Effective communication involves the creation of a relatively equal interaction, with give and take between both participants.*

A great deal of the literature relating to youth participation does not make a distinction between consultation and participation and when each approach may be most effective. Some of the models reviewed do not fully explore the contextual nature of participation and the processes which influence engagement and dialogue. The hierarchical models have made a great contribution to our understanding but they remain incomplete in the more demanding contemporary civic engagement context. The pace of change in society will demand a more sophisticated and radical response to the needs, aspirations and genuine well-being of young people. New forms of activism, involving on-line civic engagement offer significant possibilities but they will require substantial investment by a more pro-active state. These new forms of engagement warrant further longitudinal research to establish the actual patterns which young people are attracted to.

This model offers a basic encouragement for further discussion which could enable a more

transparent exchange to take place and lead to the supportive climate needed as a pre-requisite for the meaningful engagement of young people in civic life.

The shift from blaming young people for failing to participate in civic life, to holding organisations to account for failing to develop methodologies to enable that participation is a critical development which must be consolidated. Further research into how organisations and nation states devolve power and involve young people in genuine decision making is required. At the international level there is a need to audit the implementation of the United Nations Convention on The Rights of The Child and the Youth Pact agreements in the European Union. Nationally in the United Kingdom there are a number of key policy documents which provide potential benchmarks for an extensive research audit relating to their declared intention of re-shaping the involvement of young people in civic life. The Green Paper, *Youth Matters* (2005) and the Local Government Act Scotland (2003) are but two items of legislation which should inform the research design and focus.

The rationale for future research in this area must examine the relationship between that which is promoted through policy and strategy development, and that which has been achieved (or not) in contexts which claim the democratic involvement of young people. This has implications for practice at a number of levels. In formal settings, those working with young people in schools need to examine the methodologies used to promote participation and the attainment of inclusive goals. More informal settings also require a democratic accountability which includes the involvement of young people beyond tokenism. Finally, there should be a more expansive study of how global citizenship can be developed using the new forms of engagement suggested in this work.

References

Arnstein, S. (1969) A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35(4), 216-224.

Badham, B. and Wade, H (2005) *Hear by Right. Standards for the active involvement of children and young people*. Leicester: National Youth Agency.

Baker, J. (1996) *The Fourth Partner, Participant or Consumer?* Leicester: National Youth Agency.

Barber, T. (2004) *Research Bulletin for PPD Students*. Dundee. University of Dundee.

Barber, T. and Naulty, M. (2005) *Your Place or Mine.* A research study exploring young people's participation in community planning. Dundee: University of Dundee

Bandura, A. (1994). *Self-efficacy. The exercise of control*. New York: Freeman.

Barn, G, Franklin, A. (1996) 'Article 12 – issues in developing children's participation rights'. Verhellen E (ed). In *Monitoring Children's Rights*, Martinus Nijhoff: The Hague.

Bell, B. (2004). *Practice standards in children's participation*. London: Save the Children.

Bennett, A. (2004) *After Sub-Culture. Critical Studies in Contemporary Youth Culture*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bennett, W. L. and Xenos, M. (2004) *Young Voters and the Web of Politics: pathways to Participation in the Youth Engagement and Electoral Campaign Web* (Working Paper 20) Maryland: The Centre for Information and Research On Civic Learning and Engagement.

Brannen, J., Dodd, K., Oakley, A. and Storey, A. (1994) *Young People, Health and Family*

Life. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Children 1st. (2005) *Manifesto for the General Election 2005*. Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children Publications.

Cohen, S. (1972) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. London: University Of London Press.

Coleman, J. (2004) In *Youth in Society* (2nd Edition) London: Sage Publications.

Coles, B. (2004) Welfare Services For Young People. Better Connections. London: In *Youth in Society*. Sage Publications.

Côté, J. (2002) 'The Role of Identity Capital in the Transition to Adulthood: The Individualization Thesis Examined'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 5(2), 117-134.

Crick, B. (1998) *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools.* London: Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.

Davies, B. (2005a) *Youth Work. A Manifesto for Our Times*. Leicester: National Youth Agency.

Davies, B. (2005b) *Threatening Youth Revisited: Youth Policies Under New Labour. The encyclopaedia of informal education*. Accessed 22 November, 2006 www.infed.org/archives/bernard_davies/revisiting_threatening_youth.htm.

Davies, B. and Docking, J. (2004), *Transforming Lives: Re-engaging young people through community-based projects – NSF Good Practice*. Department for Education and Skills.

Economic & Social Research Council (2003) *Dissemination Report Number 1. Tomorrow's Citizens – Young People Citizenship and Social Participation*. Brighton: ESRC Publications.

Education for Citizenship (2002) A paper for discussion. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Publications.

Edwards, L. (2003) *Promoting Young People's Wellbeing: A review of research on emotional health*. Glasgow: Scottish Council for Research in Education.

Elias, M. J., Zins, J. E., Weissberg, R. P., Frey, K. S., Greenberg, M. T., Haynes, N. M., Kessler, R., Schwab-Stone, M. E., and Shriver, T. P. (1997). P*romoting social and emotional learning: Guidelines for educators*. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Fine, M. (1994). 'Dis-stance and other stances: Negotiations of power inside feminist research'. In Gitlin, A. (Ed.), *Power and method: Political activism and educational research* (pp.13-35). New York: Routledge.

France, A. (1996) Youth and Citizenship In The 1990s. *Youth and Policy*, 53, 28-43. Leicester: National Youth Agency. Youth Work Press.

Furlong, A., Cartmel, F, Powney, J., Hall, S. (1997) *Evaluating Youth Work With Vulnerable Young People*. University Of Glasgow. Edinburgh: SCRE

Goleman, D. (1996) *Emotional Intelligence. Why it can matter more than IQ*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Griffin, C. (2004) In *Youth In Society*, *Representations of the Young* (p10) London: Sage Publications.

Hart, R.A. (1992) *Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship*. (Innocenti Essays) No. 4. London: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

Haste, H. (2004) *Constructing The Citizen. The International Society of Political Psychology*. London: Blackwell Publishing.

Henderson, P. (2003) *Want to really engage the community? Don't' walk under Arnstein's ladder*. http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/view.asp?article=624

Howard, S., Newman, L., Harris, V. and Harcourt, J. (2002) Talking about youth participation – where, when and why? Paper at Australian Association for Research on Education

Conference 2002.

 IPPR. Margo, J., Dixon, M., Pearce, N., Reed, H. (2006) *Freedom's Orphans: Raising youth in a changing world*. London: IPPR Publications.

Kirby, P. with Mann, G, Pettitt, B, and Woodhead, M (2002), *Child to Child in South London*. Evaluation Project. London: Lambeth,Lewisham and Southwark HAZ.

Livingstone, S., Bober, M. and Helsper, E., (2004). *Active Participation or Just More Information? Young People's take up of opportunities to act and interact on the Internet*, UK Children Go Online Project.

Marshall, T.H. (1950) *Citizenship and Social Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Millennium Development Goals: MDGs (2005) Youth and The Millennium Development Goals: Challenges and Opportunities for Implementation. *Final Report of The Ad Hoc Working Group For Youth And The MDGs*.

Mizen, P. (2004) *The Changing State of Youth*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Moir, S. (1999) 'Theory In Practice, Towards A Critical Pedagogy Of Youth.' In *Conceptualising Youth Work; back to the future*. (1999). Edinburgh: Concept Publishing.

MORI, Market and Opinion Research International (2005) in *Britain Today, The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 4(2), 167-192.

Moore, S. and Rosenthal, D. (1995). *Sexuality in Adolescence*. London: Routledge.

Muggleton, D. (2000) *Inside Subculture: The Post-Modern Meaning of Style*. Oxford: Berg.

Newman, T. and Blackburn, S. (2002) *Transitions in the lives of children and young people: resilience factors*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive. Interchange.

Pease, B. (2002) 'Rethinking empowerment: A postmodern reappraisal for emancipatory practice'. *British Journal of Social Work*, 32(2), p135-47.

Prout, A. (2001). 'Representing Children: Reflections on the Children 5-16 Programme'. *Children and Society*, 15, 193-201.

Prout, A. (2002). 'Researching Children as Social Actors: an Introduction to the Children 5-16 Programme'. *Children & Society*, 16, 67-79.

Rajani, R (2001) *The Participation Rights of Adolescents: A strategic approach*. New York: United Nations Children's Emergency Fund.

Rocha, E (1997) 'A ladder of empowerment' *Journal of Education, Planning and Research* 17, 31-44.

Scottish Executive (2003) *The Local Government in Scotland* (2003) Act, Community Planning: Statutory Guidance, Section 9, Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Publications.

Scottish Executive (2007) *Moving Forward: a strategy for improving young people's chances through youth work*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Publications.

Shier, H. (2001) 'Pathways to participation: Openings, opportunities and obligations. A new model for enhancing children's participation in decision-making, in line with Article 13.1 of the UNCRC', *Children & Society*, 15, 107-117.

Smith, M. K. (2002) In text of speech given by Mark Smith. *Rescuing Youth Work*. November 2002. www.infed.org/support/handouts/rescuing youth work.

Smith, M. K. (2005) 'Background to the Green Paper for Youth 2005', *the encyclopedia of informal education*, www.infed.org/youth work/green_paper.htm Accessed 10th May 2007

Smyth, J. (1999). Voiced Research: *Bringing in the epistemologically marginalised?* Paper presented to the annual meeting of the Australian Association for Research in Education, November, Melbourne, Victoria.

Sparks, H. (1997) 'Dissident Citizenship', *Hypatia* 12(4) 74-110.

The Commissioner for Children and Young People's Act 2003. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Taylor, C. and White, S. (2000) *Practising Reflexivity in Health and Welfare: Making Knowledge*. Buckingham, Open University.

Treseder, P. (1997) *Empowering Children and Young People. Training Manual*. London: Save the Children.

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. (1989). General Assembly resolution 44/25.

Waiton, S. (2001) *Scared of the Kids*. Leicester: Perpetuity Press.

Williamson, H. (2005) *Youth Work and the Changing Policy Environment for Young People*. Leicester: The National Youth Agency.

Willow, C. (1995) *Hear! Hear! Promoting Children and Young People's Democratic Participation in Local Government*. Local Government Information Unit Press.

World Youth Report (2003) *The Global Situation of Young People*. New York. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Note

1   Source: Roger Hart Innocenti Essays. Unicef No 4 (1992)
    Adapted from: Roger Hart's Ladder of Participation, *Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship*.
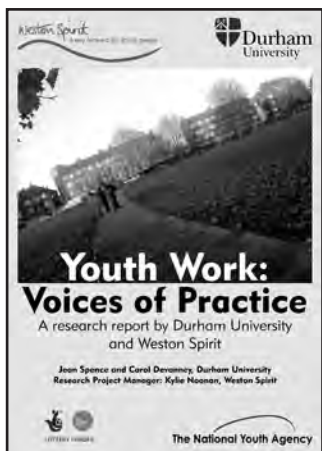
Youth Work: Voices of Practice

A research report by Durham University and Weston Spirit

This research is the culmination of two years work and has been undertaken during a period in which the tension between policy and key youth work principles is beginning to impact upon the practice environment.

With some urgency, it makes a move towards articulating the voice of practice in order to draw attention to those aspects of youth work which youth workers and young people most value and which make it 'work'.

In doing this, the research considers how the multi-faceted and complex nature of youth work practice can thrive in the context of its responsibilities towards externally defined objectives.

Price: £8.50

The National Youth Agency

**Eastgate House,
19–23 Humberstone Road,
Leicester LE5 3GJ.
Tel: 0116 242 7427**

**E-mail: sales@nya.org.uk
Website: www.nya.org.uk**

Location, Location, Location: the Challenges of 'Space' and 'Place' in Youth Work Policy

Adrian Barton and Sally Barton

Space and place are integral to our lives yet they are not one and the same thing: space is a measurable physical entity and place is a subjective and socially constructed perception. However, it is often the case that policy makers fail to recognise this distinction with the result that practitioners are sometimes placed in difficult and demanding situations. This paper explores the impact of space and place on youth workers and their clients in light of the Youth Matters documentation that suggests youth work becomes more centred in schools and school buildings.

Keywords: *Space, Place, Urban semiotics, Cultural geography*

It is instructive to note that part of the sub-title of the DfES *Youth Matters: Next steps* document contains the phrase *'somewhere to go'* (DfES, 2006 emphasis added) as it is the exact location of that 'somewhere to go' for young people that is at the heart of this article. For many years policy makers have been aware of the importance of space as a trigger for action and re-action on the part of the actors involved in any given social situation. For example, in the criminal justice system there has been a long-standing recognition of the importance of space: hence the dominance of the Situational Crime Prevention Paradigm and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) in British criminal justice thinking (Shaftoe, 2004). In health the NHS carefully plan the location and design of relatives' rooms as they acknowledge that where 'bad news' is delivered can greatly affect how it is received (Miller and Swensson, 2002). Many professionals are adept at using space, often unconsciously, to set the tone of meetings so that for example, low level decisions rather than major policy shifts are more likely to be made over coffee.

However, it is often the case that policy makers conflate objective and measurable physical space with the more subjective and socially constructed concept of place. We argue in this paper that this is not only a serious conceptual mistake but that it can have the effect of making the work of those charged with implementing policy unnecessarily difficult. This seems to be the case in the government's response to the future direction of youth work. For example, young people who fall into the NEET (Not in Employment, Education or Training) category will often have had negative experiences of formal education spaces, thus subjectively turning school into a 'bad place'. In turn, this group of young people will often carry the legacy of those experiences with them. Despite this, the government Green Paper *Youth Matters* (DfES, 2005) and the following White Paper, *Youth Matters: Next steps* (DfES, 2006), suggests that control of youth work facilities and opportunities be given back to schools: 'through extended services, schools will have an important part to play in delivering the local offer' (DfES, 2005: 7). The government seemingly pays little attention to

the impact that using spaces which have been subjectively turned into negative places will have on those young people who have bad memories and experiences of formal education spaces.

With the above in mind, this article begins by outlining central government-led thinking in recent youth policy. It then moves to discuss and review theories surrounding the concepts of 'space' and 'place' specifically from an urban semiotic and cultural geography perspective. From there it offers a vignette of youth work practice in order to illustrate the arguments. Finally, the paper closes with a discussion of the problems inherent in conflating 'space' and 'place'.

A brief review of central government thinking on youth policy

Coles (2005) notes that almost by stealth, New Labour have used the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) as a driver of a coherent youth policy and central to such a policy is the need to formulate and promote a coherent and 'joined-up' approach to policy making and policy delivery. To students of New Labour such an approach should not be surprising as it is a philosophy and tactic they have employed elsewhere (Barton, 2005). Coles (2005: 9) neatly summarises the underpinnings of this government's approach to youth policy as:

'...action across departments, co-ordination of effort between them and, where necessary, the development of new structures and services...to try to achieve brave new targets to reduce truancy, school exclusion, homelessness, teenage pregancy and NEET.

Initially this was to be served by a new agency 'Connexions', and was underpinned by five key principles which were:

1. to be open to all young people aged 13-19 but targetted at those most in need
2. that young people should be involved in the design, management, evaluation and any revisions in the strategy
3. that any interventions were to be based on a holistic and comprehensive needs assessment
4. that intervention should be co-ordinated via a lead professional acting as an advocate for the young person
5. that this was to be faciltated and made possible by a national training programme to train personal advisors
   (adapted from Coles, 2005)

However, and again following a familiar New Labour pattern, there was a re-think and a launch of another new direction under the guise of *Youth Matters*. The government published the *Youth Matters* Green Paper in July 2005 and, after a consultation period, the government response *Youth Matters: Next Steps* in March 2006 (DfES, 2005 and DfES, 2006).

Youth Matters proposed that young people should have:

- More things to do and places to go in their local area – and more choice and influence over what is available
- More opportunities to volunteer and to make a contribution to their local community
- Better information, advice and guidance about issues that matter to them, delivered in the way they want to receive it
- Better support when they need extra help to deal with problems
  (DfES, 2005)

The *Youth Matters* Green Paper contained many points that were mirror images of the previous, Connexions-based policy, which includes the need to target certain groups of young people deemed to be 'at risk'. However, and apparently signalling the death knell of Connexions, services for young people were placed back in the hands of local authorities. Importantly for the remainder of the discussion in this piece, the Green Paper and the following *Next Steps* publication are enthusiastic supporters of employing existing facilities such as schools in the provision of services for young people. For instance in Section 130, the paper says that, on a local level, the government will look at what is already on offer in a detailed and analytical way. Among the many things that this will involve, in Sections 134 and 135, 'The role of schools', they state that schools will be used from 8am to 6pm as a full community resource. Continuing this theme, Section 138, 'Facilities', talks of using currently under-used resources 'such as school grounds and sports fields'. Use of existing resources is to be expected as whilst there is some new money being proposed, (Merton (2005) calculates that it translates into around a quarter of a million pounds per local authority) there is clearly not enough for a surge in capital projects.

So how are we to make sense of the past ten years of youth policy? On the one hand it is heartening to see that central government has recognised the need to plan and co-ordinate services at central government level and bring us in line with the rest of Western Europe and to begin to integrate youth work within existing frameworks and systems common to many other professions and areas of service delivery. It has also introduced a more rigorous managerial structure and has proposed a common core of skills and knowledge for youth workers (Merton, 2005), again mirroring changes elsewhere (Barton, 2005). All of these can be seen as positive if somewhat challenging moves for youth work and youth workers.

However, for our purposes there are two inter-linked negative aspects of central government policy that are of paramount importance. First, as Smith (2003) notes, there has been a move away from a broad approach to youth work and toward a more focused and targetted approach which concentrates on 'at risk' and NEET groups. Indeed, Smith (2003: 16) goes so far as to comment that 'there has been a shift away from "youth work" to "youth development"; the latter more closley alligned to the work of teachers or social workers.' Second, is the decision to utilise schools and school buildings as sites for service provision. Whilst this may make perfect sense in economic and resource allocation terms, in inter-personal terms it may mean that for some young people the simple act of seeing a school building becomes a deterrent or inhibitor of meaningful engagment in any school-based youth work. This will make the policy inherently difficult to implement, for concepts of space, place and the manner in which urban landscapes are experienced are powerful forms of communication.

Urban landscapes as forms of communication

Bal and Bryson (1991: 174) contend that 'human culture is made up of signs, each of which stands for something other than itself, and the people inhabiting that culture busy themselves making sense of those signs'. We suggest that signs include the buildings and spaces that make up our urban environment: urban landscapes therefore contain and convey meanings and serve purposes beyond the obvious. The construction and interpretation of these meanings are formed in a subjective, but socially and culturally nuanced fashion. If this is the case, it is important that those that use or direct the use of buildings and spaces are aware of the numerous meanings that the sign sent out by a building or space can contain, and that they recognise the factors behind individuals' subjective constructions of those meanings.

This perspective is perhaps best summarised by Crawshaw's (2001: 68) observation that 'urban space is never neutral' and Rose's (1993:1) contention that there is a qualitative difference between 'space' and 'place':

> Space is something to be accessed and can be defined as open to scientifically rational measurements of location, whereas 'place' is something created and open to human interpretation and significant...to be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know your place...

Our discussion is theoretically informed by the linked concepts of urban semiotics and cultural geography. Urban semiotics extends the importance of signs to include the impact of the urban landscape on human interaction and accordingly seeks to investigate and uncover the culturally embedded meanings attributed urban space. From this perspective location, architecture and the use of buildings and public spaces will have an impact on social interaction and peoples' interpretation of events in the same way that words and other non-verbal communications do.

Krampen (1979: 27) comments on the work of Koenig (1964) and Eco (1968) both of whom adopt the stance that 'if architecture is a language, it must communicate'. Moreover, as Eco comments (1968) because buildings communicate to us, our interpretation of those communications will be culturally and socially embedded and will, like all social and culturally constructed interactions, contain power relationships. Foucault agrees stating that 'space is fundamental in any form of communal life; space is fundamental in any exercise of power (Foucault, 1980). This is especially the case with public space and public buildings. For example, Valentine, Skelton and Chambers (1998: 7) state that 'public space is produced as an adult space' and becomes synonymous with the control of young people. This conception of public space as being associated with control and the exercise of power has a long tradition. For instance, in 1821 Durand compiled a list of public buildings, which included schools, whose design and the manner in which the architects employed space reflected the work and control-based ethic of the modern world.

From this perspective it becomes clear that any work that is conducted between young people and youth workers needs to be understood not only in terms of the interactions between the two groups but also in terms of the locations in which this occurs and the

images and perceptions of power relations inherent in those spaces. Thus, success will often depend on not only the words and actions but also on the space and very importantly, the subjective meanings of the place in which interaction occurs. In short, using Rose's (1993) distinctions between space and place, it may be that the space is functional and fit for purpose but if the young person's construction of the meaning of the place is negative, then the negativity assigned to place will seep into all interactions. Carlson, although concerned with theatres and theatrical performances, makes the link between the signs and messages space provides and the manner in which messages will be received:

> *physical matrices... – where it takes place within the community, what sort of structure houses it, and how that structure is organized and decorated – all contribute in important ways to the cultural processing of the event and must be taken into consideration by anyone seeking to gain an understanding of its dynamics.* (Carlson, 1989: 204-205)

These points have been considered by others writing about youth work. For example Douglas notes that settings will both dictate and constrain the aims of the session (1991: 118) (see also Smith, 1994; Young, 1999; Jeffs and Smith, 2005). More importantly for us, the work of Smith begins to address the importance of place and space pointing out that many youth work locations often resemble classroom settings and that 'workers have to be sensitive to the feelings and responses that such settings evoke' (1994: 26).

Equally, in her article 'Girls, consumption, space and the contradictions of hanging out in the city', Thomas (2005) theorises on the links between youth and public space. She talks about adult spatial control and quotes Massey saying 'the control of urban spaces and places is part of the process of defining the social category of 'youth' itself' (Massey in Thomas, 2005: 588). Thomas asserts that young people (in her case specifically girls) 'actively resist adult control over public space by shifting to new locales, ignoring threats from adults and remaining mobile' (Thomas, 2005: 588). Thomas is arguing that if young people do not feel comfortable and do not have at least a sense of ownership of the space, they will often initiate a collective physical move to a space where they can claim ownership.

In the same vein, Roberston's (2000) work A warm safe place notes the importance of space and *place* when she suggest that long-term use of a space which has positive connotations of *place* will lead to attachment and continued use by young people. What Robertson does not address is the opposite: long-term use of a space that engenders negative connotations of place will lead to reluctance to continue use by young people. However, as we have seen above, government policy is directing youth work into physical spaces that can and do create negative perceptions of place for some young people. Therefore some of those young people who are in need of youth work interventions may either elect not to engage or, if they are coerced into engagement and are unable to physically move may undertake a social move by withdrawing their cooperation and participation from the interaction or social situation simply because of their perceptions of the *place* in which the intervention is occurring. What follows is a brief example in order to illustrate our point.

Space and its impact on youth work – an example from the field

The following example details a series of events at a youth centre in the South West of England. The space which is used as a youth centre is part of a school and although set apart from the rest of the site, architecturally does not stand out as being used for any other purpose than 'schooling'. The front of the building is very bland and unwelcoming; there are no windows, the glass in the door is frosted and there is no sign identifying it as a youth centre and therefore it merges with the rest of the site.

The centre itself offers a range of youth work, including Education Out of School and a programme specifically aimed at young people identified as NEET. Initial work with the NEET client group established that many of the young people attending the sessions had negative experiences of formal education. Youth workers at the centre were who were working with the NEET group engaged the client group on personal development issues and plans both in small groups and individually.

Most of the NEET group were engaged and articulate whilst at the centre. They were however reluctant to discuss topics of a personal nature, preferring to centre any conversations on their training and development needs rather than their personal needs. In some respects, this is unsurprising as the focus of much of the practical work conducted at the centre revolved around training and education. Nevertheless, there was also opportunity and encouragement from the youth workers to explore some of the personal factors that impact on work and training. It is important to note that the youth workers were engaged with the young people and highly professional in their work and conversations with the NEET group and there was an absence of awkwardness during the sessions. However what was also equally clear was that there was a sense of reservation amongst the young people regarding what could/could not and should/should not be mentioned.

This reservation changed noticeably when the NEET group were 'treated' and were taken out to lunch and then to a bowling alley for the afternoon by the same set of youth workers. It was noted by all the youth workers present that removing the young people from the confines of the youth centre remarkably changed the dynamics of the group and allowed the young people to enter into more meaningful and deeper level conversations with the youth workers. For example, during the lunch and bowling session smoking was permitted and this opened up some interesting discussions about peer initiated social smoking. This subject had been raised a number of times at the centre, but the young people had been unwilling to share their feelings either with each other or the workers. However, when moved to a different space, conversations around the pressure to smoke allowed the youth workers to engage more fully with the young people.

Discussion

Clearly, this example is little more than an observation-based account of the actions of one group of young people. Whilst we accept and acknowledge this we would suggest that most youth workers reading this piece have experienced similar events where a change of

venue has allowed a group or an individual to engage in deeper levels of conversations. However, it bears examination under the theoretical lenses provided above.

If we look first at policy, it is clear that the group of young people outlined above fall into the category that the government see as most in need of 'structured' youth work intervention. Equally, it is clear that the space in which the majority of the youth work conducted with this group occurred was in a location that was fit for purpose. As such, work with this group fits the current policy direction and needs, therefore the intervention could be viewed as adhering to best practice. However, using our framework of analysis the visual message sent out by the space in which the youth work was taking place is that this space is part of a school/college site. In short an urban semiotic analysis would conclude that the location of the youth centre cannot fail to have formal education connotations attached to it by those young people who use it. Accordingly those amongst the group of young people who associate school as a 'good place' will engage and those who see school as a bad place will resist or withdraw. Clearly, the opposite is true: the bowling alley was seen as a 'good place' and a place of leisure and freedom, which allowed the young people to respond in a freer and less formal manner.

The proposed direction of central government's youth work policy seems oblivious to the distinction between space and place and therefore holds the potential to directly effect the ability and willingness of some young people to engage in meaningful work beyond the highly structured educational programmes that they associate with the school-based space in which youth work occurs. In our example we would suggest that the majority of the group saw the space being used for their youth work as a boring, dull *place* where they were relatively powerless and had experienced problems before. As a result, they were unable or unwilling to engage with youth workers in anything other than a formal, quasi-educational manner, in much the same way as they had when they had been at school.

