

A study of how local communities responded to changes in local authority youth services between 2010-2015.

A Foucauldian and Baumanian perspective.

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Abstract:

Following economic crisis in 2008, a new Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government came into power in 2010 and introduced various measures and policies which prioritised reducing the national debt. Such measures and policies impacted county council funding which in turn meant that the county of Treescape decided to focus its services on the most vulnerable. This resulted in the local authority youth service being disbanded, with all open access youth work, as well as the majority of infrastructure support and associated services stopping and buildings closing. A new targeted youth support service was thus created. If local communities in Treescape county wanted open access youth work, it was their responsibility to provide it.

This thesis undertakes a comparative study exploring the response of individuals and local parish/town councils from four communities, who proactively secured forms of youth provision in their area. Through the conceptual lenses provided by Michel Foucault and Zygmunt Bauman, the findings reveal that individuals and local parish/town councils responded to the challenges by exercising forms of neoliberal governmentality and discipline in order to achieve local solutions. In so doing they have created a unique mix of neoliberal and business-based approaches with local values that privilege the importance of relationships. I call this the '*loconomy*'. Given the precariousness and insecurity felt by individuals and youth providers, I discovered the presence of a '*situational dynamic*' where youth providers needed to consider how much to invest in a local community in order to strengthen their case to be a parish/town councils' preferred provider, which meant keeping both the young people and funder contented. However, this was not easy as youth work had become financialised, with finance limiting what could be offered at a local level compared with what was previously available via the local authority youth service. This resulted in varied forms of youth work, all of which had experienced shrinkflation.

Author declaration page

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of this thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

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Abbreviations

APPG	The All-Party Parliamentary Group on Youth Affairs
BSA	British Sociological Association
CCTV	Close Circuit Television
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CoP	Communities of Practice
DCSF	Department for Children Schools and Families
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfE	Department for Education
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DoE	Duke of Edinburgh
ECM	Every Child Matters
ETS	Education Training Standards Committee
GFS	Girl's Friendly Society
IDYW	In Defence of Youth Work
IFYW	Institute for Youth Work
JNC	Joint Negotiating Committee
JRF	Joseph Rowntree Foundation
LGA	Local Government Association
LSIA	Learning and Skills Improvement Agency
MUGA	Multi-Use Games Area
NALC	National Association of Local Councils
NCS	National Citizen Service

NEET	Not in Employment Education or Training
NOS	National Occupational Standards
NYA	National Youth Agency
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PfY	Positive for Youth
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency
REYS	Resourcing Excellent Youth Services
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
SWOT	Strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats
UOG	University of Gloucestershire
VCS	Voluntary Community Sector
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YVC	Youth Violence Commission

Introduction

This introduction will help the reader understand the background to this study and my interest in it. I will discuss the research questions and objectives at the heart of the study and will clarify relevant meanings and understandings which I adopt throughout. I will familiarise the reader with the conceptual lenses which are used, after which I will give a broad overview of the thesis to help the reader understand how it has been constructed. Please note I have changed all relevant names of places and people to preserve the anonymity of all involved in the study.

I.1. The background to this study

At a full County Council meeting in February 2011 Treescape county councillors agreed to save £3.6 million pounds and replace the local authority youth service with an integrated targeted youth support service. By doing so they cut the youth work full time and part time staff significantly reducing the dedicated youthwork staff from ~seventy-six full time posts and many hundred part time staff to six full time posts and ~forty-two-part time posts. Likewise, buildings which were used for youth work were either sold or given over to the community where they had strong business cases, leaving only 6 buildings across the whole county to be used for targeted youth support work.

The rationale for this decision was primarily put down to the need to save money due to national austerity cuts, which were announced and implemented from May 2010 onwards (Cabinet Office 2010a). The result was that the county council decided to focus on its “priorities, manage its budgets and reduce its borrowing” (Treescape County Council, 2011, p.89) and so chose to focus on its statutory duties. It was one of the first councils to do this and was cited as an example of the impact of austerity at the Government’s Education Select Committee’s investigation (The House of Commons, 2011).

Another reason given for such a significant cut was that within the county existed a thriving voluntary community sector which could respond to the changes, as the leader of the council stated: “there is an active voluntary sector that can pick up the opportunities from the council’s service reduction” (Treescape County Council, 2011, p.132). This was despite raised concerns about the ability and willingness of the voluntary sector to take on the delivery of services, the level of enthusiasm

expressed by communities and the dependency the council would have on non-statutory organisations (Treescape County Council, 2011, p.112).

To support the replacement of local services, by organisations, Treescape county council provided each of the 6 district councils within the county £50,000 to do as they wanted for a limited period. Four districts created a grant-based system for local projects to apply to, one district divided it among various organisations/projects, whilst another allocated it to their district councillors to spend individually.

I.2 My interest and background

In terms of my interest in this situation, the reader should know that I moved to Treescape county in order to take up a youth oversight role with the Anglican church; before that I had done a great deal of other youth work in the voluntary sector, predominantly with faith based organisations. Within this role I supported many parish churches who wished to consider how they could serve the needs of their local community and work with young people in a safe and beneficial way.

Reflecting on this time, I think that is what sparked my interest in local communities meeting the needs of their local young people, which in my experience, was often facilitated by the local church. In terms of my connection with local authority youth services, my initial connection with them came via the senior managers organising regular meetings for voluntary sector organisations to meet each other and hear what was happening in the county in terms of youth work. Often at these meetings the senior managers from the youth service would share any latest news that was impacting them and the sector and encourage the voluntary agencies to work together and put on a variety of events. Through this network facilitated by the local youth service, I got to know and work with many individuals and organisations. I was also able to resource others in my faith network, with the support and resources that such organisations were offering to all, especially training, in order that the quality of youth work would develop, and young people would ultimately benefit.

As a result of these meetings, I became intrigued at the differences that were present between faith based youth work and the work undertaken by the local authority, so much so, that I then volunteered some of my time in a local authority youth centre in order to experience and understand such work. This led me to produce a publication for the National Youth Agency (NYA) regarding spirituality in

youth work, bringing my understanding of youth work in different sectors together (Bullock and Pimlott, 2008).