That said, we are aware that not all youth work can take place in informal or outreach settings and there is clearly a need for work to be done in formalised settings, especially if the youth worker is engaged in preparing or guiding the young person into the world of work. However, we would argue that greater cognisance needs to be paid to the concept of place as a facilitator and inhibitor of young people's engagment with youth work. This is especially relevant now given the move toward activity and sport-based practice. Policy makers could learn lessons from crime prevention where there is a tradition of recognising that the place, as opposed to the space, plays a large part in determining behaviour, expectations and actions.

Forthcoming legislation will almost certainly begin a move towards locating and embedding youth work practice in schools (DfES, 2005; DfES, 2006). Although this is sensible in terms of a better use of scarce resources and eases some of the funding pressures on creating new facilities for youth work, the impact that this will have on young people needs to be considered. Many of the young people who benefit from the informal education initiatives delivered by youth centres have not excelled in the formal education system for the simple reason that they did not like school and it is highly probable that they will carry negativity with them when asked to re-enter the school space for whatever purpose. Linking youth work to schools may have a negative effect on many young people's perception of youth

work and thus reduce any positive outcomes engaging with youth workers brings.

References

Bal, M. and Bryson, N. (1991) 'Semiotics and art history', *Art Bulletin 73*, pp174-208.

Barton, A. (2005) 'Working in the margins: shadowland agencies, outreach workers and the crime audit process' *Drugs: Education, prevention and policy* vol.12 (3), pp 239-246.

Barrett, S. (2005) 'Youth work must lift its sights', *Young people Now* 7.12.05.

Buttimer, A. and Seamon, D. (1980) *The Human experience of Space and Place*. London: Croom Helm.

Carlson, M. (1989) *Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Coles, B (2005) 'Youth Policy 1995-2005: from "best start" to "youth smatters"', *Youth and Policy* 89, pp 7-19.

Crawshaw, P. (2001) 'Negotiating Space in the Risky Community', *Youth and Policy*, 74 pp 59-72.

DfES (2002) *Transforming Youth Work: Resourcing Excellent Youth Services.* Nottingham: DfES Publications.

DfES (2005) *Youth Matters*. Nottingham: DfES Publications.

DfES (2006) *Youth Matters: Next steps*. Nottingham: DfES Publications.

Dixon, J. and Durrheim, K. (2000) 'Displacing Place Identity: A discursive approach to locating self and other', *British Journal of Social Psychology*. Vol 39, pp 27-44.

Douglas, T. (1991) *A Handbook of Common Groupwork Problems.* London:
Routledge.

Eco, U. (1968) *La Struttora Assente*, Milan: Bompiani.

Foucault, M. (1980) 'Space, Power and Knowledge', in ed. S. During, (1993) *The Cultural Studies Reader*, London: Routledge.

Jeffs, T. and Smith, M. K. (2005) *Informal Education: conversation, democracy and learning*. Nottingham: Educational Heretics Press.

Koenig, G.K. (1964) *Analisi del Linguaggio Architettonico, Firenze, Libreria Editrice*, Fiorentina.

Krampen, M. (1979) *Meaning in the urban environment*, London: Pion.

Merton, B. (2005) 'Youth Matters', *Youth and Policy* 89, pp 32-41.

Miller, R. and Swensson, E. (2002) *Hospital and Healthcare Facility Design*. London: W W Norton and Co Ltd.

Mountain, A. (2004) *The Space Between: Bridging the Gap Between Workers and Young People*, Lyme Regis: Russell House Publishing.

Robertson, S. (2000) 'A warm, safe, place: an argument for youth clubs', *Youth and Policy*, 70, pp 71-77.

Rose, G. (1993) *Feminism and Geography: the limits of geographical knowledge*, Oxford: Polity Press.

Shaftoe, H. (2004) *Crime Prevention: Facts, fallacies and the future*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Schirato, T. and Webb, J. (2004) *Understanding the Visual*. London: Sage.

Schirato, T. and Yell, S. (2000) *Communication and Culture: An Introduction*. London: Sage.

Smith, M. K. (1994) *Local Education: community, conversation, praxis*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Smith, M. K. (2003) 'From Youth Work to Youth Development: The new government framework for English youth services', *Youth & Policy* 79:46-59.

Thomas, M. (2005) 'Girls, consumption space and the contradictions of hanging out in the city' in *Social and Cultural Geography*. Vol 6, (4) pp 587-605.

Valentine, T., Skelton, C. and Chambers, D. (1998) 'Cool Places: an introduction to youth and youth cultures', in eds. T. Valentine, and C. Skelton, *Cool Places: Geographies of youth cultures*, London: Routledge

Young, K. (1999) *The Art of Youth Work*. Lyme Regis: Russell House Publishing.

Durham University

MA Community and Youth Work
(with professional qualification)

Study one year (full-time) or two years (part-time) in a
challenging and supportive learning environment to gain a JNC
recognised qualification
(validated by The National Youth Agency)

MA Community Practice

Advanced study, part-time or full-time, for practitioners
in the field

MA, MPhil, PhD by research

Study for a research degree on a topic relevant to
community and youth work

For further information contact:
**Linda Ray, Community and Youth Work,
School of Applied Social Sciences, Elvet Riverside 2,
New Elvet, Durham DH1 3JT**

**Tel: 0191 334 1505
e-mail: linda.ray@durham.ac.uk
website:
http://www.dur.ac.uk/sass/cayw/postgraduate/caywork/**

Child employment: Policy and practice in Scotland

Jim McKechnie, Sandy Hobbs, Seonaid Anderson, Cathy Howieson and Sheila Semple

The majority of young people have experience of paid employment before they reach the end of their compulsory education. However, questions have been raised about the efficacy of existing child employment legislation to protect young employees. This paper reports the findings from the first in-depth study of policy and practice in this area. The research focuses on the 32 local authorities in Scotland. The review of policy and practice shows that local authorities fail to prioritise this area and the majority of young employees are working without the knowledge of local authorities. The results are discussed within the context of British legislation and it is argued that there is an urgent need to overhaul the existing system to reflect the needs of the 21st century.

Keywords: Child employment, Legislation, Child protection, Local authority.

A growing body of research has shown that in Britain, it is common for school pupils to combine full-time education with part-time employment. By the time that students have reached the end of their compulsory period of education, the majority will have experience of paid employment outside of the family (see Hobbs and McKechnie, 1997, and Mizen, Pole and Bolton, 2001, for reviews). Previous research on child employment, that is the employment of those under 16 years of age, has focused on the nature and extent of the phenomenon. However, researchers have drawn attention to issues surrounding the protection of this group of workers (Hobbs, Anderson and McKechnie, 2007). This article focuses on the existing policy in this area and provides the first study of the practices associated with the implementation of policy.

British law allows for the possibility that children of compulsory school age may engage in part-time work but makes provision for such work to be controlled and monitored. The key legislation in England and Wales is the Children and Young Persons Act (1933) and in Scotland, the main focus of this paper, the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act (1937). The original Acts have been amended in the intervening years but the central features remain unchanged. Whilst allowing school pupils under 16 years of age to be employed, they place constraints on the minimum age for employment, the work they can do, and the hours that they can work. The legislation emphasises the need to protect this group of employees and implicitly assumes that education is the priority for this part of childhood.

In 1994, the European Union adopted a Directive on the Protection of Children and Young People at Work (94/33/EC). Initially, the United Kingdom was granted exemption from some of its provisions but the government was obliged to adhere to it in full by 2000.

Appropriate action became the responsibility of the Westminster government and, in Scotland after Devolution, the Scottish Executive, since child employment was one of the areas of responsibility devolved to Edinburgh.

The day-to-day responsibility for implementing the legislation lies with the local authority. Whilst making general provisions for the restriction of children's work, the law anticipates that local authorities will have byelaws suited to local conditions. The law assumes that a child will require the approval of the local authority before taking up employment, and in most cases the local authority gives approval through a permit system. However, the same body of research that has established the extent of school students' part-time work has frequently questioned the efficacy of the legislation that is supposed to protect them. The study by Jolliffe, Patel, Sparks and Reardon (1995) found that 85 per cent of young employees were in breach of one or more of the regulations on employment and as such were illegally employed. Hobbs and McKechnie (1997) argue that the evidence suggests that only around one in ten child employees have the necessary work permit.

There is evidence that policy makers have been aware of the failings of the existing system for some time. In 1998 the government, in response to a private members bill introduced by Chris Pond, set up a review of child employment in Britain. This unpublished review (Department of Health and Department of Trade and Industry, 1999), which we have consulted through the Freedom of Information Act, acknowledges that there is a gap between legislation and practice in this area. More recently in 2004 the Better Regulation Task Force (BRTF), now re-named the Better Regulation Commission, re-visited the issue of child employment regulation in England and Wales. They too acknowledged that the legislation in this area is largely ignored and is essentially ineffective (BRTF, 2004).

Research on local authority policy with regard to child employment is rare. Hamilton (2004) reviewed existing byelaws amongst English local authorities. In her conclusions, she drew attention to substantial variations in byelaws between authorities and noted that many byelaws were in fact at variance with national legislation. She argued that local authorities, parents, employers and children are poorly informed about the law on child employment. Murray (2005) carried out a similar, but more limited, exercise in Scotland. Her paper reports problems like those identified by Hamilton in England. In Scotland, she suggested, the byelaws are confused and confusing, difficult to access and are not always compatible with national legislation.

The Study

The survey reported here was undertaken as part of a larger study of school pupils' employment commissioned by the Scottish Executive (see Howieson, McKechnie and Semple, 2006). Its goal was to establish a more detailed picture of the state of local authority byelaws in Scotland than previously existed and to discover how the various local authorities implemented the law on child employment. The chief executives of all 32 local authorities in Scotland were approached and asked to co-operate initially by providing a copy of current bye-laws and nominating a named individual, responsible for child employment issues within the authority, with whom the research team could liaise.

All participants, both individuals and local authorities, were guaranteed confidentiality. All authorities agreed to participate.

Information was then gathered in the following ways. First, a questionnaire was forwarded to each authority representative. A follow-up telephone interview provided the opportunity to clarify and amplify the survey responses. The researchers carried out a search of each local authority web site to explore the extent to which child employment related material was accessible, e.g. information on procedures, copies of byelaws, registration forms. Authorities were also asked to provide copies of publicity material or information packs used with regard to child employment. All of the above was carried out between February and April 2004.

While all local authorities returned the questionnaire, there was some variation in the level of detail provided. Some individuals responsible for child employment were not available for interview. In some cases the local authority had allocated the administration of child employment policy to the school level. This often meant that the local authority had no central records. Not all authorities had web sites containing information on child employment. Some either did not have, or could not provide, copies of byelaws or publicity material. Table 1 provides a summary of the information base drawn upon in this paper.

Table 1   Information base

Information	Questionnaires completed	Telephone Interviews	Byelaws provided	Notes and Guidance	Leaflets and booklets	Website information
Number of local authority reponses*	32	27	30	17	14	16

* There are 32 local authorities in Scotland

Findings

In this article we focus on three aspects of the data that was gathered; the byelaws, the monitoring of part-time employment and resources devoted to child employment.

(i) The Byelaws

Of the 32 authorities in Scotland, 7 had byelaws that are 'pending', in other words, the authority was in the process of amending their byelaws on child employment. In some cases, authorities were awaiting Scottish Executive approval before they could implement proposed changes. For others, the authority had still to complete the process by bringing the new byelaws into force. It was not uncommon for byelaws to have been 'pending' for a considerable period of time. However, in all but one of the cases where new byelaws were 'pending', old byelaws were still in force, at least notionally. The single exception

was an authority which idiosyncratically interpreted the law as meaning that byelaws were unnecessary.

In reviewing the byelaws we shall focus on four areas: minimum age for working, differences in regulation depending upon a child's age, time restrictions and prohibited jobs.

Minimum Age:
National legislation has always included a minimum age at which children may work, but changes have been made to this over time. In June 2000, in order to implement the European Union Directive, the Scottish Executive introduced the Children (Protection at Work) (Scotland) Regulations 2000 (SI 2000/149). The Executive informed all authorities of this change and circulated model byelaws which would conform to the Directive.

The 2000 Regulations meant that local byelaws could no longer allow 10-12 year old children to undertake light agricultural or horticultural work under the supervision of their parents. As a result of these changes the minimum age at which a child can be employed is now 13 years of age, though exceptions are made for children involved in public performance2.

Of the 30 active byelaws provided (see Table 1), only 13 specify that the minimum age for employment is 13 years age. Of the remaining 17 authorities, 16 have the minimum age specified as 10 years of age, which had become inappropriate since 2000, and one authority's byelaws did not specify a minimum age. Of the 17 authorities with the wrong minimum age specified, seven would come into compliance on this issue once pending byelaws are implemented. However, there remained ten which had not merely been tardy in recognizing the 2000 Regulation on minimum age, but had taken no action to make their byelaws appropriate on this point.

An additional level of confusion on the minimum age issue was found in two authorities where the byelaws and the supplementary literature contradicted each other.

Age differences:
Children who are 13, 14 and 15/16 years of age are treated differently in the national legislation. For example, while children aged 14 years and over can take any form of 'light work', 13-year-olds are only allowed to work in areas specified by the byelaws. A further age distinction is made in the total hours which may be worked between 14 year olds and school students who are 15/16 years of age. (In the case of 16 year olds this refers to those who are 16 but covered by compulsory school regulations).

Under half of the authorities (13) had byelaws which stated the correct minimum age for employment and correctly identified the distinctions between the age groups. The age distinction is legally important because authorities must provide a list of jobs that are acceptable for 13 year olds to undertake. Three of the 30 failed to do so. Most of the remaining 27 authorities followed the list of acceptable jobs for 13 year olds suggested in the Executive's model byelaws issued as guidance for local authorities. Six authorities did in fact vary the list, either adding or removing jobs on the list. The net effect is that a job deemed to be acceptable for a 13 year old in one authority may be illegal in another authority.

Time restrictions:

In the legislation, 14 year olds are not allowed to work for more than two hours per day on a school day (only one hour of which can be before school) or more than two hours on a Sunday and five hours on a Saturday. Those children still within the period of compulsory education are not allowed to work before 7.00 a.m. or after 7.00 p.m. In the case of 15/16 year olds the same restrictions apply during term-time. However, during school holidays they can work up to eight hours on week days up to a maximum of 35 hours in a week. During holiday times 14 year olds are allowed to work a maximum of 25 hours in a week.

For 13-year-olds a local authority may impose tighter control of the hours worked and, at the very least, cannot allow younger children to work in excess of the maximum hours allowed for 14 year olds.

Virtually all byelaws specified that not more than one hour might be worked before school. However, in other respects, reviewing the local authority byelaws in this area proved problematic. The majority of byelaws do not provide a detailed breakdown of the hours that can be worked within the byelaws themselves. Information on the hours that could be worked was in some cases included in 'notes' or 'guidance' that accompanied the byelaw.

One aspect of working hours that tended to be neglected was the total number of hours that children could work. It was common for authorities to state the total number of hours that could be worked during holiday times. However, it was rare to find any mention of the comparable figure for term time. It is possible to calculate this figure based on the restrictions on when children can work. Although the research team found it possible to make such calculations, it is very unlikely that children, parents, schools or employers would undertake such a task without having been made aware of the issue.

In 2000 the Scottish Executive wrote to all authorities indicating that the new European Directive set an upper limit of 12 hours per week for term-time employment for all child employees. The Executive indicated its intention to introduce a statutory instrument to amend the 1937 Act. This instrument was introduced in April 2006. At the time of the study only one local authority's byelaws were in line with European legislation. The remaining 31 authorities, for a variety of reasons, were failing to meet the European standards to which the United Kingdom agreed.

Prohibited jobs:

The legislation on child employment explicitly prohibits certain types of work such as those based in factories or other industrial undertakings. In addition, the Scottish Executive's model byelaws, circulated in 2000, contained a list of employments deemed inappropriate for children. The list of jobs is illustrative and local authorities have the ability to add or remove activities to reflect, what they consider to be, local circumstances. All of the byelaws reviewed contained lists of prohibitions. In 16 cases the lists differ from that in the Executive's model byelaws. In nine of the byelaws the impression is that authorities have amended a relatively contemporary list, either by adding or removing occupations. In the remaining seven cases the list of occupations appears to be rather outdated. For example, one authority's list prohibits children from working as chimney sweeps. Three of these authorities have new byelaws pending. The remaining four who have outdated lists

(including the chimney sweep example) do not.

(ii) Monitoring part-time employment

We focused on three areas which reflect the nature of the regulatory system that was adopted: the monitoring of employment, the systems ability to respond to changes of employment status or conditions and the extent to which the system adopted included any checks.

Monitoring systems

Previous research in Scotland and England suggests that many local authorities have developed a 'work permit' or licensing system to regulate child employment. Typically these systems require any child employee to obtain a permit from their local authority. This process allows the authority to check whether the intended employment is appropriate and falls within the boundaries defined by the legislation.

The ubiquity of the permit system was confirmed by our study. Of the 32 local authorities in Scotland, 31 had a permit system of some form in place. One local authority definitively stated that it did not have a permit system and did not monitor child employment in any way. In addition, four authorities indicated that the system had either lapsed, was not functioning or could provide no detailed information on the system.

Each authority was requested to provide information on the number of permits they had issued in the current academic year (2003-04). Table 2 provides a summary of the number of permits in this time period. Some authorities were unable to provide this information. In the case of LA7, LA11 and LA15, the permit system is devolved to the secondary school level and no central records are kept regarding the number of permits issued. LA5 and LA31 also use a school-based procedure for the issuing of permits; however, they were able to provide partial information on the number of permits issued and this is included in the table.

Two other cases are worth noting. In Table 2, LA22 represents the authority where there is no requirement for children to register for employment. The situation in LA29 is more problematic. The staff interviewed disagreed as to the existence of a registration system. Whether in principle there is, or is not, a system was unresolved. However, staff did agree that, even if a permit system existed, there were no permit or registration forms to use.

Table 2 shows that there is considerable variability in the number of permits issued. This in part reflects the variation in the populations or areas covered by each authority and the level of employment within the area. Another factor might be that authorities differ in the extent to which they promote the systems that are in use. However, the key question is whether the number of permits issued reflects the number of pupils working within the local authority.

As part of the wider study of which this local authority study is a part, the researchers were carrying out a nationally representative survey of school pupils' part-time employment in Scotland (see Howieson et al., 2006, for details). We are therefore able to compare the number of permits issued by local authorities with an estimate of the number of pupils

actually working. This estimate is arrived at by extrapolating from the results of the survey of a ten percent sample of school students in Scotland. Table 2 reports the estimated number of pupils in S3 and S4 with part-time jobs alongside the information on permits obtained from local authorities. Although a small percentage of the S4 pupils may have completed their compulsory education and would not need a permit, the majority would still be required to have permits.

Table 2
Number of permits issued and estimated numbers employed

Local Authority	Number of permits issued	Estimated Number* of S3 pupils with part-time jobs(10 per cent sample figure)	Estimated Number* of S4 pupils with part-time jobs (10 per cent sample figure)
LA1	66	720 (72)	1,210 (121)
LA2	146	1,310 (131)	1,200 (120)
LA3	324	1,440 (144)	1,510 (151)
LA4	0	300 (30)	340 (34)
LA5	47	660 (66)	1,100 (110)
LA6	24	320 (32)	440 (44)
LA7		290 (29)	350 (35)
LA8	60 (approx)	470 (47)	430 (43)
LA9	17	450 (45)	470 (47)
LA10	2	330 (33)	400 (40)
LA11		690 (69)	710 (71)
LA12	7	190 (19)	100 (10)
LA13	0	460 (46)	370 (37)
LA14	17	530 (53)	530 (53)
LA15		1,150 (115)	1,360 (136)
LA16	165	800 (80)	730 (73)
LA17	1	120 (12)	290 (29)
LA18	?	280 (28)	260 (26)
LA19	109	280 (28)	520 (52)
LA20	15	400 (40)	490 (49)
LA21	25	970 (97)	1,210 (121)
LA22		100 (10)	100 (10)
LA23	99	460 (46)	490 (49)
LA24	30	670 (67)	640 (64)
LA25	69	400 (40)	600 (60)
LA26	1	140 (14)	170 (17)
LA27	11	360 (36)	550 (55)
LA28	169	1,130 (113)	1,220 (122)
LA29		250 (25)	290 (29)
LA30	11	290 (29)	250 (25)
LA31	121	410 (41)	540 (54)
LA32	0	60 (6)	90 (9)

Key:
 * Estimated Number extrapolated from a 10 per cent representative sample of school pupils
 ? indicates that permits were issued but there are no figures available
Blank cells indicate that no information was available - see text for explanation

A simple inspection of the table shows the extent of the gap between permits issued and school pupils who work. We may be underestimating the size of this gap since we have not included school pupils from the independent sector. It is evident that even those authorities who appear to have a permit system in operation are failing to register the majority of working school pupils.

Changes in Work Status and System Checks:
Previous research indicates that aspects of a child's job may vary over time, including both the nature of the work and the hours spent at it. Authorities were asked how they handled this dynamic aspect of school pupils' work. Thirteen authorities indicated that they have a system for recording amendments, while 17 replied that they did not. However, of the 13 authorities with a system for recording changes there was no evidence that they had used such a system in the last few years. None could provide any recorded cases of amendments.

When we asked authorities if they have any mechanisms for checking whether child employees or employers were conforming to the laws and byelaws, 24 indicated that they had no process for checking on working pupils or employers. A further six indicated that they did not know if such a system existed in their area. Only one authority responded positively; in this case they indicated that Trading Standards Officers took on this responsibility when visiting employers.

Some authorities indicated that they did respond to information provided by teaching staff or personal communications received from the community. However, warnings and prosecutions were rare. Across the 32 authorities five indicated that they had issued warnings since 1998, while one local authority had been involved in a prosecution. These findings are incomplete since 17 authorities indicated that they kept no records of warnings issued, and 18 authorities indicated that they kept no records of prosecutions.

(iii) Resources

We focused on two resource issues. First what resources are available to parents, children and employers on the topic of child employment and, second, the number of staff with responsibility for child employment and the prominence child employment has in their job description.

Information sources:
A minority of authorities (11) provide the public with information in leaflet or booklet form or on a website. Some do so by leaflet or booklet only (3) or through a website only (5). Other authorities indicated that they produced no such material. In effect anyone seeking information would have to look at the existing byelaws or the 1937 Act.

Authorities were asked to classify the information distribution system that they adopted.

The majority viewed the system as a reactive one, i.e. responding to specific requests for material. Only three authorities indicated that they had an active system, which set out to promote and distribute the material.

A number of authorities (14) could be said to have highlighted child employment at some time. In the majority of cases this involved some press advertisement or article that drew attention to changes in the byelaws. In a small number of cases the impetus for press coverage had been linked to research findings within specific local authorities. The majority of these 'consciousness raising' initiatives were 'one-off' events and were of limited duration.

Personnel:
We focus on two aspects of staffing, first, how many staff in the local authority dealt with child employment issues and second, how did this responsibility fit into their overall work profile. Was it a minor role, their main role or the only responsibility that they had?

In one authority (LA22) no one had responsibility for child employment. Of the remaining 31 authorities, 18 indicated that one or two staff were responsible for child employment issues, seven authorities indicated that between three and five staff handled this role and in six authorities there were more than six staff who dealt with child employment issues. It should be noted that the number of staff involved will reflect the size of the authority and the system adopted. For example in those authorities where a school based administration system was used a large number of individuals were involved.

For the majority (29) dealing with child employment it was classified as a minor part of their work role. None of the authorities had an individual whose sole responsibility was child employment, a practice which is found in many parts of England.

Authorities differed with respect to which department had primary responsibility for child employment. In 12 authorities the Education Department was responsible, while seven authorities stated that the Registrar or Registration Department was responsible and a further seven devolved the responsibility to the school level. In one case we were unable to identify which department was responsible.

Discussion

The ineffectiveness of the current system:
It is difficult to avoid concluding from our research that there are serious deficiencies in the ways in which local authorities handle their responsibility for working children.

The review of the byelaws shows that on the question of the minimum age at which children may work, a number of local authorities are out of step with both Scottish Executive and EU legislation. Where authorities have attempted to change and update byelaws, the systems are extremely slow to respond at both local and national levels. It is evident that child employment legislation is not considered to be a high priority.

Only one authority was complying with the EU Directive of a maximum of 12 hours work per week during term time. Perhaps we should not be surprised by this finding. The Scottish Executive has only recently (as of April 2006) brought national legislation into line with the EU Directive, six years after the Directive applied to the UK. This contrasts with England where the legislation was brought into line with the EU Directive in 2000.

Child employment is a devolved matter and in this case an indirect effect of devolution was to allow one part of Britain to have legislation that was in violation of international law for a number of years. This raises the question of what mechanisms are in place at the EU level to check compliance with Directives and, if systems do exist, what happened in this case? However, it would appear that it is not sufficient for central government to react quickly to obligations under European law since this does not ensure change at the local level. England and Wales complied nationally in 2000, but as we noted earlier, Hamilton (2004) has raised similar concerns to ours after reviewing the byelaws in English local authorities.

Further problems emerge when we consider the variability between local authority byelaws. The national legislation allowed each authority some discretion with respect to the content of byelaws, specifically with respect to the types of jobs that 13 year olds can do and that 14 year olds cannot do. Historically this flexibility may have made sense since certain areas relied upon a child labour force to help at particular times in the agricultural calendar e.g. harvesting (Cunningham, 1999). However, in the 21st century the need for such flexibility could be questioned. We must pose the question: What variations in local circumstances can justify allowing a job in one area which is banned in another?

Previous research in England and Scotland has drawn attention to the ineffectiveness of the monitoring processes that local authorities employ when dealing with child employment (Pond and Searle, 1991; McKechnie, Anderson and Hobbs, 2005). This study provided the unique opportunity to explore the practices adopted by local authorities. The evidence shows that at the basic level of registering young employees to work the systems adopted by local authorities are not functioning. The study shows that the majority of school pupils do not have work permits and as such are employed illegally. In 1997 Hobbs and McKechnie argued that approximately one in ten child employees had a work permit. The current evidence suggests that there has been no substantial change since that earlier research.

Seven authorities devolved responsibility for issuing permits down to the school level. The benefit of such an approach is that the children are in direct contact with those running the system. However, in the majority of authorities adopting this strategy there was no central data store and thus no central monitoring of the effectiveness of this policy. One previous study carried out in an area where a school centered permit system was employed found that there was substantial variation between schools in the levels of permits issued. The researchers argued that this variation reflected the different priorities that teaching staff gave to this issue (McKechnie, Lindsay and Hobbs, 1994).

Previous research in this area has drawn attention to two important aspects of child employment. First, many young employees change their jobs or their employment circumstances within the same job over time (McKechnie, Stack and Hobbs, 2005), and

second, a number of young workers are working illegally either because of the type of job that they do or the hours that they work (Hobbs and McKechnie, 1997, Mizen, Bolton and Pole, 1999). The evidence from this study indicates that the existing systems within local authorities are failing to cope with both of these issues. There are no mechanisms for checking compliance with legislation in the majority of the authorities.

The majority of authorities allocate responsibility for child employment to staff who are also dealing with a range of other issues. In these circumstances, it is not surprising if they perceive child employment as having a minor role in their work responsibilities. Scottish authorities have not so far followed the growing trend in England over the last few years to appoint Child Employment Officers whose sole responsibility is to deal with this area.

Few local authorities have adopted a proactive stance with respect to their responsibilities in this area. This is reflected in the information resources available, or perhaps one should say, the lack of resources available. There is some evidence that a small minority of local authorities have adopted a proactive approach, but these examples are rare and tend to be relatively short-term.

The way forward:
What response might we expect to the evidence presented in this paper? At a practical level we would anticipate that local authorities would be encouraged to update their byelaws. We would also argue that the variations between byelaws need to be addressed and a greater degree of homogeneity introduced across authorities. Such homogeneity could be achieved, of course, if the regulations governing child employment were to be determined nationally. The notion of local byelaws for local conditions may simply be an historical hangover from a time when government did not wish to antagonize employers who had traditionally regarded children as a 'natural' part of their labour force.

The greater challenge lies in the implementation of policy. If this legislation is meant to protect young employees then it is failing. Authorities need to adopt a proactive approach to this issue. Adequate resources also need to be made available, both for adequate staffing and for the provision of good information resources for employers, parents and young employees.

For these aims to be achieved, a fundamental shift in attitudes and policy would be needed. Raising the profile of this part of the labour force will affect many child employees and employers. Many difficulties might arise if authorities were to actively implement the law in this area. So many aspects of the law are currently breached, that some form of transition period might be required to allow employers and employees to move towards conforming to the legislation. We would also have to acknowledge that this might not be possible in all cases and some young people will, in effect, become 'unemployed'.

Perhaps we also need to consider more radical responses. The original legislation in this area was laid down in the 1930s and while it has been amended on numerous occasions and supplemented by other pieces of legislation (Hamilton and Watt, 2004) we suggest that it is time for a full re-evaluation of the legislation in this area. If such a major review were to be initiated, it would be helpful if a wide-ranging debate were to take place, in the hope of

developing legislation and practices appropriate to the twenty first century.

We suggest that two considerations be given prominence in such a debate. First, there have been some indications in recent years that government may be keen to develop child employment as a valuable source of learning helpful to the child entering adult life. (See, for example, the Tomlinson Report, 2004, and *Determined to Succeed*, Scottish Executive, 2002). It would surely be appropriate that any moves to acknowledge the potential advantages of work to school aged children should not ignore the possibility that working may have disadvantages as well. Secondly, issues of children's rights should be considered, something which, to our knowledge, has not been a factor in previous attempts to devise legislation in this area. In the past, policy appears to have been driven by a protection agenda, ensuring that young people are not exposed to certain conditions at work or place their education at risk. An alternative approach would be to consider this group as employees and assign them the protection embodied in the legislation for all other employees. Given that many child employees work alongside adults and older adolescents doing the same kind of work leads us to ask the question why they are not protected by the same legislation. The age at which minimum wage regulations apply was originally set at eighteen. Later it was reduced to sixteen. One may ask on what principle a right deemed appropriate to a sixteen year old should be withheld from 14 and 15 year olds.

During this project, a number of our interviewees expressed the view that the issue of child employment did not receive much attention in their authority. The results show that these perceptions are not only justified but apply across Scotland. Clearly it is time that we turn the spotlight directly on to this issue and develop a coherent and relevant contemporary policy.

Notes

This project was funded by the Scottish Executive as part of the study *The nature and implications of school pupil's part time employment in Scotland* (Howieson, McKechnie and Semple, 2006). The views expressed in this article are those of the authors.

In this paper we focus on the legislation on child employment as distinct from children working in entertainment, for which a special set of regulations applies.

References

Better Regulation Task Force (2004) *The regulation of child employment*. London: Better Regulation Task Force.

Cunningham, S (1999) 'Child labour in Britain,' 1918-1970. In M. Lavalette (ed), *A thing of the past? Child labour in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp 139-176.

Department of Health and Department of Trade and Industry (1999) *Report of a review of child employment law: Final report*. Unpublished document accessed via the Freedom of Information Act.

Hamilton, C. (2004) *Dazed and confused: The complicated picture of child employment*. London: Trades Union Congress.

Hamilton, C. and Watt, B. (2004) 'The employment of children,' *Child and Family Law Quarterly*, 16, 135-149.

Hobbs, S. and McKechnie, J. (1997) *Child employment in Britain: A social and psychological analysis*. Edinburgh: The Stationery Office.

Hobbs, S., Anderson, S. and McKechnie, J. (2007) 'Protection of children at work,' *ChildRight*, December/January, cR232, 9-11.

Howieson, C., McKechnie, J. and Semple, S. (2006) *The nature and implications of the part-time employment of secondary school pupils*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive. http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2006/11/10143236

Jolliffe, F., Patel, S., Sparks, Y, and Reardon, K. (1995) *Child employment in Greenwich*. London: Borough of Greenwich, Education Social Work Service.

McKechnie, J., Anderson, S. and Hobbs, S. (2005) *'Cumbria's Working Youngsters: A 2004 Update.'* http://www.cumbria.gov.uk/library/viewtext.asp?file=/eLibrary/Content/Internet/537/689/3866093856.pdf

McKechnie, J., Lindsay, S. and Hobbs, S. (1994) *Still forgotten: Child employment in Dumfries and Galloway*. Glasgow: Scottish Low Pay Unit.

McKechnie, J., Stack, N. and Hobbs, S. (2005) 'Part-time employment of Scottish school students: Towards evidence based policies', *Scottish Educational Review*, 37(2), 116-126.

Mizen, P., Bolton, A. and Pole, C. (1999) 'School age workers: The paid employment of children in Britain,' *Work*, *Employment and Society*, 13, 1-16.

Mizen, P., Pole, C. and Bolton, A. (2001) *Hidden hands: International perspectives on children's work and labour*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Murray, C. (2005) 'Child employment law in Scotland,' *SCOLAG Legal Journal*, 327, 5-6.

Pond, C. and Searle, A. (1991) *The hidden army: Children at work in the 1990s*. London: Low Pay Unit.

Scottish Executive (2002) *Determined to succeed: A review of enterprise in education*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Tomlinson Report: *14-19 Curriculum and Qualifications Reform* (2004) http://www.dfes.gov.uk/14-19/documents/Final per centReport.pdf

**Youth
Studies
Ireland**

Volume 1
Number 1
Autumn 2006

PRESS
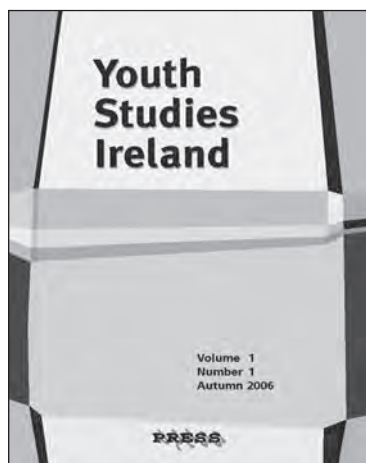
Launched in Autumn 2006, *Youth Studies Ireland* is a new interdisciplinary journal, which aims to provide a forum for the study of all aspects of young people's lives, experiences and circumstances and all types of youth-related policy and practice. It is supported by a number of stakeholder organisations and agencies throughout the island of Ireland and is published by the Irish Youth Work Press.

Editorial Board

Maurice Devlin, National University of Ireland, Maynooth
Paula Mayock, Trinity College Dublin
Sam McCready, University of Ulster
Majella Mulkeen, Institute of Technology, Sligo

Contents of first issue included...

Youth Work in Northern Ireland: Emerging Themes and Challenges
Youth Crime and Disorder Prevention: a Critical Sociology
The 'Bias of Youth' in Irish Advertising
ASBOs and Behaviour Orders: Institutionalised Intolerance of Youth?
Traveller Children and Education: Progress and Problems

Call for Papers

Submissions are sought for the Autumn/Winter 2007 issue and subsequent issues. Papers submitted for consideration will be sent for anonymous peer review. For further information/notes for contributors please contact: **Dr. Maurice Devlin (Editor), Dept of Applied Social Studies, NUI Maynooth, County Kildare.
Tel: +353 1 7083781. Fax: +353 1 7084708 Email: maurice.devlin@nuim.ie**

Subscriptions

Youth Studies Ireland will be produced bi-annually and is available by subscription. The journal and/or individual articles are also available for electronic subscription and downloading from the Irish Youth Work Centre website @ **www.iywc.com**

For further information and subscription details please contact: Fran Bissett, Irish Youth Work Centre, Youth Work Ireland, 20 Dominick Street Lower, Dublin 1. Tel: +353 1 8729933 Fax: +353 1 8724183 Email: fbissett@youthworkireland.ie

'Disappearing' discrimination? The New Deal, ethnicity and the limits of policy evaluation

Ross Fergusson

The New Deal for Young People has prompted a proliferation of evaluation studies, but little academic research. Yet crucial aspects of processes through which social inequalities are perpetuated are opaque to these evaluations. The paper underpins this claim with a review of official data and evaluations which indicates that inequalities between minority ethnic groups are neglected or masked. These sources suggest reduced levels of participation by these groups, increased exclusion, and persistent 'underperformance', especially amongst young black people. The limitations of evaluation with regard to identifying sources of inequality and establishing or refuting claims of discriminatory practices are outlined. It is argued that this review demonstrates the enhanced insights of comparatively modest research studies, and shows their importance. The paper concludes by proposing key empirical features of a policy-relevant, theoretically informed research agenda that would be a necessary condition of achieving greater inter-ethnic equality through this programme.

Keywords: New Deal, Ethnic minority, Policy evaluation.

New Labour's emphasis on socially excluded young people in general and on its welfare-to-work policy, the New Deal for Young People (NDYP) in particular, were flagships of its early social policy initiatives. As the first and largest New Deal programme, NDYP had to be demonstrably equal to the load it would bear, not just as the major initiative to secure the employment of those young people who are most peripheral to the labour market, but as the advance party for future policies for tackling 'worklessness', and for supply-side labour market measures to improve 'employability'. In short, NDYP is a critical component in the transformation of welfare policies based on entitlement through citizenship, into a conditional mode based on labour market participation. Through this transformation NDYP was to 'redraw the boundaries' between the state and young people with regard to welfare provision (Mizen, 2003a:2)

NDYP has produced a proliferation of evaluation studies, alongside a dearth of academic research and critical assessment. The Chair of the House of Commons Select Committee on Education and Employment (SC) described it as the most evaluated programme of its kind.[1] Between 1998 and 2004 the Department of Work and Pensions (DWP) published 214 evaluation studies on employment, of which 100 have been concerned with New Deal, and 38 specifically with NDYP.[2] In contrast, independent primary research studies directly focussed on the programme are counted in single figures (Ogbonna and Noon, 1999; Hoogvelt and France, 2000; Ritchie, 2000; Sunley et al., 2001; Kalra et al, 2001; Hyland and Musson, 2001; Finn, 2003).

The evaluation studies had a redoubled importance because of the UK's history of youth training schemes, most of which had been marred by damaging past reputations. The succession of programmes that began with the Youth Opportunities Programme and evolved into Youth Training was widely discredited. The programme was quite different to NDYP in a number of respects, notably its focus on 16 to 18-year-olds, but the surface resemblances were sufficiently strong that if NDYP was to secure a break with this past, its innovations needed to be evaluated and made to work. Damningly critical evaluations of NDYP's predecessors abounded (Bates et al., 1984; Cockburn, 1987; Finn, 1987; Wallace, 1987; Hollands, 1990; Mizen, 1994. See also Roberts 1995; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; MacDonald (ed.), 1997, for retrospective summaries). Criticisms concerned the efficacy of the programme, notably the shortage of employer-based training and work placement opportunities, but also the poor quality of training provision, and negligible 'employability' effects, exploitation, very low pay, job substitution, and deflationary wage effects. But the most trenchant criticisms were reserved for the programmes' equal opportunities records, particularly regarding minority ethnic groups, their placements and stereotypical occupational allocations.

This record threatened to cast a shadow over NDYP's billing as *the* leading policy for combating 'social exclusion' amongst young people. More than any other policy, it was to define the material and discursive parameters for the inclusion of the marginalised and dislocated. It is the contention of this paper that NDYP has strongly exclusionary tendencies; and that the evaluation studies that have underpinned the continuation of the programme are largely unable to assess some key exclusions. The focus here is on the exclusion of minority ethnic groups. This is partly because this is an aspect of social exclusion whose importance has recently become dramatically amplified with regard to the claimed alienation and separatism of young Islamic men, some years since the inception of NDYP; and partly because the public and governmental commitment to the collection and monitoring of data regarding ethnicity is long established. There is every likelihood that similar claims might be made and evidenced in relation to a range of other well-established correlates of social exclusion, notably those with mental health difficulties that elude definition as disability, those with caring 'responsibilities' whose very home-bound obligations so readily render them invisible in analyses of social exclusion; and many other conditions from drug use to newly-criminalised conducts which are both the cause and the symptom of individual episodes of 'economic inactivity'. But it is in the very nature of these major disadvantages that they are rarely recognised, frequently contested, and almost invariably unrecorded in government monitoring processes and published data.

In the preparation of this article, all 37 formal evaluation studies of NDYP to 2004 have been assessed for coverage of ethnicity. (Limitations of space prevent full referencing of all 37: they may be accessed for the full period 1998 to 2004.[3]) The majority are confined to brief general references, in many cases treating minority groups in homogeneous or generic terms. Three devote a sub-section to issues of ethnicity. Remarkably, thirteen lengthy reports[4] make no mention of ethnicity or race. Just one (O'Connor et al, 2001)) provides commendably focussed coverage of ethnic differences. Extraordinarily, not one report is dedicated wholly or largely to the subject.

The accumulation of evaluations has not produced an integrative overview. Neither have

there been syntheses to consider complementary and disparate findings. Most evaluations are confined to descriptions and conjecture about persistent forms of difference or inequality insofar as they address them at all. The Select Committee expressed concerns about the contribution of the programme to the lives of unemployed black and Asian youths. The Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) replied that all NDYP partnerships would be expected to achieve 'parity of outcomes on jobs between white and ethnic minority young people by the end of this parliament' (HoC, 2000b). Eight years later it appears that this target is still not close to being achieved – though the published data makes this unaccountably difficult to establish, as analyses that follow show.

The New Deal for Young People: contextualising inequality

Since 1998, 18-24 year olds who have claimed Job Seekers Allowance (JSA) for 6 months are required to join NDYP to find work and improve their prospects of remaining in sustained employment. Following a 'Gateway' period of counselling, advice and job search guidance, clients choose from four Options: a subsidised job placement with an employer, the Environmental Task Force (ETF), a community-based voluntary service activity (VS), or full-time education or training, normally on a qualification-based college course (FTET). On completion, clients are obliged to participate in job search and receive further guidance on 'Follow-through'. Employers receive a subsidy of about £3000 annually for each client, plus a training allowance of £750. Participants who gain subsidised employment are paid at the market rate set by their employer. Trainees on all other Options receive a payment £15 above the standard minimum JSA rate. (See Tables on following three pages)

It is unremarkable that a substantial proportion of participants does not successfully complete the programme and begin sustained employment (modestly defined as three continuous months or more in work). Some young people who are eligible never sign up. By inevitable processes of attrition, others drop out. After a number of refusals of placements offered, some attrition results from unsuccessful 'forced' allocations. In cases of recurrent failure to attend allocated placements, benefit sanctions are applied, causing further attrition. There is also clear evidence of considerable 'churning', whereby young people leave the programme before completion of their placement, then return to begin another placement, sometimes more than once; others complete the placement, begin full employment, are subsequently made redundant, and so also return to begin another placement.

Effects on employment

As Table One shows, the Employment Option (per cent column in bold) accounts for the activities of a tiny minority of participants at any one time. The vast majority are at varying stages of entering or leaving the programme. Of those who are actively on Options, fewer than one in five is on the Employment Option. Table Three shows that since NDYP began, slightly over a third of leavers gained 'sustained' jobs that lasted 13 weeks or more. This proportion is also reported to be replicated amongst the 'Not Knowns' (O'Donnell, 2001). This leaves almost two-thirds without work amongst the remainder of the 'Not Knowns', and an overall (short-term) employment placement record of around 47 per cent.

Table 1: Number participating in New Deal for Young People at end March 2005

Great Britain	Overall Total	%	Gateway[1]	%	Employ-ment Option[2]	%	Other Options	%	Follow Through	%
All[3]	**72,790**	100	48,070	66	1,610	**2**	11,860	**16**	11,260	16
Gender										
Male	**51,690**	100	33,730	65	1,220	**2**	8,450	**16**	8,300	16
Female	**21,090**	100	14,340	68	390	**2**	3,410	**16**	2,950	14
Disability[4]										
People with Disabilities	**10,980**	100	6,810	62	280	**3**	2,050	**19**	1,840	17
Ethnic Group										
White	**56,910**	100	37,700	66	1,430	**3**	9,080	**16**	8,700	15
Ethnic Minority Groups	**12,730**	100	8,090	64	120	**1**	2,350	**19**	2,170	17
of which Black – Caribbbean	**2,190**	100	1,410	64	20	**1**	360	**16**	410	19
Black – African	**2,620**	100	1,560	60	10	**0**	550	**21**	490	19
Black – Other	**820**	100	530	65	0	**0**	140	**17**	150	18
Indian	**810**	100	570	70	20	**3**	120	**15**	110	14
Pakistani	**1,720**	100	1,150	67	30	**2**	320	**18**	230	13
Bangladeshi	**860**	100	530	62	0	**0**	200	**23**	130	15
Chinese	**110**	100	70	64	0	**0**	20	**18**	20	18
Other	**3,600**	100	2,280	63	30	**1**	650	**18**	630	18
Prefer not to say	**3,130**	100	2,250	72	6	**2**	430	**14**	390	13
Not stated/ Unknown	**20**	100	20	100	0	**0**	0	**0**	0	0

Table 2: Immediate destinations on leaving New Deal for Young People by stage of New Deal process reached Great Britain to March 2005

	Total	%	Unsubsidised employment[1]	%	Other benefits	%	Other known[2]	%	**Not known**	%
All leavers	**1,220,10**	100	**460,550**	38	**137,420**	11	**248,870**	20	**373,260**	31
Those leaving before having a first interview	**133,950**	100	41,110	31	10,860	8	24,190	18	57,790	43
Those leaving during the Gateway	**671,420**	100	284,040	42	98,980	15	101,680	15	186,720	28
Those leaving from Options	**176,770**	100	71,080	40	9,170	5	5,590	3	90,930	51
of which: **Employment**	**51,470**	**100**	**23,880**	**46**	**1,390**	**3**	**360**	**1**	**25,840**	**50**
Education and Training	**56,320**	100	19,710	35	2,640	5	2,880	5	31,090	55
Voluntary Sector	**36,350**	100	14,490	40	2,780	8	1,220	3	17,870	49
Environment Task Force	**32,630**	100	13,000	40	2,360	8	1,140	3	16,130	49
Those leaving from Follow-Through	**237,960**	100	64,320	27	18,410	8	117,410	49	37,820	16
by last optioned entered: Employment	**28,930**	100	9,950	34	1,760	6	11,850	41	5,370	19
Education and Training	**97,900**	100	26,360	27	7,270	7	49,080	50	15,200	16
Voluntary Sector	**57,430**	100	14,690	26	4,950	9	29,670	52	8,120	14
Environment Task Force	**53,710**	100	13,330	25	4,430	8	26,820	50	9,130	17

**Table 3: Summary of people into jobs through New Deal
Great Britain to March 2005**

Summary	Starts[1]	%	Total into jobs	%	of which sustained job[4]	%
Total[2] as at end March 05	1,292,890	100	562,300	43	446,490	35
Individual starts	957,230	100	–		–	
Gender Male	921,470	100	407,100	44	321,850	35
Female	370,950	100	155,130	42	124,570	34
Disability[3] People with Disabilitiies	161,260	100	69,780	43	54,040	34
Ethnic Group White	1,028,050		463,760	45	368,750	36
Ethnic Minority Groups	207,310		74,180	36	57,690	28
of which						
Black – Caribbean	35,730	100	11,760	33	8,650	24
Black – African	27,960	100	8,470	30	6,050	22
Black – Other	14,080	100	4,830	34	3,560	25
Indian	21,340	100	9,430	44	7,740	36
Pakistani	42,400	100	15,150	36	12,070	29
Bangladeshi	14,960	100	5,640	38	4,600	31
Chinese	2,440	100	1,000	41	840	34
Other	48,410	100	17,900	37	14,190	29
Prefer not to say	50,910	100	21,160	42	16,970	33
Not stated/Unknown	6,610	100	3,210	49	3,080	47

Notes to Table 1

1 Including those awaiting their first Gateway interview
2 The Employment Option can now be accessed from people at any stage of the New Deal programme
3 Totals include people whose gender is not recorded. For this reason, and also because of rounding, components will not necessarily sum to totals
4 Those recorded by Jobcentre Plus as having a physical or mental impairment which has a substantial and long-term-effect on their ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities.

Notes to Table 2

1 Those who are recorded by Jobcentre Plus as having been placed into unsubsidised employment, plus those who are recorded as having terminated their JSA claim in order to go into a job. This will undercount the total number going into a job: some who go into a job will not, for whatever reason, record this as the reason for termination of their JSA claim. These will be counted as 'not known'. Past research indicates that the destinations of those who do not give a reason for termination follow a similar pattern to those who do give a reason.
2 Includes for example transfer to a training programme, or gone abroad. Also includes people who, on leaving New Deal, continue to claim JSA.

Notes to Table 3

1 Those identified by Jobcentre Plus as having joined New Deal, including those who have received an initial invitation, but not yet attended their first interview.
2 Totals include people for whom sub-group information such as gender and ethnicity are not recorded. Because of this, and due to rounding, components will not necessarily sum to totals.
3 Those recorded by Jobcentre Plus as having a physical or mental impairment which has a substantial and long- term effect on their ability to carry out normal day to day activities.
4 A job from which the participant does not return to New Deal within 13 weeks. This includes jobs in which participants have been employed for less than 13 weeks, but have not yet returned to New Deal.

Tables 1–3: adapted from http://www/dwp.gov.uk/asd/asdl/new_deal/ndyp_mar05/ndyp-quarterly (accessed 15/09/05). [This format has since been discontinued.]

This data is consistent with the analysis undertaken by the National Audit Office (NAO) (2002). By 2001, slightly over a third of leavers gained a 'sustained' job. However, almost one in four were reclaiming benefits within a year. As a result, almost one in five (18 per cent) participants were 'churning' and almost a third of these 'returners' were subsequently known to have experienced long-term unemployment. The report concludes that the overall impact of NDYP on levels of employment and unemployment and on the economy as a whole is small, with as few as 8,000 new jobs being created.

Wilkinson's (2003) independent evaluation concludes that:

> NDYP has reduced unemployment by 30-40,000 with a significant part of the impact coming from young people who no longer claim unemployment benefit for six months and hence do not qualify for NDYP. For those that did participate, the largest effect is an increase in the proportion of young people who left unemployment to go into Government Supported Training (p.51).

This appears to be a slightly more positive analysis of the net outcomes, but in effect means that the main outcomes of NDYP are to deter prospective participants and increase college rolls. Furthermore, Wilkinson's estimates of the impact of NDYP on the probability of being employed dwindle to 15,000 18 months after the NDYP qualifying period.

In parallel the SC (HoC, 2001) observes that the 43 per cent of participants who had left during the Gateway by 2001 were the longest-term unemployed, most in need, and hardest to help. Reflecting this, a co-author of the NAO report commented that NDYP resources would have been better targeted at those in greatest need.[5] (For an analysis of the tendency of such programmes to have no beneficial effects on more disadvantaged groups, see Malmberg-Heimonen and Vuori, 2005)

Option difference

The SC found that the Employment Option is by far the most popular, and its participants have the greatest chance of leaving for a job (HoC, 2001 and see row shown in bold in Table Two). ETF and VS are widely regarded by clients to be inferior, and they are most frequently the subject of compulsory referrals and sanctions. In addition to the very small proportion of clients on the Employment Option, more than half of participants are in FTET (included under 'Other Options' in Table One). Remarkably, fewer than 20 per cent of FTET participants achieve their qualification of choice, and 55 per cent do not achieve any qualification (HoC, 2001, para 59). FTET providers expressed major concerns about underfunding and participants' preparedness for courses.

Local differences

There is consensus about the very varied localisation of employment effects. The NAO reported that the strongest local labour markets place leavers in jobs at twice the rate of the weakest. Sunley, Martin and Nativel (2001), observe that unemployment in parts of the UK is at double the rate of most of central and southern England, rising to affect a third of 18-24 year olds. They found that the distribution of post-NDYP participants moving into jobs closely reflects this pattern: that is, in most of southern and eastern England, and northern

Scotland, substantially over half found an existing place in the labour market, while in much of north-eastern England and parts of the north-west, barely a third did so. All major conurbations except Manchester have the lowest rates of post-NDYP job placement, higher rates of youth unemployment, and higher rates of 'churning'. The range of Options in these areas is limited, and clients are less likely to gain placements that match their preferences. Second starts therefore occur at more than three times the rate of the strongest labour markets, with up to one in seven leavers 'churning' in Tayside, Sheffield and Newcastle. Massive disparities in payments on the Employment Option, sometimes below the national minimum wage, create downward pressure on local market wages, and major disincentives to employment amongst the most disadvantaged young people. As Daguerre (2004) has observed:

> *Labour market flexibility, the absence of intermediate labour markets for the most vulnerable and the low replacement rates of unemployment benefits are interlocking features of the Anglo-American [workfare] model (p.54); (see also Grover and Stewart, 2000; Horgan, 2005). Sunley et al (op cit) conclude that policies like the New Deal may be least effective in the very localities in which unemployment and joblessness are most pronounced* (pp 505-6).