It was therefore as a youth work volunteer in the local authority youth service and as a representative of the church attending volunteer sector meetings that I observed many of the policy developments brought in by the Labour Government being implemented. Reflecting on this time, I witnessed the effect of these, where I saw grants to voluntary sector organisations, such as my own, being replaced with output and outcome-based systems as well as the introduction of many policies e.g. the introduction of the Connexions Service (DfEE, 2000; 2001), Resourcing Excellent Youth Services (REYS) (DfES, 2002), Every Child Matters (DfES, 2003), Youth Matters (DfES, 2005a), as discussed in Chapter 1. I witnessed local authority youth workers being directed towards target-based interventions and the stress this direction was having on the senior management team of the local authority youth service.

Towards the end of the Labour Government I moved role and began to work at the local University and set up their professional youth work courses, taking a particular interest in working with different placement providers and community development projects. Here, I continued to witness the impact of Labour policies, notably the drive for an integrated workforce and qualifications until the Coalition Government came into being in 2010. It was in this context delivering a NYA accredited professional youth work course as well as other associated programmes, that I then witnessed the impact of Treescape council's decision to make such drastic changes and cuts to the youth service. Suffice to say, this decision also affected the courses that I oversaw, resulting in them closing in 2019.

As a result of witnessing youth work changing in Treescape county in such a major way, I knew that this was a significant moment in time as it wasn't a regular occurrence for such a decision to be made. Therefore, as someone with a passion for youth work and community development, I was keen to discover how such changes had impacted local communities, how they had responded and the form that youth work had taken as a result of little or no support from the local authority. This I felt I could do objectively as the changes were so drastic it was like investigating and exploring unknown territory, as all the previous structures and

clubs that I had experience of in my various roles had ended. Instead, new incarnations of youth work had been created by the time I started the research phase of this study. This phase was in late 2013 (see Appendix 5) which was two and half years after the council announced the changes. This meant that communities and relevant youth providers were implementing their plans. The stage was thus set, to investigate what had developed.

Guiding my research was a set of research questions and objectives:

I.3 The scope of this study

Research questions:

- What national and local policy changes have affected the delivery of youth work in Treescap county post- 2010?
- How has youth provision in Treescap county been affected by (and responded to) the implementation of these changes?
- How are consequent models of youth provision in Treescap county viewed by current service users, providers and other stakeholders?
- How do emerging forms of youth provision in Treescap county compare to traditional/existing understandings of professional youth work?

Research objectives:

- To investigate and critique the impact of relevant national and local government policy in relation to youth work in Treescap county, post 2010
- To investigate the forms of community and youth project response to the implementation of the relevant policy in order to identify the characteristics of resulting youth provision
- To identify what is deemed by current service users, providers and other stakeholders as suitable youth provision
- To locate emerging forms of youth provision in existing professional youth work frameworks and to develop further theoretical understandings as necessary.

Given these questions and objectives, there are some points of clarification required:

Discourse and policy have guided and shaped how youth work has been delivered for many years and continues to do so. It was a direct result of measures taken by the Coalition Government under the discourses and policies of austerity (Cabinet Office 2010a), the big society (Cabinet Office 2010b; 2010c), localism (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2015), and early intervention approaches (Churchill, 2016), that changes were made to central Government funding to local authorities. This direction of travel confirmed local discussions within Treescape county and so prompted the county council to progress and implement its' changes and reductions to local authority youth services. Therefore, this thesis will concentrate on such a policy environment whilst being informed by the previous Labour administration's policy context.

There are many different ways that communities can be understood and interpreted (Blackshaw, 2010; Gilchrist, 2009). In this thesis community is understood as a place/locality model (Blackshaw, 2010; Gilchrist, 2009), i.e. a geographical area, overseen by a parish/town council, where people living there, feel a special sense of attachment. The role of local parish/town councils, according to the National Association of Local Councils (NALC), is to deliver services, improve the quality of life for those in the community through its' actions and enable local people to have a voice (NALC, 2018, p.4).

The fact that each of these communities had a parish/town council was the determining factor which meant that forms of youth provision were developed in these communities. This is because, as the first tier of government, they had the means to raise a regular source of income through their precept, which allowed them to raise income from a localised tax that only those within their community paid as they only benefited from the local service (NALC, 2018).

Local councillors are elected by members of the public and is a voluntary role. Their role includes making decisions, monitoring to ensure services are 'efficient and effective' as well as getting involved in the local community (NALC, 2018, p.7). Due to the voluntary nature of the role, councillors may not have specific expertise in specialist areas that may be needed, for example in youth work and therefore may or may not choose to access further support to help improve their understanding.

There are many different strands of practice that could be called youth work (Furlong, 2013; Banks, 2010; Smith, 1988) and as there is no protected status, anyone can call themselves a youth worker. During Chapter 2 I will discuss this further, but in order to set out what my understanding of youth work is, I align myself with this statement which states the purpose of youth work is to:

Enable young people to develop holistically, working with them to facilitate their personal, social and educational development, to enable them to develop their voice, influence and place in society and to reach their full potential (LSIA, 2012, p.4)

This definition is found in the 2012 edition of the National Occupational Standards (NOS) for youth work which set out the knowledge and skills that a youth worker may require. Such a statement needs to be read alongside the value base of youth work, also contained in the 2012 NOS document and the youth work ethical standards (NYA, 2000) and code of ethics (IFYW, 2019). I reference these documents as they are required to be extensively used in the validation and implementation of professional youth work courses by the Education Standards Committee (ETS) within the NYA (2019a) and as such are the basis of understanding professional youth work in England. However, as I will discuss in this thesis, such a view of youth work, may not be widely known and therefore has led to organisations involved in local youth delivery, having to inform local community members regarding such an understanding, as they found many different local interpretations in existence.

Young people, as discussed in this thesis, describe those who are between the ages of 11-19 as this is the age group many professional youth workers work with (NYA, 2019a) and for whom the localised youth provision was set up to work with. Young people can be viewed from various different perspectives given the various discourses which are distributed throughout society such as through policy or media, some of which are negative and some positive. The view and approach that I have taken is one which upholds the value base of youth work (LSIA, 2012) which means that I view each young person as an unique individual that always holds potential for developing and flourishing, should be shown respect and be worked with without judgement.

The resulting research took an inductive comparative case study approach (Flick, 2014; Bryman, 2012; Stake, 2005) across four local communities which shared many similarities. These similarities included the fact that they were all in Treescape county, had experienced the previous local authority youth service and the local parish/town council had chosen to enable the development of local youth provision for young people between 11-19, as a result of increasing their local precept. The four communities that I investigated I have named as Birchwood, Oakland, Elmbrook and Maple Hill. The resulting models which evolved are further described in Appendix 1 and summarised in the table below:

Table 1 - Summary of youth work models

Community and venue	Provision run by
<p>Birchwood</p> <p>There was a large local authority youth centre which was taken over by 'The Birchwood Project' - the local neighbourhood project.</p>	<p>The local neighbourhood project succeeded in taking over the building and opened it as an all age community centre.</p> <p>'The Birchwood Project' received money from the local parish/town council to provide youth provision as part of its programme. This work did not go out to tender.</p> <p>The project provided specific youth provision by buying in 'Dynamic Sports' to deliver a sports development session once a week.</p>
<p>Oakland</p> <p>The local parish/town council had built a youth club wing on the side of its' council premises. This had been rented by the local authority youth service and then subsequently to the organisation who ran the youth provision</p>	<p>The local neighbourhood project 'The Oakland Project' was revitalised and was used by local community members to run the youth club and local library provision.</p> <p>'The Oakland Project' was successful in keeping and transferring the same part time youth work staff from the local</p>

	<p>authority youth service to their organisation. Therefore, change for young people was kept to the minimum. This work did not go out to tender.</p>
<p>Elmbrook</p> <p>There was no venue for youth work apart from a shipping container and a mobile provision. The local councillors managed to get hold of some mobile student accommodation and made a youth club from it.</p>	<p>The council went out to tender and appointed 'Youth Aid' to run various youth work sessions each week at the new youth club.</p> <p>'Faith Matters' was a local based charity who supported the local councillors through the development phase. They were allowed to run one open session a week for local young people in the resulting youth club. They were funded differently to 'Youth Aid' and both organisations were willing to work together as they were not deemed to be competitors.</p> <p>Occasionally the youth club building was used by the district council to run a youth forum in.</p>
<p>Maple Hill</p> <p>The previous local authority building which was used as a youth club was sold and much of the money was given to the local parish/town council to refurbish an old police station and turn it into a youth club.</p>	<p>The local parish/town council joined with another three local councils and developed a shared delivery project 'The Youth Collective'. They went out to tender and collectively appointed 'Youth Aid' to run youth work sessions in each location, including Maple Hill.</p> <p>'Youth Aid' established a base in another locality to facilitate the local work.</p> <p>The councillors in Maple Hill decided to increase their youth provision and went</p>

	<p>out to tender and appointed 'Enterprise for Youth' to run a further session for young people at the youth club.</p> <p>Therefore, there were two rival organisations sharing the same venue working with potentially the same young people.</p> <p>Occasionally the youth club building was used by the district council to run a youth forum in.</p>
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Further details about the youth providing organisations mentioned within this thesis can be found in Appendix 2.

One element that I chose not to focus on was the experience of a local community who had the desire to try and provide a localised solution for their young people but whose efforts were in vain. This would have further helped to understand the issues that were faced by individuals, councillors, local councils and organisations, providing a further opportunity for triangulation of the data. However, due to time and limitations regarding data collection and processing, this perhaps is an area which should be studied in the future.

I.4 Conceptual lenses

Once I collected the data I required and had analysed it, I applied various conceptual lenses derived from the writings of Michel Foucault and Zygmunt Bauman.

Michel Foucault (1926-1984) has been described by Schirato, Danaher and Webb (2012 p.vii) "as one of the most influential thinkers of our time" with "the impact of his work being felt across a wide range of disciplinary fields." (Mills, 2003, p.1) He was a French academic, who in 1970 was given the role of Professor of the history of thought at the College de France, Paris.

Over his lifetime he developed a large body of work developing various approaches such as his archaeological and genealogical methods (Oksala, 2007). These methods he used to demonstrate that some of the realities of thought often taken as true by society may not always have been. In so doing he demonstrated how understandings are often socially constructed through a complex process of various mechanisms and technologies (Foucault, 2002). Through his research he therefore developed many different concepts and understandings which have been used by many to help their own studies. This has also been the case in regard to academic work related to youth work. For example, his work has been used to explore: Discourses (Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan, 2013; Bradford, 2012; Fittsimons, 2007) and anti-oppressive practice (Chouhan, 2009); neoliberalism, surveillance, governmentality, resistance and power (De St Croix, 2016); measurement and wellbeing (McGimpsey, 2015); care of the self and regimes of truth (Hughes *et al.* 2014).

Therefore, I felt that a theoretical underpinning by Foucault, would enable my thesis to be built on a significant theoretical framework which would enable new insights to be revealed from the data collected and analysed.

However, as I read Foucault, I noted that whilst the concepts he developed did help me to understand the data, it only helped so far, as society had further progressed. Through my reading I found the work of Zygmunt Bauman not only referred to Foucault but further developed some of his concepts within an understanding of a world that was changing rapidly (Gane, 2012). I therefore decided to further explore the work of Bauman. I discovered that he was described as “a shrewd observer of modernity” (Bordoni, 2016, p.281) and “the greatest interpreter of our present time” (Palese, 2013) and through reading his work found many applicable concepts that helped me understand the data further. His work was also referred to by academics writing in the youth work field, especially to discuss the characteristics of contemporary modern society and his thoughts regarding consumption and individualism (Bradford and Cullen, 2014; Batsleer, 2010), order and fear (Armstrong, 2009) as well as fragmentation of collective unities (Nicholls, 2012). Therefore, Bauman enabled me to explore various other relevant concepts that Foucault’s concepts didn’t consider, given the time of his writing.

Through the process of writing I have become aware of other important writers, such as Deleuze, that other youth work academics have drawn upon e.g. (McGimpsey, 2017; Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015). Whilst I have briefly considered Deleuze (see section 3.1.4) I decided to primarily focus on only two major complementary conceptual theorists in order to produce a focused thesis. Looking at the findings in depth, in relation to other conceptual lenses, is a project for the future.

I.5 The structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 – The policy context

There has been much policy which has impacted on local authority youth work and this chapter explores the development of contemporary policy linked to youth work. It begins with policy developments introduced from 1997 under the Labour administration and discusses important developments that occurred within the Coalition Government which ended in 2015. Within this period a great deal of policy developed which impacted how work with young people and youth work was to be undertaken, with a clear movement towards marketisation of the sector and the involvement of more organisations in the delivery of services.