Systemic invisibility

The NAO and SC reports recognise that young people who leave NDYP to unknown destinations, who are sanctioned, or who 'churn' within the system, have a propensity to become invisible. 'Individual starts' (Table Three) comprise only 74 per cent of total starts, indicating that a quarter of starters are 'churning'. Table Two, (top row, in bold) shows almost two-thirds of leavers moving on to other benefits, into training, returning to JSA, or eluding record keepers. More than two thirds of the 1.2 million who have passed through the programme left before or during the Gateway, without participating in an Option, but were almost as successful as completers in gaining work. Evidence to the SC also argued that a high proportion of those who leave the Gateway for unknown 'destinations' are the longest term unemployed (HoC, 2001).

In the five years to March 2005 almost 100,000 adverse sanctioning decisions were made[6] the overwhelming majority for failure to attend or for 'misconduct'. This is equivalent to one in ten 'individual starts'. Most resulted in suspension of JSA payments for 2 to 4 weeks, but in 6,300 cases (over 5 per cent) the suspension was for 26 weeks, constituting de facto withdrawal of state welfare. (For a discussion of the regulation of behaviour through deregistering claimants in another regime see Herd et al, 2005.)

The elusiveness of young people who are most excluded through these processes, or who are self-excluding, limits all evaluations. NAO found that significant numbers who became unemployed when they left neither claimed JSA, nor re-registered. Other studies show that reluctant participants leave when placements become imminent or quit before completion (Ritchie, 2000). This is consistent with Wilkinson's (op cit) finding that the greatest single impact of NDYP is to deter benefit enrolment and promote study or training.

Ethnic differences and racialised inequalities: the evaluation studies

It was noted above that coverage of ethnic differences is sparse among the 37 evaluations. O'Connor et al's study is the most substantial on ethnicity. Commissioned by the Employment Service, it interviewed a representative sample of 60 young people from ethnic minority groups, amongst a total sample of 336. The only other substantive evaluation, is Moody's (2000) brief quantitative analysis of ethnic differences in programme participation and outcomes, based on DWP baseline data.

Participation and invisibility

Minority ethnic groups whose members do not define themselves as white-British represented 7.9 per cent of the UK population, in the 2001 Census. Their over-representation amongst total NDYP participants has been substantial, as follows:

April 1998[7]	11 per cent
October 2002[8]	16 per cent
March 2005[9]	17 per cent

Table One gives the ethnicities of recent participants. Black over-representation accounts for almost all of the minority over-representation on NDYP. Moody found that every participating minority group was consistently better qualified than its white counterparts, in some cases at double the rate. These findings reflect endemic labour market inequalities. The polar difference between the presence of black and Indian young people, for example, mirrors labour market participation in the wider population (Ogbonna and Noon, 1999; Wrench, Hassan and Qureshi, 1999).

The SC draws particular attention to the programme's shortcomings in reaching minority ethnic groups. It expresses its concern that 'a substantial number' of young black and Asian people (estimated at 50 per cent by black representatives (HoC, 2000a ,para.69)) are not claiming JSA, and are therefore invisible to NDYP. It goes on to recommend to government that:

> an effort must be made...to build an accurate picture of the reasons why young black people choose not to join the mainstream of seeking work. We recommend that the government conduct a large scale survey of the extent of unregistered unemployment among young people, paying particular attention to people from ethnic minorities.

DfEE declined the challenge.[10]

Option differences

Table One shows minority groups to be markedly less successful in gaining places on the Employment Option, with black and Bangladeshi participants almost completely excluded from the Option which is most likely to lead to a 'sustained' job. Reciprocally, these groups are over-represented in 'Other Options' – 13 per cent of them in FTET compared to 9

per cent for white participants. As we have noted, more than half leave FTET without qualifications. Yet Moody found that every minority group makes more submissions for the Employment Option than white groups. Similarly, O'Connor et al (2001) found a frustrated wish by many to join the Employment Option.

None of these findings demonstrates whether the processes underlying these differences are comparable to those in the labour market as a whole. Direct discrimination therefore remains an open possibility. The sole discussion of any depth regarding discrimination appears to be Elam and Snape's (2000) evaluation, which cites employers' claims that (white) staff would be 'hostile to working with clients from different racial groups'; that 'people from Asian backgrounds would prefer to work for Asian employers'; and that 'the race of the client was noted in adverse circumstances but appeared less relevant when employers were satisfied' (p.74). The authors note that 'this suggests that racist attitudes on the part of some employers may play a role in the initial recruitment of clients and the ways in which problems with clients are perceived' (idem). Finn (2003) also notes that NDYP's use of call centres 'significantly reduces front-line contact for those with limited English ... ' (p.722).

Similarly, the evaluations do not monitor non-achievement rates amongst minority groups on FTET, or control for differences in prior qualification levels. Neither do they or the statistical bulletins allow gendered differentiation of minority groups. It is an active possibility that FTET is merely 'warehousing' young black men, for example, 'infilling' places on courses (Fergusson and Unwin, 1996; Fergusson, 2002; Shain and Gleeson, 1999). The evaluation studies are unable to offer explanations.

Moody found that each distinct minority group was less likely to be sanctioned than white participants. Only a small number of O'Connor et al.'s sample had been sanctioned. These findings suggest programme compliance, not withdrawal or refusal. One promising explanation is that the demands of the programme bifurcate minority groups into the compliant and refusers (comparable to the 'defensive' responses towards labour market activation programmes identified in Harslof's (2005) comparative research study). But the evaluation studies are again unable to elucidate.

Post-NDYP outcomes

It is remarkable that neither Table Two, nor any other known government-published data, provides an ethnic breakdown of outcomes. To have no public record of the destinations of each ethnic group is difficult to account for, if it is not an effort to limit awareness of inequitable outcomes. Yet this information had until recently been provided: in 2002 almost half of minority groups left for unknown destinations, at a rate 10 per cent above that for white leavers, while 6 per cent fewer minority participants moved on to other welfare benefits.[11] The active withdrawal of such analyses seems extraordinary.

There are other indications that the incidence of withdrawal, disappearance and invisibility may be higher amongst some minority ethnic groups. In O'Connor et al.'s evaluation two-thirds of the minority sample did not complete NDYP, frequently as a result of negative experiences of placements, dismissal or redundancy. In Moody's analysis, minority group

leavers reported their destinations less frequently. Asian participants were more likely to leave the programme before taking up an Option; black participants were as likely to progress to Options as white participants.

Table Three (second % column in bold) shows that in 2005 the combined proportion of minority groups leaving for sustained employment was 8 per cent below that for white participants. The record of black leavers, less than one in four of whom gained 'sustained' work (11 to 14 percentage points below the rate for white leavers) is striking. Moody found young black people to be by far the least likely to leave the programme for a job, while Indians exceeded the performance of white leavers. Only three of O'Connor et al's sample of 60 left for jobs. Recurring themes in their comments were employer racism, language difficulties and the barriers to employment posed by traditional domestic gender roles. On this evidence, NDYP seems unable to counter dominant modes of labour market discrimination through its own internal processes, and in its interfaces with employers. But the evaluations do not consider how and why these processes might ameliorate or reproduce discrimination.

Localisation

Moody's analysis found that the concentration of minority groups in cities which have higher unemployment rates accounts for almost three quarters of the difference between white and minority ethnic access to the labour market. The TUC rejects implications of discrimination and locates inequities in access to jobs on and after the programme in the geography of locally differentiated NDYP performance and labour markets.[12] Yet however far impaired labour market opportunities impact upon concentrated populations of black and Asian participants, it remains the case that they more than other NDYP completers are excluded from such opportunities as exist. There is a prima facie argument that NDYP at least mirrors, and perhaps helps reproduce, discrimination in the labour market. It is not clear how the remainder of the difference between white and minority groups is to be explained, why higher mean qualification levels do not counter this difference, and thus how far NDYP processes reproduces discrimination amongst employers rather than ameliorating it.

Conclusions

There is much in these sources to suggest that inequalities between ethnic groups are indeed being reproduced by NDYP, and these findings are broadly replicated in a number of other evaluations (e.g. Bonjour et al, 2001). Moody's report notes that it is not understood why minority group interest in the subsidised jobs Option does not translate into higher placement levels. But the report rather incongruously concludes that 'much of the difference in job entry rates...is not related to ethnicity' (p. 82). Similarly, the special needs of O'Connor et al.'s respondents lead the authors to conclude that 'these may be associated with, or independent of, ethnicity, but may be being masked by a more dominant interest in the young person's ethnic origin' (p. 76). Yet possible reasons for the 'masking' are unexplained, and it remains unclear why special needs might be of greater underlying significance than ethnicity. It is difficult to understand how studies that are palpably constrained in terms of proposing socially, culturally and economically informed explanations are able to reach such

ostensibly sanguine conclusions.

The research studies

It is in the nature of evaluations that they focus on outcome rather than explanation and causation. If we are to understand the social processes of NDYP, evaluations have a number of inherent limitations. For the most part they do not explore the intersections of ethnic difference with other sources of inequality. Neither O'Connor et al nor Moody consider non-participants. And neither link qualitative and quantitative data. In contrast, two infinitely more modest (and probably much less costly) independent research studies elucidate some of these issues, yet they represent the only pieces of fully independent primary research focussed on ethnic differences in eleven years of NDYP.

Kalra et al's (2001) research amongst twenty five young Bangladeshi and Pakistani men and women in Oldham who refused NDYP places (published in this journal) constructed detailed biographies. Unlike the predominantly white national patterns shown in Table One, local participation was highly differentiated by gender, with young Pakistani and Bangladeshi women strongly over-represented, and their male counterparts markedly under-represented. Asian leavers were more successful than white in finding unsubsidised jobs. And the FTET Option was less popular amongst them than amongst white participants.

A complex range of localised effects appears to explain these disparities with other findings. Several young people took jobs after their Gateway interview to avoid NDYP, because of its poor reputation on local networks, following unsatisfactory experiences of previous schemes. Refusers describe past schemes as 'really demoralising', 'really bad experiences' and refer to 'a really bad attitude' towards Asian people on the part of Jobcentre staff (p.75) (anticipating some of the findings of Simmill-Binning et al [2003; also in this journal] regarding the normalisation of low-level racism in everyday life). Those young people who were most detached from the labour market avoided interviews, though some took low-grade jobs they had previously rejected.

Kalra et al. conclude that the young people's involvement with NDYP produces diverse and unpredictable outcomes: those most in need and those who are best informed avoid the programme in spite of sanctions; reluctant joiners leave before they are allocated to a placement, to take a job; more enthusiastic participants drop out with no beneficial outcome. They argue that analysis of participation needs to take into account 'the totality of the young person's circumstances' (p.77). This includes domestic context, individual barriers to employment, and resistant dispositions.

Tilley's (2002) profound critique of experimental method and evaluation in crime prevention highlights the powerful tendencies of these approaches to 'railroad over difference in a way that mirrors or is mirrored in the tendency of policies to railroad over difference' (p.74). Kalra et al's study exemplifies well the richness of alternative approaches. Unlike Moody's and O'Connor's evaluations, it does not isolate personal circumstances from the specificities of ethnicity, and the wider context of the local communities and labour markets in which those circumstances are lived out. It is considerably more context-specific and much more

open to engaging with intersecting divisions and complexities.

Hoogvelt and France (2000) studied an ethnically mixed sample of 105 NDYP clients and 42 'disengaged' refusers, focussing on the socio-economic status of its sample. Refusers were significantly more likely to have experienced full-time employment, to be living independently of parents, and to have a negative view of employment. Their personal reservation wage thresholds were considerably higher.

Hoogvelt and France conclude that the long term job outcomes record was disappointing, at less than 20 per cent. The greatest value of participation was that it 'contributed to more realistic expectations' (p.126) and a marked lowering of job aspirations. The clearest benefits from NDYP came to those with solid middle class backgrounds. Unfortunately, the study does not cross-link the socio-economic characteristics of the minority ethnic sample, but it seems likely that the complex interplay of race with class is a determining factor.

Overview: identifying empirical gaps

Juxtaposing these studies exposes important gaps in the empirical basis for assessing the effects of welfare-to work policies upon vulnerable sections of the population. Each makes a potentially important contribution but is not articulated with the other studies, and so is unable to complement them sufficiently well to construct a coherent representation that can be theorised in ways that identify underlying causes.

Moody's statistical analysis is purely descriptive, and is based on averaging large data sets. It contains no data analysis capable of inferring possible connections between factors, nor any tracking of individual 'cases'. Thus critical relationships such as those between qualification levels, Option placement and outcomes go unanalysed. Interpretation of which factors correlate with others, and with what significance, remains speculative and untested at the level of individuals, of ethnic groups, and of the internal processes of the programme. O'Connor et al's work offers significant insights into individual experiences, and is better placed to interpret sources of ethnic differences in their cultural and social roots. But the sample size significantly limits the possibilities for identifying trends and consistent correlates, or for putting forward confident illustrations of Moody's findings. Furthermore, as noted, both studies draw interpretations in their conclusions that are difficult to substantiate from the data.

Kalra et al and Hoogvelt and France offer insights into processes and recognise clients as gendered and classed as well as ethnically identified subjects. Meaning, interpretation and the individual's subjective understandings of their experiences, are embraced alongside the assessment of material and contextual factors. Nevertheless, both studies are highly limited in their coverage, sample size, locality and range of social differences. The possibilities for mapping them directly onto the findings of the evaluation studies are therefore limited.

Synthesising these disparate studies is therefore inherently difficult. Nevertheless there are some consistencies. Minority groups are over-represented in NDYP, especially young black people, who are also least likely to be placed on the Employment Option, and

least likely to leave for a job. While this is partly accounted for by urban unemployment, other unidentified factors are in play. There are also consistent indications that more black and Asian participants leave the programme without reporting their next activity, that they experience low levels of sanctioning, and that they claim fewer benefits after the programme. While the sum of these findings strongly indicates self-exclusionary 'disappearance', the combined spatial coverage, sample size and qualitative analyses are insufficient to make a convincing assessment of the visibility of minority groups. With the exception of Elam and Snape's (op cit) brief coverage, the possibility of discrimination is not explored in the evaluations, and the two research studies are insufficiently broadly based and focussed to provide more than 'circumstantial' evidence that NDYP might reproduce labour market discrimination.

What progress has been made in equalising opportunities for black and Asian participants? This too is extremely difficult to gauge, partly because of changes in the detail and presentation of DWP's baseline data noted earlier; but also because all NDYP data is published only on the DWP website. This gives no historical information about ethnic minority performance. But the government appears to have fallen well short of its 1998 target to equalise outcomes between all ethnic groups. Of the October 2001 intake, 38 per cent of white leavers had gained employment by December 2002, compared to 31 per cent of minority ethnic leavers. By March 2005 Table Three (first per cent column in bold) shows that 45 per cent of all white leavers as against 36 per cent of all minority leavers had started jobs since NDYP began. This latter mean conceals major variations, with young Africans 15 percentage points less likely than white leavers to begin employment. While the disparate time-frames of these two data sets may conceal improvement for some groups, it is clear that aggregate employment outcomes have not equalised. But the data that might allow such comparisons has disappeared from the DWP record. It should of course be noted that the Employment Zones (EZ) have targeted unemployment amongst young black and Asian groups. Even so, some recent studies that have focussed specifically on young people's experience of the multi-provider zones (e.g. Hirst et al (2006) make no reference to ethnicity. Similarly the study by Hasluck et al (2003) on the impact of EZs across the age range does not differentiate outcomes by ethnicity. And while Hales et al's (2003) study is considerably more informative on ethnic differences in the experience of EZs, it makes no reference to NDYP. Once again it is only in comparative studies (e.g. Malmberg-Heimonen and Julkunen, 2006) that the failure of programmes for integrating young people from minority ethnic groups into the labour market is adequately assessed.

That this should be so is itself hard to explain and justify, in view of the political significance of a programme that has done much to earn New Labour a reputation for combating youth unemployment. What is more remarkable are the apparent disjunctures within government in responding to this problem. 35 of the 37 NDYP evaluations were produced before 2002. But the SC's report, with all its indications of neglect of the most vulnerable groups, was published in 2001. It expressly recommends that 'the future development of NDYP should take account of the fact that those who are hardest to help will form an increasingly large proportion of the programme's client group' (HoC, 2001, para 74; see also Finn, 2003). The only two evaluations that have been undertaken since largely ignore the performance of minority ethnic groups. The IRC/ECOTEC (2003) Report's sole contribution is to re-affirm the long-established poor success rate amongst black and Asian leavers in gaining work (p.16).

And Coleman et al (2004) lacks any new findings about ethnic minority performance, replicating findings from earlier studies concerning post-NDYP benefit claims (p. 25). This, DfEE's refusal of a major survey noted above (9), and the long-term absence of any dedicated evaluation of NDYP's ethnic performance combine to represent a lamentable response.

Some immediate empirical questions are therefore urgently in need of consideration if NDYP is to preserve its weakening reputation (see for example the critiques provided by MacDonald (ed),1997; Finn, 2003; Mizen, 2003b, 2004, 2006) as the lead policy platform for social inclusion. These include:

- What proportion of unequal access to jobs on and after NDYP can safely be attributed to local labour market effects?
- How do gender and class inflect inequitable outcomes amongst black and Asian participants?
- What is the relationship between prior qualifications, placement on Options and post-NDYP outcomes?
- Do discriminatory practices of employers delimit the programme's achievements, or obscure its own inherent discrimination?
- In what mix do the limitations of the Options, discriminatory experiences and the application of sanctions diminish minority group participation?
- What are the social and labour market effects of high levels of young black men's early withdrawal and disappearance from the work-welfare nexus?

Inequality and the future of welfare-to-work policies: an agenda for research

In response to the apparently stubborn resistance of these inequalities, a number of policy initiatives are in train. The first was to extend Action Teams for Jobs in deprived areas. Ethnic Minority Outreach pilots began in 2001. From April 2004, an £8m. Ethnic Minority Flexible Fund was allocated to Job Centre Plus managers in areas with high ethnic minority unemployment. New Specialist Employment Advisers have also been introduced with a similar brief. Ethnic minority organisations are being encouraged to deliver NDYP. Yet it is far from clear whether these initiatives have an informed basis on which to address inequalities. None of the studies have investigated the possibilities of systemic institutional discrimination within NDYP. None have established the triggers for and effects of 'disappearance'. Proposals (DfES, 2005) for intensive tracking and preventive one-to-one monitoring of the most vulnerable young people are likely to fall disproportionately on young black men, and to deter or repel marginal participants .

It is clear that crucial aspects of the social processes through which social inequalities are constituted tend to be opaque to the methodologies of evaluation. Rarely do evaluations disaggregate facets of difference, or engage with specific conducts of staff and clients. As Ellis et al (1999) argue, critical questions about whether front-line staff make or implement access policies cannot be answered through evaluation studies which use the same indicators of performance as are used to measure efficiency and effectiveness. Empirical

questions about the fine grain of policy processes can only be answered through direct observation, not read off from policy prescriptions or managers' representations. As Fletcher (2000) notes, a processing culture driven by the attainment of institutional targets came to dominate the early phases of the New Deal. This inevitably fosters evaluations that reflect this culture. Yet other paradigms are available. Across a number of welfare-to-work regimes, critical commentaries have explored the remaking of social relations that underlies the new conditional modes of welfare and income maintenance through 'labour market activation' (Shragge, 1997; Consedine, 2001; Wright, 2003; MacDonald and Marston, 2005). Many of these studies draw on governmentality theories developed in the work of Garland (2001) and Rose (1999). Linking such theories with the practices and experiences of front-line workers and welfare clients demands a serious empirical engagement to identify those moments at which some young people begin to detach themselves from the processes whereby they are called upon to 'manage' their own behaviour in 'responsible' ways. The empirical questions listed above might productively be explored in the context of some important broad-based policy questions. These raise the profile of the social consequences of programmes like NDYP that lie outwith their more instrumental objectives. These might include:

- Is NDYP a work activation programme, or does it exist primarily to 'manage social problems' amongst its most over-represented groups?
- How is the mode of management to be understood? As occupational containment? As a new mode of governance of the young by 'Personal Advisers'? As securing the invisibility of the 'hardest-to-reach'? Or as linking non-participation to crime-prevention strategies of risk calculation and targeting?
- Are the desired effects of NDYP realised through its regulatory framework and statutory policies, or through the ways in which young people are 'formed' in the work of advisers 'acting upon' their clients.
- Are social difference and cultural diversity the critical explanatory variables in understanding differentiated outcomes of NDYP, or are such outcomes more coherently explained by socio-economic sources of inequality?

At root, these are fundamental questions concerning power, governance, state agents and autonomous social actors. As Taylor (2005) has observed, evaluation has developed as part of a new mode of regulation that is blind to the context of political struggles. None of these questions are encompassed within any of the studies surveyed here. Yet no study which attempts to make sense of the recurring inequalities identified here is free of positioning itself in relation to the issues these questions imply. They, and the tensions they embody, are irreducibly part of determining a more informative research agenda. Broadly based academic research methods, constructed around cross-disciplinary approaches to acquiring greater knowledge of the outcomes of policy alone can engage with the complexities this review has identified. Ambiguous and contradictory as the dynamics may be, most is to be gained from studies that confront complexity, and work with the tensions between paradigms. All the studies examined here are firmly located in a single paradigm – typically the material, the regulatory and sometimes the (political)-economic. But taking account of the material and the cultural, the regulatory and the normative, the political-economic and the social has the potential to open wider fields of vision and deeper insights into the complex causes of social exclusions generated through the very programmes that purport

to ameliorate them. Studies which ignore one side of these dissolving binaries do no more than imagine partial, tidied-up understandings of these issues. Only by working across such divides can we begin to make sense of how programmes like NDYP become inclusionary and equalising, or serve to reproduce new episodes of exclusion and new forms of discrimination. If the target-driven, cost-motivated, managerialist proliferation of evaluation is allowed to eclipse the distinctive insights of more broadly based and heterogeneous research, the limitations of our understanding of the social effects of programmes like NDYP will be extended into an era in which policies that claim to advance inclusivity are realised in ways that screen out awareness of growing social polarisation, and of the emergence of a new generation of 'disappeared' young adults.

References

Bates, I., Clarke, J., Cohen,P., Finn, D., Moore, R. and Willis, P. (eds) (1984) *Schooling for the Dole? The new vocationalism*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Bonjour, D. et al (2001) *New Deal for Young People: national survey of participants: Stage 2*, Sheffield: Employment Service (ESR 67).

Cockburn, C. (1987) *Two-track Training: sexual inequalities and the YTS*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Coleman, N., Wapshott, J. and Carpenter, H.(2004), *Destination of Leavers from NDYP and ND25 Plus: 3rd draft report*, London: Department for Work and Pensions.

Consedine, M. (2001) Enterprising States: the public management of welfare-to-work, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Daguerre, A. (2004) 'Importing Workfare: Policy Transfer of Social and Labour Market Policies from the USA to Britain under New Labour', *Social Policy and Administration*: 38, 1, 41-56.

Department for Education and Skills, (DfES), (2005) *Youth Matters*, London: HMSO.

Elam, G and Snape, D. (2000) *New Deal for Young People: striking a deal with employers*, London: National Centre for Social Research.

Ellis, K., Davis, A. and Rummery, K. (1999) 'Needs assessment, street-level bureaucracy and the new community care', *Social Policy and Administration*: 33, 3, 262-80.

Fergusson, R. (2002) 'Rethinking Youth Transitions: Policy Transfer and New Exclusions in New Labour's New Deal', *Policy Studies*: 23, 3-4, 173-190.

Fergusson, R. and Unwin, L. (1996) 'Making Better Sense of Post-16 Destinations: a Case Study of an English Shire County', *Research Papers in Education*: 11, 1, 53-81.

Finn, D. (1987) *Training Without Jobs: new deals and broken promises*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Finn, D (2003) 'The "Employment-first" Welfare State: Lessons from the New Deal for Young People', *Social Policy and Administration*: 37,7,709-724.

Fletcher, D.R. (2000) 'The National Development programme: policy implementation in an era of welfare reform', *Policy and Politics*: 28, 2, 163-78.

Furlong, A. and Cartmel, F. (1997) *Young People and Social Change: individualisation and risk in late modernity*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Garland, D. (2001) *The Culture of Control*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Grover, C. and Stewart, J. (2000) 'Modernising Social Security? Labour and its welfare-to-work strategy', *Social Policy and Administration*: 34,3,232-252.

Hales, J., Taylor, R., Mandy, W. and Miller, M. (2003) *Evaluation of Employment Zones: report on a cohort survey of long-term unemployed people in the zones and a matched set of comparison areas*, London: DWP (ESR 176).

Harslof, I. (2005) ' "Integrative" or "Defensive" Youth Activation in Nine European Welfare States', *Journal of Youth Studies*: 8, 4, 461-81.

Hasluck, C., Elias, P. and Green, A. (2003) *The Wider Labour Market Impact of Employment Zones*, London: DWP (ESR 175).

Herd, D., Mitchell, A. and Lightman, E. (2005) 'Rituals of Degradation: administration as policy in the Ontario works programme', *Social Policy and Administration*: 39, 1, 65-79

Hirst, A., Tarling, R. Lefaucheux, M., Short, C., Rinne, S., McGregor, A., Glass, A., Evans, M. and Simm, C. (2006) *Evaluation of Multiple Provider Employment Zones – early implementation issues*, London: DWP, Research Report 310.

Hollands, R. (1990) *The Long Transition : class, culture and youth training*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Education.

Hoogvelt, A. and France, A. (2000) 'New Deal: the experience and views of clients in one pathfinder city (Sheffield)', *Local Economy*: 15, 2, 112-27.

Horgan, H. (2005) 'Child Poverty in Northern Ireland: the limits of welfare-to-work policies', *Social Policy and Administration*: 39, 1, 49-64.

House of Commons, Select Committee on Education and Employment (2000a) *Eighth Report: the New Deal pathfinders*, HC 1059, London: The Stationery Office.

House of Commons, Select Committee on Education and Employment (2000b) *Eighth Special Report: the New Deal pathfinders: government reply*, HC 1123, London: The Stationery Office.