This chapter therefore sets the policy context under which this research was undertaken and helps to explain how the cases studied found themselves having to find a solution to the changes in funding that occurred in youth services at a national and county wide level.

Chapter 2 – Youth work practice

Youth work practice and understanding has developed over many years through various policy environments and in this chapter, I track the development of important ideas and concepts that have informed the nature and understanding of youth work. I specifically focus on local authority youth work and the associated academic thinking and practice which accompanied it, because youth work in this form achieved a great deal given the resources that it had from the state. This chapter therefore provides the background that enables a comparison to be made between the form and nature of youth work which was aspired to and present in local authority youth services before the changes occurred in Treescapely county, compared to the form of youth work which developed at community level afterwards. Within the

chapter, I discuss ongoing debates within the academic literature and consider the future of youth work.

Chapter 3 – The conceptual lenses

There are many different conceptual understandings that both Michel Foucault and Zygmunt Bauman developed during their lives as they followed their particular interests. This chapter seeks to introduce the reader to many of their ideas which have been used in this thesis which have enabled the data to be interpreted in the way that it has been through the various data and discussion chapters (Chapters 5 - 10).

Chapter 4 – Methodology

Within this chapter I detail my various philosophical understandings that guided my research design and implementation so that the research would become inductive. I discuss that my approach was to use a comparative case study of the four communities, using various research methods but with my main tools being observations and interviews with a sample of people in each case from various different perspectives involved in the case and the wider area. I explain how I considered the validity and reliability in the study and the various ethical issues and approaches that had to be dealt with. I then discuss the process of data coding and analysis which adopted a thematic approach, and which enabled me to understand the data as I did.

Chapter 5 – Analysis 1: Governmentality

This chapter explores some of the factors that contributed to the local parish/town councils responding in the way that they did and I explore various different ways in which governmentality was exercised along with the motivations that energised local individuals. Such motivations included a concern regarding antisocial behaviour, the need to support the wellbeing of local young people and their local community, as well as motivations which arose out of a sense of resistance to the changes. The chapter ends by discussing the big society policy, and despite local community members refusing their actions had anything to do with this, their responses ensured that this policy was enacted locally.

Chapter 6 – Analysis 2: Neoliberal Governmentality

This chapter builds on Chapter 5 and explores how neoliberal governmentalities, understandings and practices were impacting on individuals and the local communities studied, using Foucault's examination of the Ordo and Chicago schools of thought as a basis for the study. Different examples of neoliberalisation are discussed which demonstrate the impact on society of neoliberal governmentality and associated concepts and practices. However, when it came for the studied local councils to find and contract with youth providers, the data revealed that they mixed neoliberal and business-based approaches with local values, namely the importance of relationship. As such I introduce the concept of the '*loconomy*' which seeks to describe the mix of locally held values, understandings, neoliberal ideas and associated management processes that were present in the relationships between funder and provider. The chapter concludes by discussing the 'light touch' reporting mechanisms which were required by the local councils, which was surprising, given wider sector understandings and practices.

Chapter 7 – Analysis 3: Discipline

Within this chapter I explore some of the potential reasons why the youth providers may have had minimal reporting responsibilities as I discuss various mechanisms and technologies of power, which the parish/town councils, as well as the youth providers themselves, took to ensure that the contracts were delivered satisfactorily. Such approaches align to various technologies of power and approaches of discipline that Foucault discussed and were implemented so that all concerned were productive and performed accordingly to meet desired requirements.

Chapter 8 – Analysis 4: Power/knowledge

This chapter explores the place and role that the previous local authority youth service took in Treescape county. I argue that the youth service exercised a significant power/knowledge dynamic as it used its' relationships and networks to continually keep young people and professional youth work on the agenda at various levels across the county and that through its' knowledge base defended and promoted the professional youth work understanding. As such, I discuss the many elements that were present that supported youth work locally and how through various discourses such an institution ended. I then compare the situation that

existed in Treescape county, especially in the cases studied, after the changes had taken effect. The results showed that after the changes, the understanding and practices of youth work had started to alter locally given that youth providers worked with their council funder on how they approached their contracts, with the limited resources that they had at their disposal.

Chapter 9 – Analysis 5: Liquid times

This chapter explores the data collected through the conceptual lenses provided by Zygmunt Bauman. It focusses on various issues that the youth providers encountered in their experience. It begins with exploring the fragmentation of the localised youth sector and the individualisation that occurred to local youth providers. This resulted in a sense of isolation experienced by many youth workers exacerbated by the uncertainty, insecurity and vulnerability of their own and their employers' long-term financial position. Young people's views about their experience are discussed in the context of a consumer society as their attendance was a further pressure that youth providers had to be concerned about, as they needed to keep up the level of attendance to demonstrate that their approach was effective.

Chapter 10 – Discussion

This chapter looks at the data which has been discussed in Chapters 5 - 9 in order to discover if there are any further areas of learning when the evidence is looked at together. The result is that various new findings are explored such as '*histological governmentality*' along with further reflections on the 'loconomy' and the nature of youth work which was being undertaken at the local level. Finally, some recommendations are suggested that the sector would benefit from if implemented, such as an independent 'truth telling' organisation to provide infrastructure support.

Chapter 11 – Conclusion

This chapter summarises the thesis and outlines potential next steps for the knowledge and learning that this study has produced.

Chapter 1 – The policy context

The youth work academic Mark Smith, at a conference in 2015, which celebrated 100 years of youth and community work education, pronounced youth work as dead (Muirhead, 2015). Others also had noticed significant changes. In 2011, Jeffs (2011) spoke of a post-statutory youth work era arriving as a result of the passing of traditional local authority youth work, which later became a fast fading memory (Jeffs, 2015) which had run its course (Jeffs, 2017). A year later, Richards and Lewis (2018) and Pugh (2019) compared the endings of youth work projects and university courses to the process of death, along with the associated post-mortems and mourning processes that accompany such finalities. Whilst others would challenge that youth work per se is dead e.g., Wylie (2013; 2015), there is no doubt that significant changes have occurred that have altered the appearance of local authority youth services and the role that workers undertake within the statutory sector. Likewise, many changes have also occurred in the Voluntary Community Sector (VCS) as Governments saw that those in this sector could provide services on behalf of, or instead of the state, which has also had an impact in the way that youth work is delivered, if it could be understood as youth work (Davies, 2015).

In the next two chapters, such changes will be explored. Firstly, this chapter will explore the specific contemporary policy context that those delivering youth work have had to contend with and the effects that such a context has had on those leading and managing youth organisations. The next chapter will then explore the effects that such policies have had on practice, given that youth work has a historical tradition, which for some is under threat (Davies 2005; 2015).

1.1 Developing neoliberalism

In 1979 Margaret Thatcher became prime minister who started to implement a new economic policy based on neoliberal ideology (Maisuria, 2014; Lerner, 2000). Such ideology saw the importance of free markets, competition, entrepreneurialism, self-reliance and initiative, where the consumer experienced choice (Clarke *et al.* 2007). This meant that the state could be rolled back (Peck and Ticknell, 2002), responsibility given back to families and communities (Clarke and Newman, 1997) and changes could be made to the welfare focused social democracy established

after the war (Hall and O'Shea, 2013; Clarke and Newman, 1997; Martin, 1992). Such changes were seen in wider society through various privatisation schemes (Nicholls, 2012), e.g. the Government selling off state held assets, the privatisation of council houses and various schemes encouraging individuals to save and start private enterprises (Martin, 1992). This approach meant expenditure controls being placed on local authorities (Goodwin, 1992) which for youth work meant that there were fewer youth work staff and resources like buildings and equipment, in a poor state of repair (Davies, 1999c). With expanding professional areas such as social work, education and probation, which had much clearer purposes and roles than youth work, it left the youth service in comparison, seen as a marginal service and therefore in a perilous position (Smith, 1988).

Accompanying the implementation of neoliberal policies was the adoption in public services of many management tools and processes, especially in relation to performance measurement, accountability and improved financial supervision (Davis, 2014; Harrop and Tinker, 2014; Clarke and Newman, 1997). The beginnings of which were evident in the findings of the Governmental review of youth services in 1982, undertaken by Thompson, where the youth service was endorsed in many ways, but management was deemed to need improvement (DES, 1982).

1.2 Labour, young people and service reform

The implementation of management tools which accompanied neoliberal ideology were to be used further by the following Labour Government in 1997 (Sercombe, 2015). This Government took a comprehensive audit of local authority youth services which discovered the broad nature of educational development work undertaken with young people (Marken, Perrett and Wylie, 1998) and then initiated large scale neoliberal reforms of youth services (McGimpsey, 2017). These reforms were based on the Government's discourses related to young people, the desire to improve services and to implement and further roll out new public management tools and instruments into the sector (Bessant, Robinson and Ormerod, 2015; Peck and Ticknell, 2002; MacKinnon, 2000). These areas will now be explored.

Labour's view of young people was driven by the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) which it set up, in order to help understand and tackle a range of issues as a result of "unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments,

bad health and the family breakdown” (Levitas, 2005, p.148). The unit then worked across Government departments to develop jointly owned policies.

From the SEU came the adoption of a moral underclass discourse as well as a social integrationist discourse towards young people (Levitas, 2005). The moral underclass discourse sought to focus on the behaviour of those who faced issues, whereas the social integrationist discourse focused on the importance of employment and encouraged as many as possible to become employed whilst ignoring factors which may inhibit individuals from doing so.

These understandings of young people, together with the view that the quality in local authority youth services was inconsistent (DfEE, 2000;1999), fragmented and provided inadequate support for young people in need (DfEE, 2001), contributed to the development of the Connexions service. This new service was to provide both a universal and targeted service, enabling young people to reach their full potential and achieve in learning (DfEE, 2001). The youth service was to be a key component and would identify and work with young people who might get involved in criminality, antisocial behaviour, drug or alcohol related dangers or be at risk of teenage pregnancy. This was in contrast to the idealist vision the Government set, where young people were healthy, achieving qualifications, securing employment and caring for self and others in the context of a fair society in local communities (DfEE, 2001, p.14).

Alongside this significant change, for the first time, performance measures were required to be undertaken by youth workers in local authority youth services (De St Croix, 2016; DfES, 2002). Notably these included reach targets, (i.e. services were required to be involved with 25% of all 13-19 year olds), accredited outcomes, recorded outcomes, as well as outcomes for working with young people who were Not in Employment Education or Training (NEET) and those deemed to be at risk. Ofsted ensured compliance and made judgements on their implementation (DfES, 2002). The NYA supported this development by producing informative resources supporting those involved in youth work, to encourage and help the implementation of this agenda (Taylor *et al.* 2018).

However, such reforms were critiqued extensively by academics and practitioners, as such reforms started to change the nature of youth work. Smith (2007; 2002;

2001) for example, discussed how youth workers began to prioritise work which focused on young people with specific issues and activities which would result in targets being achieved. This meant that the state started to shape the youth work undertaken, rather than giving the youth workers complete freedom to choose an appropriate approach. Smith (2002) summed up the endorsed approach as “a modified form of schooling that also entails a significant amount of case management and some youth work.” He hoped that there would be some in the youth work sector who would be able to survive such reforms and not conform so that the real practice and spirit of youth work could be kept alive.

However, more reforms soon arrived, which further embedded the use of outcomes. Next to be launched was Every Child Matters (ECM) (DfES, 2003) following the death of Victoria Climbié, underpinned in legislation by the Children Act 2004. The policy focussed on dealing with “reducing levels of educational failure, ill health, substance misuse, teenage pregnancy, abuse and neglect, crime and antisocial behaviour among children and young people” (DfES, 2003, p.6) and set out five outcomes that would guide all work taken with children and young people, i.e. being healthy, staying safe, enjoying and achieving, making a positive contribution and economic wellbeing. (DfES, 2003).

With the focus on developing better safeguarding arrangements, what followed was the requirement to develop integrated specialised services and integrated universal services (DfES, 2004). This resulted in many local authorities taking the opportunity to undertake significant restructuring of their services which meant that in many places there was no longer a dedicated ‘youth service’ but often a mix of different professionals working together under an all-encompassing title such as ‘youth services’ (Davies, 2008). However, as the policy focus was both prevention and intervention, the skills and methods embodied in the approach of youth workers were in demand (Batsleer, 2013a). Further direction was issued by the Government via the Youth Matters initiative (DfES, 2005a; 2006), regarding the work which it expected to be undertaken with young people. This encouraged the provision of positive activities because by keeping young people “busy they are less likely to drift into trouble, cause nuisance or commit crime.” (DfES, 2005a, p.5). Notably, Youth Matters raised the idea of an opportunity card through which young people could buy activities to participate in. By doing this the Government sought to progress the

importance of individual consumer preference and consumption explicitly into the work with young people, which was a specific neoliberal understanding (Clarke, *et al.* 2007), rather than supporting the notion of working alongside others as fellow citizens, in community together (Nicholls, 2012; Smith, 2005).