House of Commons, Select Committee on Education and Employment (2001) *New Deal: an evaluation*, (Fifth Report), 13th March, HC 58, London: The Stationery Office.

Hyland, T and Musson, D.(2001) 'Unpacking the New Deal for Young People: promise and problems', *Educational Studies*: 27,1, 55-67.

IRC (Insite Research and Consulting) /ECOTEC Research and Consulting (2003) *New Deal for Young People: introducing a more tailored approach*.

Kalra, V.S., Fieldhouse, E.A. and Alam, S. (2001) 'Avoiding the New Deal: a case study of non-participation by minority ethnic young people', *Youth and Policy*: 72, 63-79.

Malmberg-Heinmonen, I. and Julkunen, I. (2006) 'Out of Unemployment?' *Journal of Youth Studies*: 9,5, 575-92.

Malmberg-Heimonen, I. and Vuori, J. (2005)'Financial Incentives and Job-search Training: methods to increase labour market integration in contemporary welfare states', *Social Policy and Administration*: 39, 3, 247-259.

MacDonald, C. and Marston, G. (2005) 'Workfare as Welfare: governing unemployment in the advanced liberal state', *Critical Social Policy*, 25 (3): 374-401.

MacDonald, R. (ed.) (1997) *Youth, the Underclass and Social Exclusion*, London: Routledge.

Mizen, P. (1994) *The State, Young People and Youth Training: in and against the training state* , London: Mansell.

Mizen, P. (2003a), 'Tomorrow's Future or Signs of A Misspent Youth?', *Youth and Policy*, 79, Spring: 1-18.

Mizen, P. (2003b) 'The Best Days of Your Life? Youth, Policy and Blair's New Labour', *Critical Social Policy*: 23, 4, 453-476.

Mizen, P. (2004) *The Changing State of Youth*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mizen, P. (2006) 'Dealing from a Different Deck? Labour's New Deal for the Young

Unemployed', In Goldson, B. and Muncie, J (eds) *Youth Crime and Justice: Critical Issues*, London: Sage.

Moody, A. (2000) 'New Deal and Ethnic Minority Participants', *Labour Market Trends*, London: Office for National Statistics /the Stationery Office, February: 77- 82.

National Audit Office (2002) *The New Deal for Young People*, 28 February, HC639.

O'Connor, W., Ritchie, J. and Woodfield, K. (2001) *Experiences of New Deal: qualitative profiles of young participants*, ESR 71, Sheffield: Employment Service.

O'Donnell, K. (2001) *New Deal for Young people: survey of leavers to unknown destinations*, ESR 63, Sheffield: Employment Service.

Ogbonna, E. and Noon, M. (1999) 'A New Deal or New Disadvantage? British ethnic minorities and government training', *International Journal of Manpower*: 20, 3-4, 165-78

Ritchie, J. (2000) 'New Deal for Young People: participants' perspectives', *Policy Studies*: 21, 4.

Roberts, K. (1995) *Youth and Employment in Modern Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rose, N. (1999) *Powers of Freedom: reframing political thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shain, F. and Gleeson, D. (1999) 'Under New Management: changing conceptions of teacher professionalism and policy in the further education sector', *Journal of Education Policy*: 14, 4, 445-462.

Shragge, E. (ed) (1997) *Workfare: ideology for a new underclass*, Toronto: Garamond Press.

Simmill-Binning, C., Paylor, I. and Smith, D. (2003) 'Young People, Race Relations and Racism', *Youth and Policy*, 81, Autumn, 44-58.

Sunley, P., Martin, R. and Nativel, C. (2001) 'Mapping the New Deal: local disparities in the performance of welfare-to-work', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*: 26, 484-512.

Taylor, D. (2005) 'Governing through Evidence: Participation and Power in Policy Evaluation', *Journal of Social Policy*: 34, 4, 601-18.

Tilley, N. (2002) 'The Rediscovery of Learning: crime prevention and scientific realism', in Hughes, G. and Edwards, A. (2002) (eds.) *Crime Control and Community Safety: the new politics of public safety*, Cullompton: Willan.

Wallace, C. (1987) *For Richer, For Poorer: growing up in and out of work*, London: Tavistock.

Wilkinson, D. (2003) *New Deal for Young People: evaluation of unemployment flows*, London: Policy Studies Institute.

Wrench, J., Hassan, E. and Qureshi, T. (1999) 'From school to the labour market in Britain: the qualitative exposure of structures of exclusion', in Wrench, J., Rea, A., and Ouali, N. (eds.) *Migrants, Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market'*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Wright, S. (2003) 'The Street-level Implementation of Unemployment Policy', in Millar, J. (ed.) *Understanding Social Security: issues for policy and practice*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Notes

1   minutes of evidence of 13.12.00
    (http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200001/cmselect/cmeduemp/58/0121302.
    htm; accessed 30.05.06)

2   http://www.dwp.gov.uk/jad/index_[year].asp for the period 1998-2004 inclusive
    (accessed 30.05.06)

3   Ibid

4   The reports that make no reference to race or ethnicity are Numbers 6,7,8,30,33,34,50,
    53,58,61,62,73 and 86, all accessible as above

5   Jeff Jones, 'The World at One', BBC Radio 4, [February 2002]

6   http://www.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/jsa/sanctions/jsa_s&d_jun05_tab2a.pdf; accessed
    20.9.05. This format has since been discontinued.

7   Department for Education and Employment Press Release, 322/98, 25.06.98

8   Memorandum from Department of Work and Pensions to House of Commons Select
    Committee on Public Accounts, 9.10.02.

9   Calculated from source data used in Table One

10 Government Reply to 8th Select Committee Report, 9th October 1998

11 Department for Work and Pensions (2002) New Deal for Young People, Statistics to
    December 2002, http://www.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/new_deal/ndyp (accessed 3.02.04;
    no longer accessible in this format)

12 Trades Union Congress (TUC) (2004) The New Deal and Race, http://www.tuc.org. uk/
    welfare/tuc-8038 (accessed 19.9.05)

SCOTTISH YOUTH ISSUES JOURNAL

The Scottish Youth Issues Journal provides a forum for reflection on policy and practice and for the dissemination of research on issues affecting young people – from education, health, housing and culture to employment, criminal justice and politics. Drawing mainly, but not exclusively, from Scottish papers, policy analysis and book reviews, it is aimed at academic specialists, researchers and practitioners in a range of disciplines and at those involved in decision making policies affecting young people.

Published twice a year the annual subscription cost is £30 for one copy of each issue within the UK. For further details and subscription options contact:

Review Article

Tony Jeffs

'The best book on youth work that's appeared in the last decade.' Such was the response of a friend upon being told I was writing a feature review of *A Place to Call Home*. High praise indeed, but is it justified?

A Place to Call Home resulted from the author's appointment to undertake a formative evaluation of a gender equity initiative promoted by the Boys and Girls Clubs of America. The initiative was designed for use in after-school centres run by affiliated organisations. It was introduced with the intention of improving and extending provision for young women attending those centres. The national body, correctly it emerged, believed they were being 'underserved' by the clubs running the centres. Hirsch's evaluation of the implementation of this initiative in six centres provides an enthralling sub-text within the narrative, but that is all, for it is not the central focus of the resulting publication. Rather this is a book about much more than the effectiveness, or otherwise, of a single programme. For Hirsch thought it unrealistic to evaluate the structured programme, without simultaneously studying the context within which it was delivered. This led him, and the research team, to broaden their remit and engage in a detailed study of after-school provision and club life in the youth centres and to undertake a research programme that sought to portray and theorise what was happening in these 'after-school programmes' and clubs.

Origins

Prior assurances of confidentiality made to 'participants' mean we learn little regarding the location, history or structure of the centres. All we are told is they are situated in 'high crime' areas; that over 80 per cent of those using them meet the criteria entitling them to 'free' school meals; and that those attending the after-school clubs are almost exclusively Afro-American or Hispanic. The absence of detail regarding what the centres had to offer in terms of facilities and the range of provision besides the after-school clubs, is irritating. Certainly it makes it impossible to understand how, if at all, the after-school provision described here relates to other programmes provided by the centres themselves, or other agencies using the premises. Although Hirsch mentions that other large clubs operating in the same 'urban' area had similar levels of take-up we are told almost nothing about the range of services offered these young people. Nor do we learn anything substantive about the community or locality in which they are growing up. However we are informed the young people attending these after-school clubs were primarily aged ten to fifteen. Although according to the data some of those interviewed were as old as 18, the median

age of attendees is 13. Approximately half attended on all the five days the facility was available, whilst 84 per cent did so for three days per week. Roughly three-quarters stayed for between two and four hours per visit.

The research was undertaken over a four year period by Hirsch and a team of graduate students. The researchers immersed themselves in the daily life of the centres, listening to the young people and staff, making copious notes. Initially outsiders, observing and recording what was occurring around them, as time passed they were drawn into the vibrant life of the clubs. Accounts of what they witnessed, taken from their research notes, make for fascinating reading. Scholarly yet accessible they portray a pulsating world of activity and youthful exuberance seemingly chaotic to the untutored eye but actually a complex world governed by rules, formal and unofficial, and skilfully supervised by adults possessing an acute understanding of the environment and its occupants. The researchers, who apparently had scant knowledge of club work or club life before they started, initially struggle to make sense of what they find themselves in the midst of. As one records:

> *As I return to the gym, I talk with one of my research assistants about our sense of the club. We try to come up with some words to capture what the club is like, but no analogy is perfect. In some ways, it's like a great playground during the warm weather, with loads of kids running around having a great time. Except that right now it's wintry cold and no kids anywhere use playgrounds when the weather is frigid. Moreover, playgrounds in high-crime communities such as the one where the club is located are just not safe places. That's where gangs loiter and drugs are peddled. Playgrounds also don't have computers and art classes and other organized activities and trips. And they are unlikely to have the regular, safe presence of older, aunt- and uncle- type figures keeping things under control and handing out plentiful quantities of warmth, support, and guidance. ..... Our reflections are interrupted as kids swirl around us* (p. 26).

Staff and young people refused to allow the researchers the luxury of being strangers, standing apart from the community that was the club. They were cultivated and drawn-in by being expected to play basketball or volleyball with the young people, to mentor them and engage in meaningful conversations as well as join in the banter that oiled the relationships which made each centre a special place for its members. As adults they also grasped that they could not negate their responsibilities towards the young people and the centre. Consequently at times they intervened in order to control unacceptable behaviour, protect the vulnerable and encourage the nervous. As this process of engagement accelerated so did their appreciation of what was taking place around them. The team comprehended that 'beneath the veneer of chaos lie ordered patterns that permit but bound youthful energy' (p. 35). Crucially they understood the importance of the centre to the young people and the community. As one explained:

> *whatever label we may try to pin on this club, it is clear that it is a great place to have fun with your friends. This may not seem to be such a striking or important claim if you live in a community in which such places are abundant. However in these urban neighborhoods, it is a rare place indeed. The streets are unsafe and the schools unfriendly. At home, you may have responsibilities, such as taking care of younger children. So the youth center is a place where, quite simply, you can be a kid* (p. 26).

Clearly in the neighbourhoods where the centres were located many parents were in low-paid jobs involving unsocial hours and split shifts. For them the centres offered low-cost child care, and undoubtedly a proportion of the young people were pressurised by parents to attend. However the overwhelming majority willingly chose to be there. Indeed three-quarters of the 112 interviewed were enthusiastic regarding the benefits of membership, many going so far as to describe the centres as a 'home-from-home'. Indeed so often did this description crop-up during conversations with the young people that:

> As part of the interview, youth were told that 'some kids have described the club as a second home to them. Other kids do not seem to think of the club as a home' and were asked whether they would describe the club as a home (p. 45).

To the surprise of the interviewers 74 per cent said the centres were like a second home to them. What these young people liked about the clubs were the opportunities they offered to have fun with and talk to friends; to spend time with staff they trusted and liked; and to be a part of a 'place' that generated a social atmosphere which conveyed 'a sense of happiness and caring' (p. 47). Two-thirds of those interviewed saw the relationships with staff and peers as the pre-eminent benefit derived from membership.

Enthusiasm for what the centres offered contrasted starkly with the young people's views regarding the schools they attended. Basically they not only enjoyed the time spent at the centres they considered it socially and educationally beneficial. However those interviewed had little positive to say regarding their experience of schooling. The antipathy expressed towards both teachers and the ambience of the schools was perhaps predictable. But it reinforces the findings of earlier research showing attendance at after-school provision located in free-standing clubs was in excess of double that achieved by provision located in school buildings. Indeed many young people specifically told Hirsch and his team that if the centres became more like a school they would stop coming. For:

> In contrast to the school, the club serves as a caring, personal community. The youth there saw it as a home-place where they are able to express themselves. The club serves as a supportive environment in which youth can develop different aspects of their emerging identities and have a number of their developmental needs met (p. 52).

Their schools on the other hand were viewed as somewhere dominated by staff, codes and values they found oppressive and alien. This does not mean the clubs operated in a laissez faire fashion making few demands upon the young people. Rather they sought, according to Hirsch, 'to provide a bridge between the neighborhood and the mainstream world' (p. 77). Members spoke their vernacular African American English without being reproached. Self-expression and individuality were fostered and communal bonds recognised as a positive feature within their lives. However rules excluded:

> certain forms of dress, speech, and behavior, and youth understand that staff not only enforce the rules, but believe in them. No gang insignia are permitted. Hats are taken off on entry; excessive jewelry and extremely revealing clothes also are not to be worn. Cursing is not permitted around adults. Physical violence is unacceptable. Staff directives are to be followed (p. 27).

These rules were acceptable because they were applied sensitively by adults whom the young people valued and whom they believed cared for and respected them. Adults who wished to spend time with them and understood the social difficulties they faced and embraced the positive elements of the youth cultures the young people adopted such as 'friendship, informality, expressiveness, music, athletics, games and so on' (p. 34). Grown-ups unafraid to recognise that the time they spend enjoying themselves is precious and intrinsically valuable.

What is going on?

Overall the findings 'converge to suggest having fun with friends is a core motivation for participation' (p. 31). But they also acknowledge the importance of recreational activities. The research shows it is the former that must be the foundation for all such programmes as it is 'fun with friends' that 'draws youth to these settings and keeps them there' (p 32). Activities however spawn opportunities for creative inter-action with adults, enabling staff to engage in social and informal education, to teach by word and example, to model behaviour and tutor. It is activities that proffer the 'hook', an excuse to organise field trips and outings that simultaneously bring staff and young people into closer proximity and bequest opportunities to take the young people beyond the confines of the physical and emotional 'ghetto' into which they have been cast. Close observation of club life, by the researchers, confirmed exploitation of these opportunities for 'teaching' required reservoirs of skill, wisdom, understanding and enthusiasm, attributes not universally found amongst those paid to work with young people. The workers who most consistently achieved this rapport, such as Cheryl and Charles, whose work features within a number of accounts of practice, also possessed the academic 'credentials' to enable them to help the young people with homework and advise them regarding their programmes of study. 'Being around' was never enough; so much more was needed for the contact between youth worker and young person to be beneficial for the latter. Whereas the young people tended to avoid their teachers it was the reverse with regards to the adroit and gifted youth workers. For, as Hirsch recounts, the young people deliberately sought out opportunities to meet, talk to and 'be with' such youth workers. Most spent significant amounts of time with the adult staff member to whom they felt the closest attachment. 76 per cent got together four to five days per week, 19 per cent two to three days per week, and activities played a crucial role in enabling this to happen in relaxed and natural ways. When the workers have some knowledge and 'comfort with' the activities the young people enjoy then, as Hirsch found, young people respond positively to, and use the time capsule manufactured by the activity to 'engage in dialogue' with a chosen adult about serious and profound topics.

Activities themselves have, as the text confirms, only limited value, especially when delivered by 'coaches' and 'purists' primarily interested in transmitting skills and competence. When activities worked in these settings it was because they were managed and delivered by youth workers who grasped that the prime interest of the young people was in having fun and building relationships. Not in developing expertise but engagement; not in acquiring accolades but acceptance. The skills acquired, and possibly a long term interest in the activity were the desired bonus, nothing more.

Especially with regard to the young women attending the centres, Hirsch highlights the care needed to prevent young males from pushing them aside. Although management glibly assumed issues of gender equity in relation to access to resources such as the gymnasium had been 'dealt with' Hirsch's case studies show this was far from the case. Staff had to be prepared to firmly intervene to secure access to equipment and space for the young women. They also had to overcome the residue of a short lifetime of being pushed aside which meant all too often the 'girls were frustrated, bored, and tired of having to fight for space' (p. 114). This meant staff had to be prepared at crucial times to skirmish on their behalf. But above all else the key factor, what encouraged the girls to partake of activities, was the presence of enthusiastic adults who themselves enjoyed them and delighted in joining in.

Structured programmes

The researchers had a specific remit to evaluate the effectiveness of the *Smart Girls* programme, an integral part of a wider gender equity initiative. The Boys and Girls Clubs of America mandated clubs involved in this initiative during the first year to develop programmes for young women and in the second to deliver the *Smart Girls* course. Written by headquarters staff *Smart Girls* comprised 32 sessions addressing five domains or curriculum areas - Lifeskills; Know Your Body; Eating Healthy and Fitness; Accessing the Health Care System; and Role Models and Other Mentors. Each club was obligated to delegate a female staff member to run the programme and attend a day's training to familiarise themselves with the 110 page manual upon which they were to base their delivery. In one centre the leader was already running a Girls' Council that involved members in planning and organising their own activities. This leader simply re-named this council Smart Girls to satisfy her management then, apart from adding 'sex ed.' to their programme, proceeded to ignore the manual and carry on as before. The rest opted to follow the manual. Hirsch argues that on the basis of what the team observed, packaged material can, in some instances, aid staff too busy or under-qualified to compile their own. However he notes how a staff member who compiled their own programme to address issues identified as relevant to the group appeared to achieve better results.

The extracts from the research notes provide scant evidence that the *Smart Girls* programme was effective. The workers covered only a fraction of the material in the manual. First because the culture of the clubs 'led to many of the sessions being postponed or cancelled' resulting in 'decreasing' commitment amongst young people and leaders. Cancellation was primarily caused by staff undertaking other duties due to absence of colleagues or young people failing to 'turn up' thereby leaving the group in-quorate. Second when meetings took place young people frequently wished to set the agenda - to discuss what they considered important or return to topics addressed earlier. Consequently the prescribed content was set aside or all or part of the session was lost in conflict between the leader and members over what to discuss. Even when the curriculum material was attended to, on occasions it emerged that neither programme staff or supervisors had 'a reservoir of relevant knowledge that they could draw on' (p. 95). Overall Hirsch delivers an uncomplimentary critique of pre-packaged materials parachuted into clubs that, by their very nature, are not 'task orientated' but 'orientated to inter-personal process' (p. 100). Young people it seems predictably wish to talk about what is important to them not what is in the portfolio or

manual. Therefore seeking to corral young people onto these programmes can, as Hirsch found, 'diminish the quality of personal relations' between them and the workers. For the former become aware that 'being marched through required activities', is for the staff more important than getting 'to know and appreciate them as individuals' (p. 135).

Better, on the basis of the evidence presented by Hirsch, to allow staff the space and freedom to develop programmes as, when, and if they deem it apposite. Skilled and knowledgeable staff must be trusted to know what is needed. Equally they will comprehend the appropriate pace, know when to persevere or abandon a programme. Fundamentally able, skilled, and educated staff do not need manuals written by others, whilst deficient staff too often lack the skills required to keep the group focussed and the erudition to interpret content. What are needed are special adults who 'enjoy and make good use of self-disclosure and storytelling' and can 'draw on their own experience and personalize the material. This sharing of self is part of what draws youth to staff and makes them role models' (p. 136). In other words, sophisticated educators capable of teaching within informal settings. Imposition of the manual based programmes displays a lack of trust amongst managers regarding the capacity of staff to offer educational experiences to those attending the centres. In some cases this judgement may be well founded, but sadly the manual or curriculum-based line of attack does not overcome the problem. Rather it merely serves to alienate the most talented and able staff.

What about us?

Hirsch stresses 'the most important finding of this research is that the relationships between youth and staff are the heart and soul, the most fundamental strength' (p. 131) of these programmes. Therefore flexibility and creativity on the part of both staff and young people need to be fostered. However staff must be encouraged to make long-term commitments to centres both because they need time and space to develop these skills and to establish productive relationships with members. Apart from that, what specific messages might this text have for a British audience as we drift towards making substantive investment on an extended school programme?

First *A Place to Call Home* confirms that we are developing extended schools on the flimsiest of evidence that they might amount to a worthwhile investment. Over a hundred years of attempting to develop school based youth work already tells us that it only thrives in unique environments manufactured by exceptional men and women. School buildings and youth work are inherently incompatible, and many teachers are reluctant to switch roles and jettison the curriculum-based approach in order to build the relationships that allow informal education to flourish. The centres studied here were successful precisely because they were neither located in school buildings nor managed and run by teachers. Within these clubs operating in dangerous neighbourhoods, young people, who often felt their schools resembled 'jail' and had poor relationships with teachers, found in their own words 'a second home' - a sanctuary wherein they were protected from danger and within which they could build relationships, with each other and staff. It was fun with friends and interaction with special adults who understood and respected them as individuals worthy of esteem that made for success.

Second this book warns that we best avoid exaggerating the importance of 'positive activities'. Rather we must ensure those running extended schools and similar programmes recognise that 'having fun with friends should be a core foundation of urban after-school programs' (p. 31). If we imagine providing activities and recruiting 'coaches' will suffice we are in for a nasty shock. The key priority must be the creation of places where young people can meet and where practised and skilled informal educators can work alongside them. Unfortunately four decades of under-investment in youth centres, clubs and facilities mean we lack the buildings to house even a minimalist non-school based after-school programme. The scale of investment required to provide this alternative base would have to equal that made available during the immediate post-Albemarle years. As this is unlikely to occur in the present climate we will probably see compulsion being employed to shore-up a faltering extended-school programme before the current decade is past.

Third, if we read accurately between the lines, Hirsch warns us it will take years, even decades, to create a cadre of staff capable of making after-school programmes a success. That means finding ways of holding onto those we already have whilst recruiting and educating thousands more to supplement those currently in post. With the best will in the world it is unlikely we will ever attract enough, willing to work the shifts and live with tensions built into the work, to sustain a national programme. Therefore we must make hard decisions regarding the allocation of resources instead of mouthing asinine promises regarding universal provision. Blanket provision can almost certainly only be offered by employing substantive numbers of unqualified, ill-educated and poorly motivated staff. Who will be obliged to operate in under-funded and inadequately equipped buildings. If the Connexions fiasco has taught us nothing else surely it is that it is foolish to imagine a universal service can be wished into existence without adequate preparation and investment. Sadly everything so far tells us that none of the lessons have been learnt. Therefore the extended schools initiative will stumble towards a similar fate.

So is it the most important book on youth work to have emerged in a decade? Probably, certainly I cannot think of anything nearly so rich and rewarding to have appeared on the topic in recent years. Conveying as it does an inkling of the enormous potential of informal education it amounts to a brilliant account of practice and a thorough-going justification for investment in youth work, if not extended schools.

Reviews

Helena Helve and Gunilla Holm (eds)
Contemporary Youth Research: Local Expressions and Global Connections
Ashgate, 2005
ISBN 0 7546 4161 9
£50.00 (hardback)
pp.223

Howard Williamson

Many readers of *Youth & Policy* may be unaware that, under the auspices of the International Sociological Association, there is a global research network focused on young people and 'youth'. This is called 'Research Committee 34' (RC34). Currently there are some 120 members, which doesn't sound so many, but membership can be critical for colleagues in places such as Columbia or Belarus where there may, literally, be just one youth researcher in the whole country. Membership attaches them to the global network and connects them to strong bodies of youth research in countries such as Brazil, Finland and China. Every four years, RC34 holds its international conference sessions within the framework of the World Congress of Sociology. The last was in Durban, South Africa, in July 2006. The previous one in Brisbane, Australia, in July 2002 – and this book is the result of presentations and contributions to that event. Helena Helve is currently the President of RC34 and Gunilla Holm a Vice President for North America. I know all this because I am the Organisational Secretary for RC34, responsible for membership amongst other things!

Contemporary Youth Research is designed as much to foster awareness of the global youth research community as to advance new thinking, especially from cross-cultural and comparative perspectives. Yet it is also clearly concerned with some reconceptualisation of youth, as factors and features such as globalisation and individualisation produce new approaches by young people to the labour market, to civil society and to identity development. Indeed, this has been described elsewhere, by John Bynner, as the endeavours of young people to establish and consolidate their human, social and identity capital. Bynner, like many others, including those contributing to this book, point both to the apparent convergence of youth lifestyles within and between countries and, critically, to the sustaining and sometimes increasing inequalities and difference between the lives of different sub-sections of young people. You have only to read about the bleak condition of young people in rural South Africa or post-socialist Russia to see the political and economic abandonment and neglect of youth as a stark contrast to at least the theoretical commitment to the 75 million young people in the enlarged European Union in terms of both labour market engagement and participation in civil society.

The book is divided into two principal sections. The first section provides, initially, a commentary on the theorising of youth at a global level, followed by discussions of regional trends in youth research. The 'regions' in question are Europe, Australia and New Zealand, North America, Africa, China and Latin America. Inevitably it is a mixed bag, as the various authors attempt to capture salient issues concerning both the structure and substance of youth research across what are still very disparate contexts. Some of these chapters are very

short indeed but, in a sense, that is a great strength, for they are true to the title of the book – they draw attention to significant 'local' change and development which permits the reader to make the global connections. And even if the issues are, prima facie, much the same (emerging adulthood, life management, multiple identities, complex citizenships, choice biographies), they are played out and researched in different ways in different places – with very different resources, expectations and communication strategies. English language speakers in northern America, Oceania and western Europe are, indeed, extremely privileged in the platforms for the exchange of scholarly thought to which they have access. Though it is easy to forget that there is an equally vibrant Spanish-speaking youth cultural research network led by Carles Feixa amongst others. A major challenge for youth research is how to swap notes between cultures, contexts and language: RC34 operates in English, French and Spanish and will conceivably expand its communication lines to accommodate Chinese in the not too distant future.

The second part of the book is more grounded in the framework of current key issues in youth research, namely education, technology and work, societal engagement of youth, and the cultural identities of young people. These contributions are almost 'samples' from around the world, a flavour of the kind of youth research that is taking place across the globe. The proclaimed text messaging capital of the world, the Philippines, is the subject of a study by Clarence Batan, who argues that the mobile phone has transformed communication across peers and generations, but largely to the benefit of the more privileged, leaving less affluent young people behind. With regard to the social engagement of youth, there is evidence of new social movements emerging in the United States: hitherto unknown alliances between high school youth of Latin origin and politically conscious white students and labour unions. Together they are challenging the range of policies considered to be simultaneously anti-immigrant and anti-youth. And in terms of identity, in a chapter that will resonate with the UK experience though from a very different cultural perspective, Noemi Ehrenfeld discusses the status enhancement of teenage girls in Mexico who become mothers, despite further limiting their wider opportunities in the process.

These are, as I say, just snippets from a book packed full of useful material on the structure, practice and findings of youth research throughout the world. Critics might say that it is a random and eclectic mix, but that is almost inevitable. Think of it more as a 'starter for ten', to whet the appetite, to become more aware of what is going on elsewhere and – if interest is suitably stimulated – to think about visiting the RC34 website (the International Bulletin of Youth Research) and maybe even join the network. Concluding with an unashamedly marketing pitch may seem somewhat unethical – an exploitation of the privilege of book reviewing – but I can testify to the importance of sustaining the connections forged through RC34: not for those in the rich and networked west, but for those who are ploughing their trade in far less auspicious circumstances. Most of us spend a lot of time writing about social disadvantage and inequality amongst young people; sometimes we forget that it is just as acute amongst our own peers. Helve and Holm have sought to give a voice and a platform to many of those who often get little chance to speak.

Howard Williamson Professor of European Youth Policy School of Humanities, Law and Social Sciences University of Glamorgan Wales, United Kingdom.

Graham Jeffrey (ed)
The Creative College: building a successful learning culture in the arts
Tretham Books, 2005
ISBN-13: 978-1-85856-342-8
ISBN-10: 185856-342-9 (pbk)
pp.172

Mark Webster

Urban schooling is being transformed, we are constantly being told, in the drive for higher standards, more motivated learners and more specialised skills. The headlines reverberate with new buzzwords such as regeneration, partnership, innovation and above all, choice. Unfortunately to these cynical eyes the new buzzwords are just the same old jargon dressed up in new clothes. The fact is that mass coercive schooling in the inner cities has been failing learners for generations and continues to do so and it will take more than a few glittering PFI buildings or city academies to put this little matter right. How refreshing it is then to come across a book which has something bright and optimistic to offer amidst this overwhelming backdrop of doom and gloom, a book which not only is prepared to offer another model of institutionalised learning but one which can back it up with a decade of practice and positive experience.

The Newham Sixth form College (The New Vic) was set up in 1992 as a purpose built, inner-city sixth form college. It was created to provide post-16 learning to a disadvantaged multi-cultural community where education beyond 16 was not the norm, in a context where local businesses were crying out for a workforce with skills in sciences and business. Why then was the decision made to focus on the creative and performing arts and how on earth were they allowed to get away with it? What questions does this approach raise for learners and for educators? How can the arts be used to benefit work across the curriculum and what is the nature of the often used but seldom understood concept of Creative Partnership. These are some of the key questions that form the basis of *The Creative College*. The book itself documents, and is the product of a two year project undertaken between 20002 and 2004 which sought both to explain and share the success of this bold experiment in post 16 education. As well as to explore and quantify some of its processes and outcomes on both learners and staff.

The underpinning rationale and something, which at least to me, makes this book most appealing is the notion that creativity is central to the human experience and that the Arts in its broadest terms, can be a fantastic tool in building confidence and understanding in a wide variety of settings and contexts. The starting point is essentially that of Cultural Democracy – an inclusive notion which embraces both informal everyday creativity as well as more formal cultural activity. A concept compatible with the idea that creative cultural activity takes place wherever there are people. In the street, the dance club, the theatre or the art gallery. Learning based on cultural democratic forms is by its nature non-authoritarian and non-judgemental, it favours dialogue and collaboration and is highly learner focussed. Graham Jeffery, the book's editor and arts development manager at the New Vic, explains that basing their curriculum around the creative arts and putting participation at its heart has been the secret of their success in Newham. This has turned the wide variety of cultures and diverse histories of the students in the college into a huge

canvas of possible collaborations, opportunities and learning for staff and students alike.

While the message of the book is both upbeat and clear it is by no means a light read. Its language tends toward the academic and most of the concepts used are explored through references to published work as well as through their own case studies. The book is also reflective, while the chapters are to some extent chronological it does far more than just attempt to tell the story, exploring as it does core concepts such as the role of the artist-teacher, creative leadership and the nature of creative partnership. While this slightly heavyweight approach is necessary in terms of what the book sets out to achieve, for me, the most powerful aspect is without doubt the testimonies of learners, as demonstrated for example by this excerpt from an interview with one of their former students Rashpal Singh Bansal:

> *At 17 you are like a sponge, and all they did (the teachers) was turn on the tap and I just absorbed it. The most important thing I got from the New Vlc was my development in the spiritual sense, in my artistic development. I definitely cannot do justice to how great an impact it had on where I am now. I was going to do acting, I wouldn't have tried dance.*

I suspect that I would not be among the target audience for a book like this. But nevertheless I am left with a slight sense of unease that the book falls between two stools when it comes to prospective readership, being neither a source handbook for practitioners nor an advocacy document for policy makers. This is small criticism really because what it does it does well and the story of the New Vic is a very important story to tell. I would certainly want to recommend this book to all of the new generation of arts practitioners who find themselves in formal teaching settings for the first time thanks to the government's new Creative Partnerships initiative. It will also be an invaluable resource for any democratic practitioner looking for inspiration or indeed, for that matter, any institutional head or educational policy maker who wants to think outside the box but needs the proof that promoting learner-centred learning is not necessarily tantamount to engaging in professional suicide.

Mark Webster University of Staffordshire.

Matthew Waites
The Age of Consent: Young People, Sexuality and Citizenship
Palgrave Macmillan
ISBN-13:978-1-4039-2173-4
ISBN-10:1-4039-2173-3
£55.00

Katie Buston

This book is an incredibly detailed exposition of how children's sexual behaviour has been regarded over time, primarily in the UK, with changes outlined, analysed and critically

discussed. It will be of interest to those from a wide range of disciplines including politics, law, sociology, and history. While dense and weighty – not a book one might find oneself casually dipped into – it will be an invaluable resource for those with an interest in the area. It brings together myriad sources and uses them to understand age of consent laws in an impressively comprehensive way. I would defy anyone to add to Waites' analysis: no stone is left unturned in his quest to investigate the course of the laws, this includes tracking the changing conceptualisation of sexual abuse and paedophilia.

Chapters include: theorising age of consent laws which examines the rationale for age of consent laws and discusses the concept of sexual citizenship; homosexuality and the age of consent which looks at the role of the Wolfenden Report in tracing the history of this particular area of law; sexual liberationism and new sexual knowledge which includes discussion of how the debates over age of consent developed from decade to decade; and rethinking the age of consent where the author puts forward a proposal for reform of the age of consent which would reduce this to 14 for young people who are less than two years apart in age.

The book is filled with observations which help unpack the often taken for granted nature of consent laws and surrounding debates. Waites notes, for example, that several questions are at the heart of public debates about age of consent laws: how do children/young people experience sex; can they give consent to sex; do they need protection from sex; and is the law an effective means to protect them? To answer these questions, says Waites, sociological thinking about the narratives which define childhood sexualities is required. These narratives do, however, vary, over time and between cultures: Victorian views of childhood innocence and purity, for example, have been replaced with acceptance of children's capacity to experience physical sensations; practices in Papua New Guinea which mark rites of passage from boyhood to manhood would be regarded as sexual abuse in other parts of the world. Furthermore, Waites points out that even within present-day Europe, the age of consent varies. In Italy, where the older partner is not more than 16 the age of consent is 13, in other cases it is 14. Until 1999, the basic age of consent was 12 in Spain. Indeed, in the UK the age of 16 for male/female intercourse is higher than for most of its neighbours, though the trend during the last decade has been for legislation to raise the legal age. All of this, however, is food for thought for those who have been used to considering British policy debates on 'under-age sex' and even teenage pregnancy without having being informed about what is going on in other parts of Europe. Certainly the 'shock, horror' pieces in the tabloid and, indeed, the broadsheet press over the years when reducing the age of consent in Britain has been mooted make no mention of how such laws may be working in a satisfactory way in other European Community states.

Most of us will be familiar with the, perhaps apocryphal, story that Queen Victoria refused to acknowledge that sex between women might take place. Hence, the lack of a punitive approach towards lesbian acts within legislation in contrast to that in existence towards homosexual acts between males during the Victorian era and beyond. There is no mention of the Queen by Waites, but his analysis of the post First World War development of public concern about female homosexuality is fascinating from a gender perspective. Waites tracks how prevailing beliefs in the passivity of females in relation to sex, and the resultant rendering of same-sex contact between women as invisible or unthreatening, gradually changed as

women entered the workforce, achieved suffrage, and generally became more powerful. He cites Faraday's (1985) historical work which describes the sudden increase in self-sufficient, independent, 'surplus' single women. Legislative attempts to criminalise sex between women followed: female desire for other females had been acknowledged, and it was a threat to be taken seriously. The need to regulate their sexual behaviour became a policy goal.

Read this book and you will learn a great deal about not only the age of consent, but about much more: attitudes towards female sexuality and to same-sex sexual behaviour, for example, from both a temporal and cross-cultural perspective; how rape and paedophilia have been viewed and legally defined and the extent to which childhood and youth have been regulated over the years. Waites's tome comes highly recommended for those with an interest in any of these areas: it is a book from which most of us will learn a great deal.

Reference

Faraday, A. (1985) *Social Definitions of Lesbians in Britain 1914-1939: 'Subject to query'* PhD Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Essex.

Katie Buston, Research Fellow, Sexual and Reproductive Health Team, MRC Social and Public Health Sciences Unit, Glasgow.

Deborah Lee
University Students Behaving Badly
Trentham Books, 2006
ISBN 13 978 1 85856 369 5
£17.99
pp.154

Tony Jeffs

Some books take one by surprise, others don't. This one falls into the second category. Like a German train one was certain it would turn up. Mounting coverage of this topic within the trade press, as well as the consistency with which the issue of poor student behaviour crops up whenever HE or FE staff congregate, meant sooner, rather than later, a book on the subject would appear. Thankfully this is not a journalistic recounting of ghastly and salacious tales from the educational front-line. Instead here is a serious attempt to set the parameters of the debate on what to do about 'students behaving badly', a discussion that will doubtless reverberate for many years to come.

Overall *University Students Behaving Badly* reads like a report and the prose style given the topic, perhaps deliberately, veers towards the monotone and subdued. Here the reader encounters a comprehensive literature review, a summary of research into comparable 'client' behaviour within other welfare sectors plus an array of case-studies compiled by the author. The latter are drawn from 22 interviews with academics who have experienced

unacceptable student behaviour during a five year period prior to completion of the text. Interviewees were a self-selecting group who contacted Lee in response to requests she made in various publications and on websites for academics with experience of such behaviour to get in touch. Ten were women, predictably most perpetrators were male students. Briefly the case studies tell of physical attacks, stalking, inappropriate sexual 'approaches' made in person, or by phone and written communication plus, almost without exception, vacillating faint-hearted managers with no clear idea as to where their duty lay.

Rightly, given the degree to which women disproportionately experience violence, harassment and exploitation within all educational settings the author draws upon the rich feminist literature on this topic. That literature helps to explain what is happening but not to the extent one would like. First the historic under-representation of women within the HE sector and the tradition of isolating them within female only institutions has meant many of the problems highlighted here are somewhat recent in origin. Second such has been the pace of change within HE during the last decade that much earlier research bears only limited relevance to the contemporary experience of students and staff in many of our HE institutions. Today ever more young people are entering university with little enthusiasm for learning. In some cases deeply resentful at having to study for three or more years to get a ticket to enter the labour market. They and many more are painfully aware that each minute spent in HE means clocking up debts that may take years possibly decades to pay off. Universities meanwhile are rewarded for stacking them high and providing students with the minimum teaching and attention they can get away with. As one of the respondents interviewed by Lee explained as the new academic year loomed he was being pressurised to take 'anyone off the streets' to keep course afloat (p. 84). Third virtually all universities like tawdry travel and estate agents are making nonsensical promises to lure the gullible in. For example one northern university promises Great Learning, Great Experiences, Great Future. With some justification one can suggest anyone aged 18 or over taken in by such drivel deserves all the disillusionment undoubtedly coming their way. But that cannot excuse the dishonest marketing of HE that is increasingly the norm and self-evidently contributes to growing dissatisfaction amongst students. Finally teaching has become in many universities and departments a low status role that permanent staff and the ambitious seek at every opportunity to avoid. Something undertaken by part-timers, post-graduates and the hourly paid frequently as a chore or rite of passage. Students know this and often take out their anger in the only way they can, by making life unpleasant for the birds of passage dropping in to hastily deliver a lecture before heading off elsewhere. The result of all these changes is that students are often angry, disillusioned and resentful, sometimes rightly so. They behave badly for the same reasons so many school and FE students do, and just as the situation will get worse in those institutions until some fundamental problems are addressed, so we can expect the sort of problems Lee describes to become more, not less, widespread in the future.

Unfortunately the book lacks an historical perspective. Decades apart Gibbon and Newman paint a dreadful picture regarding the abysmal quality of teaching then offered at Oxford. Newman also reported how commonplace drunken and aggressive behaviour was amongst the student body. Nearly a century later Henry Morris was driven from Lampeter after a mass brawl caused by his refusal to sign a petition. At the same time, at Durham, student mis-behaviour during the daily compulsory church service became so bad the university was forced to make it optional. These and countless other examples tell us that for centuries

students have disrupted lectures, caused damage and upset their teachers. In other words made a nuisance of themselves. They have done so for ridiculous as well as the best of reasons. We should rightly condemn and better manage much of the behaviour Lee describes. Not least because those victimised are generally the most vulnerable members of the academic community. But with regards to many institutions perhaps our prime concern should be that as many as half the students simply disappear unnoticed – disgruntled and poorer. Departing without a murmur. Sadly until they make more of a nuisance of themselves and express their resentment and annoyance regarding the poor quality of the teaching they were offered and the dishonest methods employed to recruit them, little will be done to clean up this particular Aegean stable.

Tony Jeffs teaches on the MA and BA in Community and Youth Work programmes Durham University.

Lester Coleman and Debi Roker
Talking About Difficult Issues (Toolkit)
Trust for the Study of Adolescence (TSA) 2006
ISBN 1 871504 57 0
£58.00

Helen Winskill

As a centre based youth worker I come across issues linked to sexual health and substance misuse on a regular basis. Consequently I was intrigued when I encountered this resource which tackles these issues from a new perspective, by giving parents the tools to raise and discuss these difficult issues with their teenagers. This resource is presented in the form of a toolkit for facilitators, so this review will look at the kit section by section, in the hope of providing a comprehensive review of the material.

I found the layout of the toolkit to be accessible and user friendly. It comes in a ring binder format with each of the sections, the introduction, information and statistics, group work activities, organisational resources and evaluation guidelines clearly marked with dividers. The literature is colour coded with the sections relating to sexual health on blue paper and substance misuse on yellow, which makes the location of appropriate materials quick and easy.

I found the information and statistics in section two to be interesting and helpful. They covered a wide range of relevant material. Perhaps the 'facts' were a little too wordy and long-winded to give directly to many parents as discussion starters or for use in a session. However they would be suitable to use as handouts, for parents to take away and read. Certainly if I were to use the information directly in a group work session, I would condense the material to make it more concise.

Section three of the toolkit covers group work activities. This section is by far the most substantial. It uses a diverse range of activities. From the more conventional such as quizzes and role plays to the more unusual like agony aunt activities to cover a lot of ground. Not

only are these different in their execution, they also give opportunity for the participants to explore various aspects of these issues. For example some offer the parents to realise their own opinions and viewpoints, with others allowing them to consider the same issues from the perspectives of other adults in the group as well as that of their own teenagers. I was especially impressed with activity four where the parents were encouraged to discuss statements such as 'your teenager may know more about sex than you' (p. 23). In the 'facts' relating to this activity parents were encouraged to listen as well as talk to their teenager about this issue. This approach to education and conversation impressed me and when employed made for a much more productive conversation with their teenagers.

The way that the variety of activities in section three allowed the participants to experience exploring and expressing their viewpoints and concerns with one another, and see how they were received and responded to by their peers before tackling the same issues with their teenagers was impressive. I also liked the way that exercise seven encouraged the parents to listen to each other without interrupting, they were then asked to look at the value of that, and see ways that this could be translated into their own family situations. I also liked how task 11 made the participants argue a point that they may not themselves hold. Allowing them to defend that point encouraged them to see value in other opinions even if they disagreed. My only criticism of this section is the use of jargon in activity 13. This activity uses quotations from young people and in one statement the words 'amphet, dope, trip, spiked and buzz' were all used. The toolkit does use word searches to familiarise adults with the names of several drugs, but only one of these words appeared there. Due to the fact that this type of language is used in the toolkit I think that there would be value in covering it with the group before it was used in the activity.

The organisational resources in section four are again clearly laid out. Each agency listed has full contact details as well as a brief summary of the aims and work of each, something that is helpful both for the facilitators and parents using this resource. Throughout the toolkit, agencies are referred to when specific areas of concern are raised, and this allows the user to explore these concerns further with specialists if they so wish.

The evaluation section at the end of the toolkit also helps facilitators to get the most out of this resource by asking them to ensure that they know what it is they hope to achieve by applying the materials prior to use. Due to the volume and variety of material used, it is important facilitators approach this resource with a clear idea of the nature of the group they are working with, and how they want to approach these issues. As this is not a week-by-week programme, facilitators need to be clear about what they want to achieve with their group, and approach it accordingly. I think the evaluation section of the toolkit encourages facilitators to do just that.

Overall I think that this is an excellent resource. It is comprehensive in its approach to discussing difficult issues. It provides the tools and flexibility for facilitators to tailor a programme according to the needs of their own participants, and provides a wide range of information, activities and opportunities for further independent investigation and research. The toolkit allows parents to consider other points of view and appreciate young people's perspectives, even if they themselves disagree. The toolkit allows parents to experience different ways of approaching these subjects with their teenagers and also gives them

experience of possible responses and how to respond to them. I can see how this toolkit can build parents confidence in talking about difficult issues with their families. As a youth worker I now feel more confident knowing that I have access to this resource, and going through it has given me ideas about how I can incorporate some of the material from this toolkit into my own practice.

Helen Winskill youth worker Cornforth Partnership.

Mike Burgess and Inez Burgess
Don't Shoot! I'm a Detached Youth Worker
Russell House Publishing 2006
ISBN 1 903855 95 0
pp. 92

Graeme Tiffany

*D*on't Shoot, essentially, describes the practice of detached youth work. As such, it will inspire practitioners as to what they can achieve and illustrate to onlookers what detached youth work actually is and what can be reasonably expected of it. More fundamentally, it clarifies the resources needed for success. These include time, funding and professional autonomy.

Despite its emphasis on practice *Don't Shoot* argues that theory, and linking it to practice, is important: 'one without the other provides a service of little value'. This is easy to say, but Burgess's quip that detached youth workers don't write or read may be a Freudian slip; far too many practitioners have for too long been critical (*sic*) of theory, and their practice has suffered because of it. Fortunately, the book's description of practice illustrates this duality. Most notably, the story of the Canny Dads initiative shows how working on issues of gender, masculinity and fathering with young men who are 'unable to discuss [these issues] with anyone' benefited from the workers' own exploration of self with colleagues. As well as the value of training and conferences in stimulating their thinking and informing practice.

The real strength of *Don't Shoot* is in the way it clearly portrays the detached youth work 'method'. It emphasises working on young people's terms: engaging with them where they meet; appreciating that their sense of a worthwhile relationship is more important than our own; and focussing on issues that are of concern to them. Arguing that by assisting them (rather than *doing* things to or for them) detached youth work can help young people identify what their needs are and be active in meeting them. In a nutshell, Burgess does a good job in articulating the significance of the centrality of young people. He reiterates this point for the benefit of 'partners' who may well be more interested in socially controlling young people rather than socially educating them. In fact, the point about the primacy of the partnership between the young person and the detached youth worker should leave no-one in any doubt that detached youth work's ethos of empowering young people is fundamentally corrupted when it views young people as problems rather than people.

Likewise, Burgess asserts, and what all detached youth workers know full well, (but few observers appreciate), is that detached youth work relies on young people's voluntary

participation; the fact that 'the young people will choose who they work with' and that their involvement cannot be taken for granted. Indeed, if it were, it would not be detached youth work. Therein is another important point: that detached youth work exists precisely because many young people experience or perceive barriers to participation because of, among other things, cost and the inappropriateness or services – not having their needs met. This means that some young people are unwilling to engage with building-based provision. The reasons behind this can be complex and subtle: 'A building can impose constraints that affect the role of the youth worker and can inhibit the responses of young people who may identify themselves as being in opposition to authority figures'. It is clear the effective practitioner needs to be tuned in to these subtleties and requires a high degree of sophistication. Training and support for continued professional development is, therefore, essential.

Don't Shoot could therefore be a revelation to health professionals, careers officers, Community Safety workers and the many others who now work in partnership with detached youth workers. Funders and policy makers will also learn a great deal. In reading about the practice of detached youth workers they will no doubt find out many things that will benefit their own thinking and practice. Not least what it really takes to work successfully with challenging young people. One hopes this learning will aid their appreciation that their work is different from detached youth work.

Burgess' provocation in asking the practitioner: 'are you a cowboy or an Indian' is profound. In this, 'cowboys' are those who chase funding (indicative of a top-down approach) and try to fit detached youth work to funding opportunities, thereby focusing on the needs of funders rather than those of young people. 'Indians', by contrast, are authentic practitioners who work very much from where young people are. This way of working deserves the claim, in Burgess' words, of being a 'human service' and should be contrasted with other 'services' for young people that are based on adult-oriented judgments as to what young people's needs are. Being adaptable, flexible and responsive; being, as Burgess puts it, a 'guest' in their lives and environment, defines good detached youth work and differentiates it from the increasingly prevalent forms of practice based on prescription, targets, 'delivery' and outcomes. Funders, he argues, must take account of the importance of relationship building: 'they must fund the baking of the cake, not just the icing.'

My great worry is that this account of detached youth work describes a past era. One with its open-ended agenda, long-term funding, preparedness to invest in relationships with young people (including individuals) and the professional development of staff (training, non-managerial supervision, participation in conferences and study visits, time to contribute to academia etc.) and community development emphasis. In today's social policy context, it would be regarded as exceptionalism i.e. succeeding despite, rather than because, of the social policy context in which it is located – with the increasing prevalence of *doing* to young people and disregarding their autonomy. My great hope, however, is that *Don't Shoot* represents a call to arms for all detached youth workers and their supporters to be active in fighting to retain a truly distinctive form of practice. One that is both profoundly democratic and effective, especially in working with young people many of whom are disproportionately affected by social disadvantage.

Graeme Tiffany is a Detached and Development Worker in York.

Nicola Madge
Children These Days
Policy Press 2006
ISBN 1-86134-783-9
£17.99 (pbk)
pp 169

John M. Davis

*C*hildren These Days examines the question, 'What is it like to grow up these days in the UK'. It includes qualitative and quantitative data from 2000 children and 500 adults. It is separated into a number of sections that consider questions such as – How is childhood perceived? What is it like to become an adult? What controls do young people experience? Are children over protected? How much do young people respect each other? To what extent is Britain a child friendly society? How can we make things better?

The chapters mostly correspond with these questions. The book is a fairly easy read and would benefit the introductory reader. However its accessible nature is also its weakness. Many of the issues are presented without substantive analysis and the research findings are often under explored. For example, the Perceptions of Children chapter covers a broad range of writing on childhood but lacks a consideration of contemporary and more complex post-modern/post-structural perspectives. Indeed, it has a dated feel to it – simply repeating ideas that have been around for a while. That criticism aside, this book will be useful for those teaching Childhood Studies because the ideas will be new to their students. It will also be useful because academic constructs are considered in relation to children's own views.

The book finds out that many children are not in a hurry to grow up, think England is a quite good country to grow up in, think media representations of children are unfair, want to balance the need for freedom to make choices with the need to feel protected and don't want adults to be over protective. The book makes some distinction between 'white' children and children from minority ethnic backgrounds particularly around issues of choice, feeling welcomed and experiencing friendly adults. It also suggests that most adults believe their own children show others respect but that other people's children don't and that over half the adults surveyed feel threatened by groups of teenagers.

In the main the quantitative data presented in the book is useful because it compares adult and children's views and gives an insight into headline issues e.g. whether children and young people think that adults spend enough time talking to them. One could quibble with the leading nature of some of the survey questions or with some of the author's interpretations. However, of more major concern is the quality of the qualitative data. Many adult quotes are presented as large paragraphs, yet, children's quote are often simply a single line/sentence. This is particularly the case in the 'A child friendly society' section and it leads one to wonder about the experience of those who collected the qualitative data. The research also found that children's priorities for change included better services for young people, helping others, better safety, children's participation, learning about others, more freedom and improving the environment.

Of some concern is the use of the concept 'white' to explain responses from different children and young people. This category appears to lump together groups of children and young people with different ethnic and religious backgrounds – including those who have recently emigrated from Eastern Europe. Similarly, the author is aware that the book skirts over the lives of children who have negative life experience in England but more consideration should also have been given to the categories used in the original questionnaires to establish who these children were and who actually participated in the research.

These findings will be of no surprise to academics and practitioners in this field. Indeed, academics will find the analysis of the data very lightweight. An example of this occurs in the chapter on control where the murder of James Bulger is fleetingly referred to in a tokenistic way on page 62 to introduce a discussion concerning the influence of 'the media' on children, the data that follows shows that children think parents and friends are more influential than the media and the finding is restated in the summary a few pages later on. At no point is the James Bulger case reconsidered in the light of the data or in relation to the considerable number of books that examined the complex context of his murder (e.g. in light of the findings about parental and peer group influence it is surprising that there is no reference made to the murderers' relationship with their parents and peer group). This leads this reader to be very cynical about why the author refers to James Bulger's death in this book.