Within these reforms the strong belief in the power of markets was embedded (McGimpsey, 2017; Harrop and Tinker, 2014) which resulted in Children's Trusts being established (DfES, 2003). This provided the means for local authorities to commission services to meet specific needs, which could either be provided 'in house' or be outsourced, but it meant that the local authority no longer was the default provider. Those that bid for and received funding for pieces of work, had closely monitored outcomes associated with the funding because there was a requirement for "transparent and effective performance data to enable comparisons in terms of cost and quality" to be made, in order to justify decisions (DFES, 2004, p.30). Therefore, it became clear that the motivation behind many decisions became the managerial concepts of economy, efficiency and effectiveness (Jackson, 2004). However, by 2007, the markets from which to select providers from, within the youth sector, were deemed to be "particularly under developed and not contestable" (DCSF, 2007, p.75) and as such, effort was expended in order that a market place could be developed, with the VCS being encouraged to play its' part in the delivery of services. Many VCS organisations were attracted to the funding available and when successful, effectively became an extension of the state (Benson, 2015; Sercombe, 2015). Commissioning became established as the preferred funding option and so grant funding soon was withdrawn, which had previously supported much of the work of the VCS (McGimpsey, 2017; Benson, 2015; Marken, Perrett and Wylie, 1998; Leighton, 1972). The use of commissioning, together with the withdrawal of grants, changed the way people related to each other, replacing a sense of collaboration, to competition, straining relationships which previously were built on trust (Benson, 2015).

The Labour Government implemented reforms in regard to the training of the workforce (DCSF, 2007; DfES, 2005a) where there was a significant drive to further increase skills in leadership and management in order to support the reforms. Further changes were implemented to create a core of common understandings between workers (DfES, 2005b), so there would be easier progression routes

created across professional areas. Such a common integrated approach left youth workers concerned that their specialised qualifications would be subsumed by the social care agenda (Davies, 2008).

In summary, within the Labour administration, large scale reforms took place which affected youth work in all sectors (Bunyan and Ord, 2012). For the first time targets and outcomes were introduced for youth workers, whilst they were deployed to undertake positive activities and interventions that either prevented or deterred young people from behaviour which the Government had deemed to be unacceptable (Davies and Merton, 2009). Structurally local authority services were integrated to ensure efficient services were in place with an early intervention and safeguarding focus (Davies and Merton, 2012). Commissioning became a common feature as the youth sector became marketised with local authorities taking the role as buyers and enablers of services, not deliverers (Bunyan and Ord, 2012). This meant that the grants that many VCS services relied on for so many years came to an end as a result of neoliberal ideology being implemented (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015; Batsleer, 2013). Although youth work fulfilled a role, it could not provide the evidence of its' worth that was required (Wylie, 2013; 2010) which would make youth work vulnerable in the future years of austerity.

1.3 The Coalition and austerity

Austerity was implemented in 2010, following a change in Government to a Coalition between Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats. This was as a result of the banking crisis in 2008 which led to large amounts of Government borrowing contributing to the largest deficit in peace time history (HM Treasury, 2010a). The response to this situation was Governmental strategies to reduce the deficit by as much as possible via austerity measures (McGimpsey, 2017; Cabinet Office, 2010a; HM Treasury, 2010b), with £128 billion of savings achieved by 2015 (Ellison, 2016) from public expenditure. Therefore, to achieve such large-scale cuts, a significant welfare restructure was undertaken which would reduce and roll back state intervention to an unprecedented level (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015; Taylor-Gooby and Stoker, 2011), leaving some to understand such action as ideologically motivated (Ellison, 2016; Taylor-Gooby, 2012) providing the opportunity to reassemble the youth sector as “a site of social investment” (McGimpsey, 2017, p.2).

Such action was justified by the discourse that a stronger economy could be only achieved as a result of lower public spending and debt (HM Treasury, 2010b). This justified a shift in responsibility away from the state to private providers, citizens or the community, with market principles used to underpin such changes (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015; Taylor-Gooby, 2012). In doing so, such policy was continuing the embedding of neoliberal ideology and concepts in society.

The effects of the austerity discourses and policies were significant. Welfare was reviewed and limited, with each individual/family required to take responsibility for their own situation, enforced by carrots and sticks (Bochel and Powell, 2016) which seemed to have a disproportionate impact on the poor, the disabled, women, carers, older people, those from black and ethnic minorities and children and young people (O'Hara, 2014; Lowdnes and McCaughie, 2013). By making individuals responsible for their own situation, wider structural issues such as poverty and unemployment could be concealed (Davies, 2011).

Local authority spending was significantly hit hard, with central Government reducing local government allocations, removing ringfences from resources, limiting council tax rises and reducing the Department for Communities and Local government's budget by over 50% over four years (Bochel and Powell, 2016). This impacted the services that local government could provide with choices having to be made as to what would be provided. This led to the hardest reductions being made in preventative universal, open access youth services (NYA, 2019b; Children's Commissioner for England, 2018; McGimpsey, 2017; Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015). According to the Labour party (2019a) the reduction in spending was £1 billion pounds or 73%, which have had a significant impact (The Labour party, 2019a; De St Croix, 2018; Wilkinson and Leonard, 2015; Wylie, 2015).

Another report by Unison (2018) demonstrated that from 2010-2019 £400m of cuts had been made in local authority youth services resulting in 4544 jobs lost and 763 youth centres being closed down. However, the total spending on young people has remained consistent, demonstrating that spending has been redistributed by local authorities to meet their statutory duties (McGimpsey, 2017) with targeted based youth work increasing its share of the total resource allocation by 19.5% between

2011 and 2018 and universal open access based youth work, receiving a 12.1% cut (NYA, 2019b, p.44).

Alongside public sector cuts and changes to services was an emphasis by the Coalition Government on localism, through their discourse on the Big Society (Blond, 2010). The thrust of the Big Society vision was to change the fortunes of society from a broken Britain (Stratton, 2011), by placing the responsibility not on the central Government but on each individual (Bulley and Sokhi-Bulley, 2014). The role of Government was to “empower communities, open up public services and promote social action” (Cabinet Office, 2010b, p.3) which was legislated through the Localism Act 2011. The hope was to encourage communities to consider not what Government could provide, but what they could achieve (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011). As a result, the role of local councils was expected to increase as they enabled the provision of non-statutory services, that local communities wanted (NALC, 2010, p.30).

Through critiquing the Big Society agenda, Bulley and Sokhi-Bulley (2014, p.456) concluded that the Big Society vision did

not imply less government but more management of people’s conduct as individuals and a population, through communities, neighbourhoods and indeed self-government. Under the vision of a Big Society we are not to be less governed, but more efficiently and effectively so, by governing our own conduct and that of those around us in our families, neighbourhoods and workplaces.

Yet this increase of government was not to be done through legislation but through the environment and the possible options that are open to people to take (Rose and Miller, 2010; Foucault, 2000b). Therefore, by the Government announcing austerity alongside the Big Society agenda, local communities were faced with the possibility of losing services or take responsibility for them.

Early into the new Coalition Government, youth services became the focus of an inquiry conducted by the Education Select Committee (House of Commons, 2011) which explored a wide range of issues that were present in the sector (Davies, 2019a). The inquiry acknowledged that there had been “disproportioned cuts to local

authority youth services” (House of Commons, 2011, p.35) and given this detail, the sector was encouraged to diversify its’ income streams, especially to move away from state funding and instead explore other sources including philanthropic, charitable funds and private sector investment. Where there was state money available this would be for the minority of young people who were in need of early intervention (House of Commons, 2011) which was a distinctive break with how youth services had been funded previously for both open access and targeted youth provision. It was made clear that state funding would use a commissioning model which would be outcomes orientated with more payment by results schemes being used, linked to social impact (House of Commons, 2011).

Given that such approaches had already been adopted in other sectors, it perhaps isn’t surprising that the committee was frustrated that a “robust outcome measurement framework” (House of Commons, 2011, p.23) was not in place which would help the comparison of services as “it is essential that publicly funded services are able to demonstrate what difference they make to young people” (House of Commons, 2011, p.23). Jeffs (2011) was disappointed that the sector was not able to put together a coherent evidence base but suggested that the issues which faced youth services were the symptoms of many decades of neglect and underfunding. However, despite this, the fact remained that youth work was not able to demonstrate its’ value in the way that those in power wanted, no matter how reductionist or naive (Jeffs, 2011). This resulted in the Government spending money in developing further tools to help the sector, as part of its policy for young people, entitled ‘Positive for Youth’ (PfY) (DfE, 2011b). The result was the Young Foundation’s outcomes framework was produced, which sought to help youth workers measure social and emotional capabilities in order to help justify work to others. Whilst the developers of this framework viewed this positively (McNeil, Reeder and Rich, 2012), Davies (2013) felt that such a development, negatively impacted youth work as this meant that such a framework instrumentalised the practice of youth workers and restricted its flexibility and creativity by confining practice to only those things that could be measured.

1.4 Positive for Youth

Positive for Youth (PfY) (DfE, 2011b) brought together policy from at least 9 departments across the Government which related to young people, 13-19 years of age. The aspiration was for a society in which young people enjoyed themselves, transitioned well to adulthood in order for them to achieve their potential.

The policy focused on six main themes i.e. supporting parents and carers through early interventions by practitioners as well as through the provision of evidence-based parenting programmes; helping all young people succeed in learning and finding a job, by ensuring that they attend and behave well in school and remain in education and training until they are 18; Building character and a sense of belonging through ways which promote personal and social development such as the National Citizen Service (NCS); Supporting young people's health and wellbeing; Protecting the most vulnerable young people; Youth crime prevention and young people in the criminal justice system (DfE 2011b).

The documentation stated that young people; parents, carers and families; other adults; the media; businesses; teachers, youth workers; other professionals; local authorities and commissioners all had a role to play in the implementation of PfY (DfE, 2011a). The policy therefore sought to distribute roles and make clear that the Government's role was to enable others, set direction, facilitate reform as well as monitor progress. (DfE, 2011b). No prescribed common structure was applied, as this was to be decided locally. However, PfY framed the direction of travel, weighted heavily towards early and targeted interventions for young people and their families, in the context of a marketised sector. The success of PfY therefore was down to the engagement and commitment of local partners and individuals (DfE, 2011b).

The prospect of the Government placing the responsibility for youth work in the context of local authorities made Davies (2011, p.101) respond stating "it is a recipe for abandoning open-access youth work" as many "difficult decisions were having to be made about funding for youth work and other services" (DfE, 2011c, p.3). Yet, Davies (2012) pointed out that the tough decisions that local authorities had to make were a direct result of Government policy and spending cuts. He therefore argued that instead of passing on responsibility, that the Government should also share the culpability for loss of services, especially for youth workers.

Those making local decisions were encouraged through PfY to listen and recognise the importance of hearing from young people but unfortunately their views were not guaranteed to make a difference as they only would be “taken into account” (DfE, 2011a, p.4). This point is discussed by Buckland (2013) who highlighted the fact that during the consultation for PfY, young people responded by saying they wanted safe places with key professionals present to support them, yet that didn’t stop a large number of youth club closures and youth worker redundancies.

Therefore, PfY was an explicit agenda to drive through change to the youth sector and explicitly roll out further reforms, inspired by neoliberal ideology (Peck and Ticknell, 2002) which appeared unstoppable, due to the discourse which was widely disseminated that there was no alternative, given the financial position the country was in (HM Treasury, 2010b). Davies (2012) challenged what he called the TINA (There Is No Alternative) syndrome by raising two significant questions, i.e. where is the evidence to support that the market works in providing sensitive human services? And, is it ethical and moral to make profit out of those in need of personal support? As what was being promoted by PfY, was the continued push to marketize and further open up the provision of public services to as many potential providers as possible including businesses, mutuals, social enterprises and the VCS. As long as they were prepared to compete in commissioning processes and would accept payment by result schemes in return for funding (DfE, 2011b). Efficiency seemed so important that even a case study was used in which volunteers are seen as ‘good’ because “they are very cost effective” (DfE, 2011b, p.82), thus giving the impression that volunteers were an acceptable replacement for qualified staff. Such a strategy was called into question by Wiggins (2015), Buckland (2013) and Davies (2012).