A final major criticism of this book is that the cover suggests that it will investigate the extent to which Britain is a child friendly society but fails to provide any substantive information on children's lives in Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales. This omission may be understandable if we consider that the author may only have been funded to carry out English based research, that the author may be more experienced in the NGO setting rather than the academic setting and that the statement on the cover in fact may be a publication error. However, the fact that the book fails to engage with a substantive number of policy documents, reports and academic literature from the other countries of the UK is unacceptable in the post-devolution era. Indeed, it smacks of English ethnocentrism and again demonstrates the lightweight nature of the analysis. However, all is not lost as the book is worth buying if you are someone who teaches childhood studies, because it will be particularly useful in a teaching context to employ the book and its flaws to stimulate student discussions concerning the pros and cons of data analysis.

John M. Davis Co-ordinator BA Childhood Studies University of Edinburgh.

Carmen Leccardi and Elisabetta Ruspini (eds)
A New Youth? Young people, generations and family Life.
Ashgate, 2006.
ISBN 0-7546-4422-7
£55 (hbk)
pp 330

Bob Coles

This is an expensive hardback. Many of the chapters were based on papers given to an international conference held in Milan in September 2001. The conference proceedings have already been published. Many of the chapters involve research reporting with sub-headings such as 'Multivariate results'. Is that all you need to know? For most readers of *Youth and Policy* – probably it is. But, despite this, it is an interesting and important book and has much to recommend it, if only to help us all to think outside the parochial box of UK policy and practice.

Do we know enough about youth in different parts of the world and how it is experienced differently? This book covers the experiences of youth in the US, the UK, New Zealand, Italy, the Netherlands, and countries in Eastern Europe. In a foreword, Furlong claims that the book seeks to blend together two distinct youth research traditions: 'transition studies' largely focusing on the impact of change in the education, training and youth labour markets; and 'youth cultural studies' focusing on leisure, lifestyle and identity. But whilst many of the chapters do indeed attempt to do this, one of the key strengths of the book is that this is done through adopting a comparative perspective.

Several of the chapters also seek to examine the ways in which the experience of youth is shaped through different policy and welfare regimes (the chapter by Biggart and Walther, for instance). This chapter focuses on 'misleading trajectories' and 'yo-yo transitions' and the circumstances in which young people try to develop aspects of themselves at a time when the structures in which they live still make them economically dependent on others. The models they develop are tested against a comparative study of the UK, Italy, Germany and Denmark.

Several of the early chapters attempt to link the mundane realities of economic change (which mean that young people are destined not to experience stability in the labour market until their mid-twenties or later), with the attempts young people make to wrestle subjective identities in other spheres of influence where young people think they have more control and influence. Youth transitions may have been extended by social and economic change, but young people remain active agents in seeking to interpret and respond to the structures around them. This is what *New Youth* is claimed to involve.

Part 2 of the book has chapters which focus on relationships between the generations and points to some distinctive national peculiarities. Chapters in this section include: parental support for children in three generational families in New Zealand; relationships between young people and mothers of young people still living at home in Italy; the work/caring for children balance of young adults in the Netherlands; and responses of mothers and daughters to second wave feminism in Germany.

Part 3 focuses on 'transitions to adulthood and social exclusion' and includes two chapters on Eastern Europe. Roberts reports from a series of surveys conducted amongst young people in their early twenties in post- Communist Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia. He argues that for most of the young people concerned they live in a capitalist economy (as far as they are concerned) without capitalists; and consumerism without any means through which they can indulge in consumption. Yet interestingly, the theme of this chapter is on young people's domestic and housing transitions and the ways in which these are related to an economic world in which the majority of young people are unemployed, no matter what part of the 'new East' they live. It makes depressing reading as he outlines fertility rates below replacement levels, high rates of lone parenthood persisting and abortion rates still exceeding live births. Yet within this bleakness, young people still value and cherish their parents, their partners and friends as these are the only networks through which they find even meagre sources of income, and valued systems of social support. This picture of youth in the new East is supplemented by a chapter examining the changing role of generations and gender in Georgia.

Another key theme of the book is the exploration of difference, not simply between countries, their structures and regimes, but differences within countries between ethnicities, racial groups, genders, social classes and sexualities. A chapter by Ruspini, for instance, examines lone mothers in Italy, a country where the majority still cultivate traditional behaviours and strong family ties. Monro's chapter is on various forms of transgender and intersex experiences of predominantly white, middle class and British. She argues that intersex young people face a number of challenges and are at high risk of social exclusion. In another chapter, Parry reports on a qualitative study of 49 young people with multiple disadvantages all of whom had had some contact with 'New Deal'. To me, this was much more familiar ground – it even claimed to be employing Gidden's notions of 'critical' or 'fateful' moments – and, perhaps because of this, I found it the analysis mostly unoriginal and disappointing. Compared to the young adults in the new East, described by Roberts, their life circumstances sounded almost blessed.

So despite the cost of this book, there was some real value in being made to think outside of the worlds of youth with whom we are familiar. The case for this being 'new youth' may not have been elegantly made, but it was a far cry from the parochialism of crying into a beer glass about the wasted opportunities of *Youth Smatters*. Young people in the new East might even welcome 'opportunity cards' – or at least real opportunities.

Bob Coles University of York.

Cathy Humphreys and Nicky Stanley
Domestic Violence and Child Protection
Jessica Kingsely Publishers, 2006
ISBN 1 84310 276 5
£18.99 (pbk)
pp. 224

Margaret Melrose

This book reminds us of the pervasiveness and complexity of the problem of domestic violence and child protection both nationally and internationally. It brings together perspectives from practitioners and researchers and tackles the difficult question of how to respond simultaneously to the needs of adults (primarily women) experiencing domestic violence as well as those of their children.

The book is divided into four parts and throughout certain key messages and themes are repeated. The message that came across most strongly to me was the structural problems of linking services for protecting women (responses to domestic violence) to those of protecting children (child protection). That is, practitioners tend to be divided into adult services and children's services so that agencies that respond to women as victims of violence tend not to treat children as a priority while agencies responding to children 'at risk' tend not to ask about violence towards the mother. However, the book succeeds in bridging this structural divide and bringing together these debates, which all too often take place in isolation from each other.

Evidence of the relationship between domestic violence and child protection, and service responses to these linked issues, are presented in part one. While the necessity of multi-agency approaches is acknowledged, the complexities of developing such approaches are also recognised. This section indicates a need for more resources in this field and demonstrates that evidence suggests a need for community based interventions grounded in individual assessments of children at risk. It also suggests a need for more training for professionals to ensure that all services understand the needs of both adults and children who experience domestic violence.

In part two, the book introduces the voices of children who have experienced domestic violence. This section underlines the importance of child protection in relation to domestic violence, reminds us of the multiplicity of children's needs, demonstrates that preventative programmes are essential and testifies to the resilience of children in these circumstances. The development of preventative programmes delivered through schools and youth clubs is described in chapter four, and, while such work remains at an early stage of development in England and Wales, the chapter argues that it can have identifiable outcomes. Crucial to the success of such preventative work is 'the ideology, design and delivery' of such programmes (p.79). In delivering successful outcomes it is important to address issues of gender inequality, to use drama/theatre to deliver key messages and to consider the gender of those running the programme. The final chapter in this section describes a Scottish Campaign by Women's Aid (Listen Louder) and its impressive achievements in facilitating the participation of young people in policy development and service provision. Through their engagement in this campaign, young people in Scotland have been able to achieve change in relation to domestic abuse responses and service provision and inform the policy debate.

Part three includes an international dimension and explores a variety of service responses to domestic violence drawing on examples from Great Britain and Australia. Chapter six draws on two research studies (NSPCC and Home Office) and addresses the difficulties of implementing routine enquiries in relation to domestic violence as well as the value of doing so. This chapter suggests it is important for professionals in a range of settings to ask about domestic violence in order to facilitate disclosure by women and children.

Chapter seven describes positive practice in Australia and provides a point of comparison with the preceding chapter. It provides a model and step-by-step guide for developing a 'front line response framework' for practitioners in a range of non-therapeutic settings in contact with children living with domestic violence. Chapter eight draws on research to describe the processes through which child protection proceedings and interventions may marginalise the effects of domestic violence and deflect attention away from abusive men towards the mother's ability to protect her children. It concludes that when physical or sexual abuse towards child/children by a father figure is discovered, workers should always be alert to the fact that there may be violence towards the mother and work may have to be undertaken with men to enable them to confront their violent behaviour. Chapters nine and ten examine legal systems. Chapter nine, based on a study of child contact centres in Great Britain raises questions about how such centres function to protect children. Chapter ten develops themes introduced in chapter nine and explores the role of child abuse and domestic violence within the context of divorce and separation. It looks at new interventions being developed in Australia and Canada and proposes principles to underpin new models of intervention. This chapter reminds us that we have much to learn, in relation to domestic violence, from looking at practice in other jurisdictions.

Models for working with perpetrators of domestic violence are presented in part four. Chapter eleven provides a model for assessing risks posed to women and children by perpetrators. Chapter twelve provides a Nordic perspective and addresses a key question of whether it is possible simultaneously to be a violent husband/partner and a good father. It describes a service developed to enable men who are fathers to assess and consider the effects of their violence on their children. Chapter thirteen explores the risk to childcare workers posed by violent men and examines the links between domestic violence and violence towards professionals (especially social workers). This chapter also considers risk assessment and risk management strategies to manage violence towards women, children and workers.

This book makes an important contribution to many areas of professional practice and deserves to be widely read by those working in, or students of, social work, youth work, health and social care, education, the police and other front line services, the family courts and so on.

Margaret Melrose Senior Research Fellow Department of Applied Social Studies University of Bedfordshire.

The Commission on Urban Life and Faith
Faithful Cities. A call for celebration, vision and justice.
Methodist Publishing House and Church House Publishing
ISBN 1-85852-315-X
£9.99 (pbk)
pp.101

Alan Bartlett

As an ILEA-trained Christian youth worker in inner South East London in the mid-1980s, the publication of the predecessor to this new report, *Faith in the City*, felt like a little revolution. From being treated with suspicion by the radical local authorities, suddenly we were allies together in the fight to make the pain of deprived communities heard. From feeling ignored by a society and government who appeared to live on a different planet, suddenly there were voices in high places, 'telling it like it was' about urban poverty and injustice. It became clear (helped by the odd riot or two) that urban deprivation could not be ignored. And practically, the Church Urban Fund provided real money to fund good local projects. Yes, *Faith in the City* now seems a little dated, with its largely state-orientated recommendations, but its core values were justice and participation.

This new report from the Church of England and the Methodist Church, aided by representatives of other churches and other faiths, re-visits the city. What does it see? Drawing widely on research material, the report sees both progress since 1985 – genuine 'regeneration' – but also new and disturbing problems: increased social exclusion and inequality; more extensive personal unhappiness; globalization and attendant population movement; greater fragmentation (including religious tension) with racial and social ghettoization; deeply alienated young people. A frightening feature of all of this is hidden-ness. A drive around Durham with a local vicar this very afternoon exposed me to areas of poverty I had not seen in 10 years here...

Asking what faith communities might bring to the task of tackling such problems, the report's 'big idea' is 'faithful capital', which is a concept that has emerged from that of 'social capital'. Neither are without ambiguity, but 'faithful capital' is defined as both the values and actions of faith communities:

> *In corporate and personal worship, prayer, reading and meditation there is a regular and explicit reminder and celebration of the gift of life and recognition and remembrance of guilt, forgiveness and healing. This inspires the commitment to personal and collective transformation, love for neighbour and care for the 'stranger', and to human dignity and social justice. Genuinely distinctive and important contributions to wider social capital are made when this faith is acted out in the wider community in authentic local engagement.* (para.1.16)

The report includes many examples of imaginative good practice and some astonishing statistics on the huge amount of voluntary work provided by the churches (paras.8.4 and 8.5).

In 1985, language about the 'spirituality' of cities would have sounded strange. Now such language is commonplace and *Faithful Cities* argues that faith communities are one of the key sources of the beliefs and values which create this spirituality. Thus, if the fundamental question in the report is 'What makes a good city?' Its answer includes: 'hospitality' which goes beyond tolerance to positive bridge-building between communities; just, holistic, sustainable prosperity and regeneration shaped by accountable government; 'listening', especially to the voices of the marginalised, leading to full participation; a wide definition of 'happiness' and 'flourishing'; and exploration of places of 'transcendence'. As in 1985, many of its recommendations for change are sharply targeted at the government.

What might youth policy workers note in this report?

Faithful Cities makes explicit recommendations about work with young people (p.91 cf. pp.40-42, 61-62). First, that 'the statutory nature of the Youth Service must be reinstated and properly funded by local authorities'. Second that 'key worker' status be given to youth workers to sustain their presence in urban areas. Third, that the 'spiritual well-being of young people must be an essential part of the *Youth Matters* strategy and implementation'. Fourth, that young peoples' 'Councils of Faith' should be created to facilitate dialogue and wider participation. With respect to the churches, *Faithful Cities* also encourages them to continue to resource their youth work initiatives and to take part in a review of the role of faith schools.

I was struck by other implications. A key value of *Faithful Cities* is partnership: not least partnership between state secular agencies and faith communities. The report acknowledges that this is not without its complexities and tensions (cf.pp.72-74 and para.8.20) but it argues unapologetically that faith communities do and can make significant contributions to the creation of good urban living. Underlying this is a serious challenge to policy makers. Faith communities are painfully aware of the intolerance of secular imperialism. Multi-culturalism is in part about genuine pluralism. There are a variety of world-views present in every community. Experience shows that secular authorities often lack the humility and self-awareness to recognise that their own view is partial. Growing a sufficient basis for co-operation – by dialogue, consensus building and the recognition of honest difference – is crucial if criteria for funding allocation, training and policy are to be real, widely-owned and effective. *Faithful Cities* might help to inform policy makers holistically about this new plural world in which we live.

Faithful Cities questions the inhuman management of 'regeneration'; in particular the unrealistic and top-down target-driven approach. It questions when the curse of the 'three year funding' will be lifted to allow for community-sensitive timescales to be followed. This would be very good news for professional youth workers were it to be heeded.

Presentationally the report is more like an NGO report than a White Paper. It has been criticised as 'lightweight' but in my view is 'accessible'. Some of the final editing is weak (e.g. the table on p.9 is very poorly drafted).

In this review I have focused on those issues which might most concern the readers of *Youth and Policy*. A theological critique would note the lightness of touch in the formal theologising. This is intentional, as theology is conceived in the report as being present in reflective action rather than as pure concept ('practical theology' para. 2.58). Fundamentally, the report is informed by theological convictions that human beings are made 'in the image of God' and are therefore of immense value and also that we flourish when in relationship with God and each other (para. 1.10); and that God is found especially with 'the poor' (para.2.10). I found myself wondering what was distinctively Christian in the report? I am not sure that at the level of either recommendations or of the deep values which underpin them, there is much that is exclusively Christian. But that is the point; that these values are of course shared with other human beings striving to build 'good cities'. As Christians we trace these values and our energy to live by them to God in Christ, but that

they are shared by others is only to be expected (by us) in a God-shaped world. Therefore collaboration is a given. So I hope that, even when translated into other idioms, the values present in this report will resonate strongly with many who work for the benefit of young people.

Alan Bartlett previously a youth worker in Bermondsey now Director of the Doctor of Ministry and MA programmes at Cranmer Hall, St John's College, Durham.

Jamie Gough, Aram Eisenschitz with Andrew McCulloch
Spaces of Social Exclusion
Routledge, 2005
ISBN 0-415-28089-3
£23.99
pp. 272

Don Blackburn

This book develops its argument from the basic point that differences in income have widened, wealth and health inequalities have worsened. It explores the way in which poverty and 'social exclusion' have been managed by successive governments, analysing the basic assumptions underpinning the differing policy shifts. In particular, they focus on the shift to localised and community strategies in order to deal with poverty and its consequences. This is set against the processes that have historically dominated the accumulation of capital, such as its international character, and the contribution of technology to freeing up capital to continually move from place to place.

The book reviews recurring and continuing themes about the nature of poverty – for example the over-representation of women among the poor. Also the historical recurrence of social policies – often to control and punish the poor. The authors also underline the geographical location of poverty and also link in other factors.

For the present government, the symptoms, rather than the causes of poverty are the focus of policy. As a consequence, forms of 'self help' have become key strategies for responding to poverty. This enables Government to be seen to be doing something, but without fundamentally addressing the differences in wealth and income at the base of poverty. On the one hand, communities are seen as offering the solution to 'social exclusion' whereas social welfare is focused on the individual rather than communities, neighbourhoods and so forth. Under current policy initiatives, state benefits are closely linked to 'surveillance and direction', the focus is on the behaviour and culture of the poor as the key social problem rather than wealth inequalities. The Labour Party has swallowed wholesale a version of the Tory 'culture of poverty' thesis. The fact is that this was a bowdlerisation of the original arguments by Oscar Lewis (in *The Children of Sanchez*) where the last paragraph of the book makes clear that in Lewis's version the culture of poverty is an heroic one. A response to the material conditions in which people find themselves and manage to maintain much of their humanity and courage in the face of huge adversity. The Labour Party have followed

the Tory Party in turning this argument on its head. The culture of poverty is now bizarrely regarded as a causal factor in the maintenance of deprivation. It is to the shame of a significant part of the academic community that individuals have continued to jump on this bandwagon, presumably in the hope of receiving funding to carry out the research that promotes this thesis. However it is to the credit of these authors that they have avoided this approach to a large extent and have engaged critically with government rhetoric around the themes. They argue that current policy has the following consequences:

• the rich evade control;
• blame is attached to the poor for their own condition (e.g. teenage mothers, children's attendance at school and so forth);
• conflation of correlation of factors relating to poverty with causes of poverty;
• moralising rhetoric becomes a substitute for analysis.

The book identifies two elements in strategies to deal with poverty – either a focus on coercion or on incorporation, each theme being more dominant at different historical periods. Whichever strategy is dominant, the underlying motivation is to service the needs of capital, rather than the needs of the poor, and that this creates its own contradictions. So for example, labour mobility is needed by capital, but that also makes it more difficult to use traditional forms of social control (for example paternalistic communities like Port Sunlight, Cadburys and so forth), mobile populations are much more difficult to discipline. In the 19th and early 20th centuries working populations were managed by forced and supported emigration whilst in the late 20th and 21st centuries, the focus has shifted more strongly to immigration to manage labour and hold down wages. The authors point to the inversion of labour conditions with an emphasis on 'high tec' production in the East, with 'sweat shop' conditions returning to western cities.

The authors have also traced the congruence between imperial approaches to poverty overseas in the nineteenth century, and policies at home. Poverty strategies have historically focused on one or another version of self-help. This also has a contemporary resonance in the policy emphasis on self-reliance, micro enterprises and community organisation. There is a clear emphasis on the 'cross fertilisation of policies from 3rd to the 1st world' (for example on 'Enterprise Zones' modelled on Hong Kong). The state has correspondingly worked hard at avoiding collective pressures from the population, working hard to undermine collective pressures for change. When people have appeared to exercise greater control over their own lives through local politics, this has also been undermined following successive governments removal of local democratic control through local authorities.

The central thrust of the book is an engagement with attempts to build a contemporary version of social democracy that the authors have included under the banner of 'associationalism'. This approach focuses on the workings of the economy, but gives higher priority to the 'non-market relations between social actors'. Prominence is given to local activity, stronger community, grass roots organisation , micro-enterprise and so forth. The authors do not seek to dismiss this approach completely, agreeing that the practical outcomes of local action can and do benefit the poor. Such approaches also offer a framework for engaging people who are isolated from many social networks, together with the opportunity for developing confidence and knowledge. However they point to the fundamental weaknesses in the approach when it is regarded as the main way of

managing the consequences of capitalism. Firstly they argue that a focus on locality and community is often accompanied by an over-optimistic judgement of what can be achieved. The forces of capital and the state are significant barriers to the development of many local initiatives, and they require more significant resources than many communities can muster in order to combat them. Secondly they underline an old point which is that community action is not necessarily politically progressive, community politics can just as easily align with the right as with the left. They might also have made another old point that there is a certain irony in offering 'community' solutions, often in circumstances where communities can be least said to exist, such as many inner city areas. The key point from the authors is that 'associationalism' has an 'ambiguous attitude to class and other fundamental forms of social power... on the one hand associationalists wish for greater social, economic and political involvement of ordinary people; on the other hand capitalism is to be the framework' (p.220).

Overall the book is a helpful contribution to discussion about poverty and inequality and in particular offers a sympathetic and constructive critical engagement with those who see community action and localism as the way forward.

Don Blackburn University of Lincoln.

Richard Jenkins
Cannabis and Young People: Reviewing the evidence
Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2006
ISBN 1 84310 398 2
£16.99 (pbk)
pp.93

Cara Robinson

The book sets out with one clear aim – to review and summarise the existing evidence surrounding all the big issues relating to cannabis use amongst young people, a brave endeavour, considering the length and breadth of information available. Jenkins work features amongst a Child and Adolescent Health series, which its publishers cite as essential reading for professionals and parents.

The first point to be stressed about this text is that it does exactly what it says on its cover. Jenkins proves himself to be adept at systematic reviewing (it is worth noting that Jenkins has previously worked as a systematic reviewer). The book is the result of painstaking attention to detail, which duly ensures much reverence from this particular reader who admits to finding such detail quite laborious. It was with trepidation then that I attempted to wade through the exhaustive lists of international and national surveys, large-scale cohort studies and longitudinal studies examined by Jenkins. His literature search strategy focuses on works published from 1990 onwards, identified through a search of the Cochrane Library and the Cinahl, Embase, Medline and Psycinfo bibliographic databases. Each retrieved citation has been assessed for its relevance to the research topics chosen for each of the

book's chapters. Jenkins then researched the full text of each relevant citation, ensuring that reference lists were also considered for additional significant articles. Each individual study was also judged according to a 'hierarchy of evidence' reflecting the sturdiness of its methodological design.

Following an introduction, chapter two sets out to consider 'Patterns of Cannabis Use' looking at research in the areas of prevalence of use, changes in use, trajectories of cannabis use and dependence. The chapter highlights the difficulties facing researchers embarking on study into young people's cannabis use. Surveys tend to give poor measure to ethnic groups and often underestimate the true extent of substance use – for admitting cannabis use involves admittance of an illegal activity. Surveys also tend to miss school excluded, young homeless and young offenders – groups where substance use is typically higher. Jenkins states that in the area of dependency, there have been few studies documenting withdrawal among adolescents – probably due to ethical restrictions on research and the illicit nature of young people's use. An interesting part of the chapter considers cannabis potency. Jenkins writes that despite media moral panics surrounding the supposed increased strength of certain strains of cannabis (such as skunk); overall levels of the drugs potency have remained fairly stable in recent years.

Chapter three explores young people's views about cannabis. Unsurprisingly the chapter concludes that they view cannabis quite differently from other substances – as posing less of a risk to health than class A drugs. This is a vital step forward in our understanding of young people's cannabis use. I was pleased to find that this chapter also considers the influence of gender roles, and the importance of the smoking of tobacco in combination with cannabis. Chapter four looks at predictors of cannabis use: the identification of variables that predict future cannabis use. Such predictors aid effective targeting of prevention strategies. What I found interesting about this chapter was whilst I am overly familiar with predictors (due to their use as a commissioning tool) I knew less about the research in the area of cessation of cannabis use.

Chapter five discusses cannabis and psychosocial functioning. It probably focuses on the most controversial area of young people's cannabis use. I was pleased to find that early on the chapter explores 'self-medicating' behaviour as a reverse causal association, with psychosocial difficulties prompting drug use. The chapter looks at psychosis, depression, educational attainment and anti-social behaviours. Jenkins considers potentially confounding variables – but finds that even after taking into account such factors, there is still evidence to suggest that cannabis users are at a greater risk of disturbance to their psychosocial functioning. The next chapter examines young people's cannabis use alongside the use of other illicit substances – 'The Gateway Effect'. Another controversial area generating much public concern. The author finds evidence in support of 'The Gateway Effect' from New Zealand and the US. This chapter in looking at worldwide research serves to highlight the lack of research in this area in the UK. Again the chapter raises concerns surrounding non-causal explanations that exist in such research.

Chapter seven – 'Prevention and Treatment' is particularly useful for practitioners. The book helps to reinforce the messages that workers give out to parents and other professionals – it is always useful to back up practice with theory. Indeed the text will appeal to anyone

concerned with evidence-based practice. The most significant conclusion made in this chapter is the author's recognition that there still remains a need for better dual diagnosis working amongst agencies. The following chapter – 'Cannabis Policy' – after considering global differences in cannabis policy, makes a most interesting surmise – that young people's cannabis use may be affected more by their attitude to the drug itself than to current cannabis policy. Well we knew this already, but it's nice to have it in black and white. The final chapter comprises Jenkins concluding comments. His reliance on risk and protective factors as suitable measures for prevention strategies may be deemed as overly simplistic. However, his suggestion that prevention programmes also need to address the relations between the use of cannabis and tobacco is worthy of note.

The book does not consider cannabis and popular youth culture or cannabis as a cultural commodity. Whilst it is a useful text for many, and is clearly and accessibly written, the endless attention to detail may prove off putting for some. The summaries at the end of each chapter are concise and helpful and act as a saving grace for the layperson or those self-confessed unsystematic reviewers, such as myself. It is the text's attention to detail. which may prove slightly off-putting for parents concerned with establishing the truths around a drug whose use, some argue, has become quite normalised amongst our young people. This would be a shame, as it provides all the vital information surrounding cannabis in one text.

Cara Robinson Young People's Drug and Alcohol Tier 3 Service Co-Coordinator, KCA (UK) and Research Student, Canterbury Christ Church University.

G. Dingwall,
Alcohol & Crime
Willan Publishing, 2005
ISBN 1 84392 167 7
pp.232

Kim Peake

This book attempts to do many things and manages to succeed in most areas. Although the level of alcohol intake is difficult to measure, the book builds a picture of drinking habits in this country, looks at recent changes in alcohol consumption in society and rigorously questions the assumed link between alcohol and crime. It discusses the potential effects of recent radical and often contentious legislative changes notably the controversial changes to the licensing laws that have led to 24 hour drinking.

The most important point this book is trying to get across, is that whatever our background, academic or practitioner, we should challenge the assumed link between alcohol and crime. For many, these links appear obvious and there are in fact many assumed links to crime, such as drug abuse and young people's involvement in crime, but there is scant evidence of causal links. Alcohol is a legal substance for adults and therefore not always looked upon in the same way as the potentially causal link between drug abuse and crime, where the assumption is that the offender has stolen to feed an expensive and importantly, illegal habit. As the author suggests, how do we assess the actual effect of alcohol on a

particular crime committed? Any causal link between alcohol and crime is rarely backed up with empirical evidence and therefore must be regarded as tenuous. Studies usually record if the offender had been drinking prior to or at the time of the incident, this cannot indicate causality. If this book merely encourages the reader to challenge any previously held assumptions then it has served a very useful purpose.

Police and criminal justice responses are also examined. Alcohol related crime is usually very visible, often manifesting itself in street crime, or what seems recently to be included in the umbrella term of 'anti-social behaviour', a catch-all phrase for most public nuisance but non-violent crime. The police's response to alcohol related crime is usually to show a presence in known trouble spots at known times of problems, and deal with any offenders. The criminal justice system rightly does not always take alcohol into account as a mitigating factor in such offences and the response from the courts is inconsistent.

It is difficult to separate those who have a problem with alcohol and have committed a crime from those who were drinking, or had been drinking, when they committed a particular crime. The two are certainly not the same and the primary question in this instance is to establish whether the offender was liable for his actions. The author appears to be dismayed that the government has not considered suitable sentencing options for those that have committed an alcohol-related crime. He holds alcohol use (or abuse) should be considered if appropriate and does not believe that there would be a large number of acquittals if this was to become law, despite the fact that this could be seen as a mitigating factor.

The past two years have seen a watershed in the official attitude to alcohol consumption and the author discusses this issue at some length. Legislation has given the police new powers to deal with these offenders, more importantly it has tried to introduce a degree of crime prevention and community involvement via the licensed establishments. The Licensing Act (2003) makes it possible to apply to the local authority for extended drinking hours, up to the maximum of 24 hours per day. This is intended to 'disperse' the large numbers of drinkers leaving establishments more gradually, i.e. not at the same time as happened previously, making the police's job of managing potential alcohol-related trouble potentially much easier.

The author discusses 'problem-oriented policing' in chapter 4 and the potential impact of this Act which gives the police the opportunity to enforce a new policing model. The government firmly believes that this change to continental style drinking hours will lessen instances of binge drinking and alcohol-related anti-social behaviour. Although as the author suggests it is far too early to assess the impact of such radical changes until targeted research is forthcoming.

Whilst this book aims to cover issues of alcohol and crime in the round there is a useful review of research covering young people's drinking habits and specifically how the Licensing Act 2003 addresses the sale and consumption of alcohol in licensed premises. Young people's use of alcohol and the association with violent offences is explored once more and the lack of a causal link is reinforced. Whist there is tabular information on young people as victims of alcohol related incidents the book does not deal with young people as

victims in domestic and traditional arenas. Given their prominence this is one area potential readers may wish to pursue elsewhere.

This book looks at a range of issues from the way alcohol consumption in this country has changed in recent years, to the policy responses from government and the police. Including legislative changes to the licensing laws and a move towards crime prevention and pro-active policing, leading to better management of potentially volatile situations. It also examines the role of the criminal justice system and sentencing issues and proposes an alternative solution, enabling alcohol usage to be taken into account in the courts.

All of these points aid our understanding of the potential but very complex link between alcohol and crime and although probably of more value to academics, it should be of use to both them and practitioners alike. Especially, in the case of the latter, those with limited knowledge of the subject. Whilst not specifically addressing issues relating to young people there is much to challenge our thinking on the subject of alcohol and I am pleased to have it on my bookshelf as a point of reference.

Kim Peake is a youth worker in York.

Eldin Fahmy
Young Citizens: Young People's Involvement in Politics and Decision Making
Ashgate Publishing, 2006
ISBN 0 7546 4259 3
£50 (Hardback)
pp. 204

Dod Forrest

Why are so many young people disengaging with conventional politics? What are the consequences? Fahmy poses the above questions in order to assess the effectiveness of policy initiatives that seek to widen the participation of young people in decision making in Britain today.

This book is divided into eight chapters. A short introduction outlines the aims and methods, research design and gives a brief summary of each chapter. All chapters have a short summary and conclusion. This structure proves to be very useful, given the mass of detail contained within an ambitious quantitative analysis that aims to measure political participation and attitudes to politics, within the framework of an analysis of youth, social capital, civic action and citizenship within another framework of a European comparative perspective. Arguably this might have been enough for one book but a qualitative study supplements the quantitative analysis and remarkably the structure somehow holds together, providing a rounded and in-depth analysis while illuminating the subjective experience of young people in one urban setting.

In chapters 1 and 2 Fahmy outlines the backcloth of public policy and theoretical debates that now surround the problem of the perceived disengagement of young people from formal politics. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are packed with detail in the form of an analysis and

interpretation of numerous data sets. Fahmy utilises the 2003 European Social Survey, the British Social Attitudes surveys (1987-2002), the 2001 Eurobarometer Young Europeans Citizens Survey, the 2000/01 General Household Survey, the 2001 British election Study and the 1987-89 ESRC 16-19 Initiative survey. These data sets allow investigation of differences across the life course in political attitude and behaviour, and differences amongst young people themselves. Those who enjoy picking over the statistical detail contained in a list of 28 tables and 8 figures will be ecstatic.

However Fahmy, in chapters 6 and 7, contextualises the data analysed in chapters 3, 4 and 5 to interpret these findings by exploring young people's evaluations of the political system from their perspective by utilising the data collected from a small – scale qualitative study conducted in Bristol during 1999. It is in these chapters that we get a real feel for young people's disengagement from formal, traditional politics, as exemplified through responses to questions that address political engagement, political action and young people's attitudes to politics generally. In a word – 'boring' or as I imagine it might have been expressed in the focus groups – 'Bo...a...ring'

Interestingly it is in the qualitative analysis that we discover that young people are very thoughtful about politics. They care about how health issues, jobs and wages, the cost of living, crime and drugs, education and the environment affect their daily life.

The final chapter concludes by investigating the policy implications for a society where young people feel cynical, apathetic, politically uninformed and unaware of the machinery of formal politics. The prospects for citizenship education and a widening of opportunities for participation through citizen's juries, youth advisory panels, various forms of youth forums provides a rather uninspiring conclusion to an elaborate and elegant analysis of young people's lack of involvement in politics and decision making in contemporary Britain. Ironically a reflection, perhaps, of the root cause of the so-called apathy and cynicism of young people today who can see through the dishonesty, who cannot identify political differences between the main parties and who represent the 1.5 million of 16- 17 year olds who don't even have a legal right to vote. It is these young people who remain the most exploited section of the workforce, not even entitled to a minimum wage, while expected to fight and die for a country that treats them with contempt.

However to end on a note of some optimism, the Bristol study was conducted during 1999. The world of politics changed materially and symbolically during 1999 when tens of thousands of young people and older trade unionist and activists 'the turtles and the teamsters' of the USA battled on the streets of Seattle and closed down the proceedings of the World Trade Organisation. Images of anti capitalist protest, initiated by young people, suddenly emerged onto the world political stage. A new era in political imagination and activism had arrived and continues to unfold.

Then came 9/11 and the world changed once more. The wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and the Lebanon continue to radicalise a whole generation of young people around the world – opening the eyes of millions to the injustices and the naked power of military intervention, historical oppression and the politics of a new western imperialism that is resisted by everything from children throwing stones, to young men and women prepared to blow

themselves up as an act of resistance, solidarity and sacrifice.

Since this time every major gathering of international capital has witnessed protest and direct action alongside a counter current of political debate that has coalesced in the form of the World Social Forum events in Brazil, India and Venezuela and the European Social Forums in Florence, Paris, London and Athens. Two million people in Britain marched against war on February 15th 2003 as one part of the first global protest ever. This is a history that is still being made. It is daily analysed, discussed, debated and acted upon, especially by a growing number of young people. Fahmy's small-scale qualitative study, in one corner of the UK in 1999, captured some of the sources of this pent up anger. It is only a matter of time before this translates into large-scale participation in formal politics by young people.

Dod Forrest is a Principal Community Learning Worker with Aberdeen City Council and a member of the University of Aberdeen's Rowan Group – a policy related research group that focuses on children and young people's education, health and well being.

Matthew Happold
Child Soldiers in International Law
Manchester University Press, 2005
ISBN 0 7190 6586 0
pp. 183

<div align="right">

James Whitehead

</div>

That the first person to appear before the International Criminal Court (ICC), set up in 2002 to try genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, was charged with recruiting child soldiers gives some indication of the importance now attached to the issue. This has not always been the case however. As Happold makes clear in his introduction, while children have always participated in armed conflicts it is only in the last decade or so that it has become a matter of considerable international concern. He argues that this is a result of two principal factors. In the first place, developments in modern weaponry (primarily the abundance of cheap, lightweight automatic weapons) has meant that more children than ever are engaged in armed conflict, and secondly, that our perceptions of childhood and when it ends have changed.

Following an excellent opening discussion, within which he considers why children are recruited into armed forces and groups, why they volunteer for military service, and what treatment they receive once recruited, he provides a lucid examination of how perceptions of childhood and children's rights vary over space and time, and how this affects the treatment of child soldiers. As he points out, while all societies at all times appear to have had a concept of childhood, as opposed to adulthood, conceptions of childhood, such as when it ends, how it differs from adulthood and how it is sub-divided, differ. These differences, he argues, are fundamental to an understanding of the development of international law relating to child soldiers.

This development is considered in a broadly chronological manner. Beginning with the

two Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions, adopted in 1977, before turning to an examination of the UN and more recent changes, which include the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Committee on the Rights of the Child, which was established to monitor and supervise state's compliance with their obligations under the Convention, and the appointment of a Special Representative on the impact of armed conflict on children. The relevant international humanitarian and human rights treaties are then discussed, along with the role of customary international law and the extent to which the law regulates the activities of non-state armed actors, such as insurgent groups.

What becomes abundantly clear is that international law relating to the recruitment of child soldiers and their use in hostilities is the result of compromise, and in large part legal developments have followed existing state practice rather than the reverse. The adoption of an Optional Protocol (OP) to the CRC in 2000 is offered as a prime example. Although some states recruit at 15, 16-18 is more common Those states that object to the imposition of 18 as a minimum age for all recruitment, which includes both the UK and the United States, do so because they believe that armed forces serve useful functions. Therefore service in the armed forces can be a worthwhile and fulfilling occupation, and that if they were not allowed to enlist school leavers many who would have chosen a military career would be lost to civilian occupations. Under the OP these concerns are recognised and recruitment from the age of 16 is still permitted, provided that the recruits parents or guardians have given their fully informed consent. Similarly, the age at which a child can be conscripted, which the OP set at 18, mirrors majority practice. There is a further concern that what is written has little impact in practice. While the OP mandates against the use of child soldiers in direct hostilities (a fighting role) as opposed to indirect participation (a supporting role), it is a moot point whether this distinction has any practical value in modern conflict and how vigorously states enforce it?

Happold does not only consider the prohibition on the use of child soldiers, however. He also examines the rules that govern the treatment and activities of child soldiers themselves, which has received much less attention. The issue here is the dual status of child soldiers as both victims and perpetrators of war crimes and crimes against humanity. Happold discusses the criminal responsibility of child soldiers for their crimes, noting that child soldiers are immature, may be coercively recruited, forced to commit atrocities and fed drink and drugs to weaken their inhibitions. This leads into an extremely interesting exploration of the extent to which child soldiers can claim infancy, duress or intoxication as a defence. Finally he addresses the issue of child soldiers as asylum seekers and refugees: whether service as a child soldier, or the threat of being recruited as such, provides grounds for refugee status. In the light of their activities he also discusses those actions, such as the committing of atrocities, which might exempt them from such eligibility.

This is a well written book that provides not only a good general introduction to the subject of child soldiers, but also a clear account of the complexities surrounding the application of international law to the subject. My only reservations are occasional lapses in editing and references made to broader terms in international law, which are not adequately explained. If the audience in mind are international lawyers and those with an interest in international law then this is of course understandable. However if a wider audience is sought then references to things such as Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the principle of non-interference

in the internal affairs of sovereign states, *jus in bello* and customary law need further elaboration, either in the text, in a footnote or alternatively in a glossary of terms.

James Whitehead is a serving British Army officer in the Educational and Training Services Branch.

Jean M. Twenge
Generation Me: Why Today's Young Americans Are More Confident, Assertive, Entitled – and More Miserable Than Ever Before
Free Press, 2006
ISBN: 0743276973
$25.00 (hardcover)
pp. 304

Mike Males

Whatever the sins of youth, the dishonesty, narcissism; and sloppy thinking of American authors writing about youth today far exceed them. The scourge of popular academic and 'expert' books featuring the same tabloid-standard press sensationalism, self-serving ephebiphobes quoting each other, and second-hand teen horror-tales are becoming a bad joke.

San Diego State University psychology professor and much-quoted author Jean Twenge at least mentions some real problems: *Generation Me* (teens and young adults of the 1990s and 2000s) bears crushing education, health, and housing costs; few will ever own homes. She might have added that today's young will be the first Americans to be poorer (much poorer) than their parents – parents who constitute both the richest and the most addicted, arrested, imprisoned, unstable, and politically selfish middle-agers ever.

But never mind these urgent economic and social crises; Twenge insists the worst 'monster' is... young people who enjoy 'too much self esteem'. Since (obviously!) modern youth could have no legitimate reason to feel good about themselves, Twenge claims 'they were taught it' by indulgent school programmes and consumerist media. This unearned, youthful self-love is driving 'new' epidemics of social disorder, disconnection, 'hooking up', upstart students, cheating, depression, 'aggressive drivers, sullen clerks, and screaming children' and 'dangers that were once unknown'.

Twenge illustrates *Generation Me*'s curmudgeonly attitude (the 'decline in manners and politeness', 'rise in narcissism' and 'teachers' complaints no fresher than Socrates') with anecdotes and assertions of self-important, anti-social, media-corrupted youth supplanting yesterday's polite, honest, dutiful, 'internally controlled' romantics. Doesn't Twenge, born in 1971, realise her sanctification of ageing Baby Boomers is ludicrous and that elders always flatter ourselves by condemning 'youth of today' as rude, tasteless, egocentric, deluded, immoral, and apocalyptically messed up?

Generation Me is rife with contradiction and absurdity. Twenge actually buys self-serving

psychiatric/pharmaceutical industry propaganda that the 600 per cent leap in anti-depressant medication prescriptions since 1987 really means Americans of all ages (though she focuses only on young over-esteemers) suddenly got vastly more depressed. She admits the popular media hype of 'flimsy statistics and nonexistent trends', 'mythology', and 'unmitigated crap', then cites press luridness about youth as timely verities. In a stunning triple obtusity, she quotes fictional television and movie dialogue scripted by Boomers (which she absurdly dubs 'Generation Prude') as the real way today's 'young people ["Generation Crude"] talk'. She recommends more discipline, counselling, and modest liberal reforms that, in psychology's worst tradition of blame-fixing and promoting passive adaptation to social injustice, amount to urging young people to accept the severe economic oppression imposed on them.

Twenge and fellow youth-bashers recycle pop-media tripe precisely because a scholarly, contextual review of trends would demolish their thesis that 'more kids these days are behaving badly'. Virtually every solid social measure shows young Americans today act better than their elders did or do. Serious and petty crime, homicide, rape, robbery, property offences, violent fatalities, drink driving, drug deaths, pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, school dropout, school violence, and other ills among the young have reached their lowest levels in 30 to 40 years (and, in many cases, ever).

Unlike others, Twenge does offer some original research asserting that 'Generation Me' represents a 'profound shift in American character'. Unfortunately, it consists largely of inconsistent meta-comparisons of dubiously comparable surveys of self-reported behaviours by youth today with surveys (or, worse, memories) of the youth of yore. Twenge's conclusion that past generations valued community, conformity to others' opinions, and 'strict social rules' while today's young revere individuality, directness, and themselves, dodges the complication that cultural teachings go both ways. Extending Twenge's logic, the frankly admitted sins of today's young could result from their being 'taught' self-gratifying introspection while past generations' lower rates of self-reported sex, school cheating, and depression likewise might reflect their being 'taught' the 'need for social approval' rather than honestly confessing disapproved behaviours. Today's healthier tolerances for candour, racial diversity, women's rights, and human flaws, and rejection of the past's sexual hypocrisies and harsh stigmas against mental illness, hardly evidence a 'decline of social rules'.

Twenge, perpetuating anti-scholarship on youth topics, ignores disagreeable evidence. For example, America's best survey, *Monitoring the Future*, finds that compared to youth in its earliest, mid-1970s surveys, youth today are happier with themselves and their lives – and also with parents, friends, schools, personal safety, material possessions, and the importance of 'making a contribution to society'. This is not the portrait of a younger generation wallowing in misery, materialism, anxiety, selfishness, fear, and social disconnection. Similarly, Twenge's book (published in 2006 and containing 2005 citations) skips over 2004 election exit polls revealing a massive, 30 per cent to 50 per cent leap, in voting by the young and their strong communitarian values. Her recent press comments also ignore emerging studies showing community volunteering and civic engagement increasing among the young but falling among the old (see www.civicyouth.org).

At its best, *Generation Me* documents some real economic stresses and encouraging racial and gender equalizations among America's young. But ultimately, Twenge's baseless, *People* magazine pop-silliness and moralisms trivialise the daunting challenges the young face and add to the heap of bad books about youth.

Mike Males Sociology Department, College Eight, University of California, Santa Cruz.

Robin Moore, Emily Gray, Colin Roberts, Emily Taylor and Simon Merrington
Managing Persistent and Serious Offenders in the Community: Intensive Community Programmes in Theory and Practice

Jill Annison

The authors announce in the introduction that they are intending to fill a gap in the literature relating to intensive community programmes and associated issues. This ambitious aim is certainly fulfilled – this book is impressive in terms of its breadth of coverage, in the quality of research that it reports upon, and in relation to the critique that it develops in respect of policy and practice in this field.

I must admit that I started reading with some apprehension: the three-part structure, together with the number of authors, led me to wonder how a consistent authorial tone and a coherent style would be maintained across the different sections. These concerns were quickly dispelled, as the overarching framework provides a clear approach which links the different elements of the book, and the writing was clear and accessible throughout.

Part 1 presents an in-depth review of the development of intensive community programmes, with a critique of the political and theoretical issues and comprehensive coverage of evidence from the United States, England and Wales, and other jurisdictions. This section provides a solid introductory foundation but also flags up some of the tensions and limitations in relation to identification of, and responses to, persistent and serious offenders. The summaries at the end of these two chapters (and indeed all of the others) supply useful outlines of the key issues and also put in place unifying threads throughout the book. Part 2 is integral to the book as a whole, but also presents an impressive stand-alone case study of the Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme in England and Wales. These chapters outline the multi-dimensional evaluation of the first 41 ISSP schemes, which ran from 2001-2003. The research utilised both quantitative and qualitative techniques and demonstrated its methodological rigour by meeting the demands of Level 4 (Levels run from 1-5) on the scale adopted by the Home Office. The findings are reported and analysed in detail, with various aspects being explored from different perspectives, and their implications discussed from a range of viewpoints. While drawing on relevant academic sources and research findings, a particular strength of the approach here is the inclusion of quotes that gives a convincing 'real world' flavour to the accounts.

This section concludes with some important and thought-provoking observations: 'The mixed results indicate that great care and prior thought needs to be given to the development of any type of intensive programme, and that the decisions made by policy-makers, practitioners, sentencers, and all those involved in programme delivery, need to take into account the potentially conflicting aims and objectives' (p.170).

These aspects are explored in the remaining two chapters in Part 3, with the penultimate chapter considering 'Emerging lessons', while the final chapter outlines 'Critical concerns'. These two chapters highlight issues which should make this section of the book required reading for anyone involved in this part of the criminal justice system: the scope and incisiveness of this account, together with the warning-notes that are sounded, serve to make this an authoritative and convincing review. However, while making an important contribution to the evidence base in relation to 'What Works' in this area, the authors make it clear that further work is necessary. Moreover, it is sobering to consider the implications that arise from the lack of a commonly accepted definition of 'persistence' (see p.204), and to reflect on the penetrating critique presented here in relation to current political policies and their implementation in practice.

On a more positive note it is interesting to see the linkages that they make with contemporary theoretical approaches and research findings, and in particular, the re-emergence of a focus on the 'quality and consistency of the relationship between the young person and the individual ISSP worker' (p.177) and as someone who worked in social work and probation in the 1970s and 1980s these themes left me with a slight sense of déja-vu. In a similar vein the tension between care and control was a constant theme, although this was inverted as control and care in places, and was also re-framed in the more current terminology of 'maintaining a balance between supervision and surveillance' (p.213).

The thoroughness of the evaluation research study, which is at the centre of this book, makes this an important resource for managers and practitioners working in this field. Although I am somewhat sceptical that politicians and policy-makers would be willing to engage in such interrogation, the issues raised here present compelling concerns, not least in relation to wider issues of justice, proportionality and European Human Rights principles. In this respect, the references to Cohen's (1979) warnings about 'net widening', 'blurring the boundaries' and the 'dispersal of discipline' seem particularly apposite.
I anticipate that this will become a key text in a wide range of practice and academic spheres. It is certainly a book that I will return to in order to revisit the different theoretical discussions and to re-engage with the research findings.

Reference

Cohen, S. (1979) 'The Punitive City: Notes on the Dispersal of Social Control', *Contemporary Crises*, 3: 339-63.

Jill Annison, Principal Lecturer in Criminology and Criminal Justice Studies at University of Plymouth

Youth & Policy

ADVERTISING RATES AND DATA

CIRCULATION

Youth & Policy is issued quarterly. It has a circulation not only throughout the United Kingdom and Europe, but also as far afield as the USA and Australia. Many academics and professionals subscribe to what has proven to be a valuable contribution to those involved in various forms of youth study and youth work.

RATES

Advertisements

Full page	£225+VAT
Half page (landscape only)	£125+VAT

Inserts	£150+VAT for single sheet A5 or A4 (folded)

1,000 copies circulation. Delivery to The NYA address for the attention of the Head of Media Services.

Other rates by negotiation.

DEADLINES

One month prior to publication of each quarterly issue. Contact NYA Media Services on 0116 242 7480 or e-mail: andyh@nya.org.uk for further details.

Inserts – two weeks prior to publication.

MECHANICAL DATA

Full page	120mm wide x 195mm deep
Half page	120mm wide x 95mm deep

The National Youth Agency will typeset and lay out your advertisement from copy/illustrations supplied. All advertisements will print mono unless otherwise negotiated.

FURTHER DETAILS

Please contact *Youth & Policy*, The National Youth Agency, Eastgate House, 19–23 Humberstone Road, Leicester LE5 3GJ. Tel: 0116 242 7480. E-mail: andyh@nya.org.uk

S U B S C R I P T I O N S

To take out a subscription to *Youth & Policy* please fill in the form below, or a photocopy of it, and return by post or fax to The National Youth Agency.

Annual subscription (four issues)

Individuals, Youth and Community Organisations, Voluntary Agencies, Academic Institutions, Statutory Organisations and Libraries in the United Kingdom
£28.00
(Special student offer – £14.00)
(Price includes UK second class postage)

Overseas – Europe Add £8.00 postage
– Elsewhere Add £10.00 postage

Single issues and back issues
Available @ £9.00 per issue (price includes UK second class postage)
Overseas – Europe Add £2.00 postage
– Elsewhere Add £2.50 postage

I wish to subscribe to *Youth & Policy*

Name

Organisation

Address

Postcode

I enclose a cheque made payable to The National Youth Agency ☐
Please charge my VISA ☐   Mastercard ☐

Card number

Expiry date

Name on card

Back issue nos.

Postage (overseas only)

I require a receipt ☐

**Please make cheques payable to The National Youth Agency.
Send or fax forms to The National Youth Agency, Eastgate House,
19–23 Humberstone Road, Leicester LE5 3GJ. Fax: 0116 242 7444.**

Submission Details

Articles
The Editorial Group welcomes the submission of unsolicited articles which take an analytical approach to theoretical, policy or professional matters relating to young people in society.

Articles must be the original work of the author(s) and must not be under consideration for publication elsewhere.

Manuscripts should normally be between 3,500 and 8,000 words, including diagrams and references. In addition, authors should include an abstract of up to 150 words and three to five keywords.

If considered suitable, articles will be subject to anonymous peer review by two referees. This can sometimes take up to six months. The final decision regarding publication rests with the Editorial Group, who may occasionally recommend revisions and re-submission.

When submitting articles for consideration, in the first instance e-mail copy to jean.spence@durham.ac.uk. Alternatively send hard copy and disk.

Each manuscript should be accompanied by a cover sheet containing the following information:
Title.
Name, address and contact information for author(s).
Word Length
Date of submission.
Short biography of each author (no more than 20 words).

Please do not include authors names within manuscripts as these must be anonymous for review purposes.

All articles must be written in English. Language should be accessible, free from jargon and sensitive to issues of equality and difference. English spelling conventions should be used.

Lengthy quotations (over 40 words) should be indented and italicised in the text.

The Harvard system should be used for references ie. author's surname and year of publication in brackets, with page numbers where appropriate eg. (Smith, 1994:25); 'as Smith (1994:25) suggests ...'; or 'Smith's (1996) argument is ...'

Each publication cited in the text should be listed alphabetically and in full at the end of the article. In multi-authored articles, the names of all authors should be given in the reference list. In the text use the first author followed by et al. Please check that all references are included and complete before submitting manuscripts.

The following style should be used in the reference list: For example:

Book:
Smith, M.K. (1996) *Local Education: Community, conversation*, *praxis*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Article:
Wylie, T. (2004) 'How Connexions Came to Terms with Youth Work', *Youth and Policy*, 83: 19–29.

Report:
The Thompson Report (1982) Experience and Participation, Cmnd 8686, London: HMSO.

Abbreviations which are commonly understood can be used, but please spell out in full, with the abbreviation following in brackets, the first time they are used.

Please limit the use of supplementary notes as far as possible. Notes, numbered in the main text and detailed at the end of the article, should be included in the word count.

The editors reserve the right to make minor modifications and edits in the manuscript. However, any in-depth editing will be discussed with the author.

Reviews

Books for Review. Suggestions for future review material and names of possible reviewers should be communicated directly to Tony Jeffs (tony.jeffs@durham.ac.uk)

Reviewers should follow the style outlined for Articles in their manuscripts.