Ultimately, the steer from Government to local authorities was to be creative and strategic. Youth work was viewed as a positive methodology, particularly for the most disadvantaged vulnerable young people at risk of poor outcomes (DfE, 2011e). However, youth work was one approach among many, and the responsibility was given back to local authorities to determine how the needs of young people in their area were best addressed (DfE, 2011b), after all local authorities needed to be mindful of section 507B of the 1996 Education and Inspections Act which stated that a local authority should provide sufficient educational and recreational leisure time activities for young people (NYA, 2019b; DfE, 2012). However, as such guidance

was vague and not monitored local authorities could effectively do as they pleased (Davies, 2013).

Organisations that were “often resourced or funded without reliance on the public purse” (DfE, 2011d, p3) were celebrated in PfY as it was hoped that such organisations would fill in the gaps which became evident as a result of the changes which were happening in the sector. However, with no extra support pledged, this was an unrealistic assumption (Taylor *et al.* 2018; Davies, 2012).

In terms of young people, PfY set out a vision in which they took responsibility for their lives as individuals and those of their peers, making use of all opportunities, demonstrating creativity, enterprising and entrepreneurial skills (Davies, 2013). They were to become compliant citizens, respectful and offering to help others through acts of volunteering and supporting others making important decisions. Brooks (2013) discovered such messages were also to be found in wider education policy so that young people would be work ready and not welfare ready at the end of their education/training and adolescent journey. However, such a focus meant that young people were not given much significance to who they were, in the present (Davies, 2013). Both Brookes (2013) and Davies (2013) agree that young people were cast together as one group by policy, which hid any difference between them, such as the impact from any structural issues which may have affected them. As a result, Brookes (2013) argued that all such policies demonstrated an adherence to Conservative led values and confirmed that education policy was more heavily influenced by the Conservative part of the coalition than the Liberal Democrat wing, at the time of PfY.

Within the PfY policy was the establishment of the NCS a three to four-week programme that brought a diverse mix of young people together for various activities based on adventure, discovery, social action and celebration (NCS 2019). By 2017 it had received a royal charter through the National Citizen Service Act 2017 (2017) despite many concerns raised over the scheme, given the cuts in wider youth services, as noted by the 2010 Education Select Committee inquiry (House of Commons, 2011). However, the programme was implemented and subsequently accounted for 95% of the total Government spending on youth services, equivalent to £1,863 per head (NYA, 2019b). When it was announced that up to £10m was to

be spend on rebranding, there was a robust response (Lepper, 2019) which joined the swell of opinion that the money would be much better spent on local government youth services (LGA, 2018; De St Croix, 2017) as these would provide long term support and interventions rather than the short term strategy which seemed to be favoured.

Embodied in the NCS was the manifestation and implementation of neoliberal ideals into young people and modelling them to the wider youth sector. These can be seen in the follow ways:

Firstly, NCS provides the means to create the ideal neoliberal citizen, continuing the drive from the previous Labour administration, to improve the civil and civic engagement of young people, as well as their social and moral behaviour in local communities (Tonge, Mycock and Jeffery, 2012; Wood, 2010). However, as there has been limited time given to political engagement, the programme has been criticised for only viewing young people as citizens in waiting (Bacon, Frankel and Faulks, 2013; Wood, 2012). It has also been criticised for restricting political opposition and encouraging compliance (De St Croix, 2011). This is plausible as the programme does not explore different types of citizenship, especially those focused on justice which are by nature more confrontational (Wesheimer and Kahne, 2004). Therefore, by reducing the potential for disagreement, struggle and conflict, a dutiful rather than critical and questioning citizen is produced (Brookes, 2013; De St Croix, 2011). Their focus is to be an individual entrepreneur who should work to improve their own life and those of others whilst avoid considering structural inequality (De St Croix, 2017).

Secondly, NCS models have used a market-based approach 'as the norm' with larger regional providers subcontracting to smaller organisations, which according to De St Croix (2017) effectively privatised youth work.

Thirdly, the programmatic nature of the scheme has meant that it has been subjected to many neoliberal management tools as it can be monitored, evaluated and easily quantified (Buckland, 2013). It therefore has been able to demonstrate its return on investment, in order to demonstrate its effectiveness (De St Croix, 2017).

1.5 Discussion

The effects of all the reforms mentioned above have been multiple, for example:

Many organisations have become more business-like (Jefferies, 2017; Benton, 2015; Buchroth, 2012) and unrecognisable to what they were previously (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015) which has affected the environment in which work with young people has been undertaken in. For example, it has become more corporate and has affected the way young people are viewed i.e. as objects of monetary value (De St Croix, 2016).

The search for finance has meant that for some organisations, they have found that the funder has driven the agenda and agencies have become subservient to them (Benton, 2015; Buchroth, 2012). This has meant that organisations have had to change and implement various policies and approaches to please their funder, which has meant that traditional youth work has suffered as a result. Jefferies (2011; 2015) lamented that youth work agencies have been too ready to take money rather than consider the impact this might have had on the nature of youth work and the wider profession. He raised the point that by receiving such funding, some organisations have supported the increasing profit margins of larger businesses, which he felt is ethically embarrassing and demeaning (Jefferies, 2011).

Likewise, Benton (2015) has agreed that funders can significantly influence the work undertaken. Notably he identified that by defining the processes to be used before work has occurred, often through the contracting phase, has made traditional experiential and tailored-made approaches harder to implement or have been eliminated altogether. However, McGimpsey (2017) has disagreed with this and has argued that commissioners pay less interest in the process of delivery, as they wish to see the end results.

Yet, the point has been made that the use of payment by result models favour larger organisations, as only they have the resources to mitigate any risks associated by such agreements (Davies, 2019a; McGimpsey 2017; De St Croix, 2016; Benton, 2015). As such De St Croix (2016) believed the new marketplace of providers will be divided into larger businesses and smaller grassroots operations, both with insecure workers due to the uncertainty about funding.

Despite the focus on localism, one key effect of the marketplace has been the change from collaboration amongst those in the sector to competition (Davies, 2017; Harrop and Tinker, 2014; Buchroth, 2012); where organisations are only focused on fulfilling their duties as laid out in the contract, thus their own interests, rather than wider relationships. In doing so, the marketisation of services has led to the entrenchment of inequalities (De St Croix, 2016) as provision is only available in places where there is the funding, knowledge and a provider available to undertake the work.

Benton (2015) and Nicholls (2012) also have discussed the effect that the competitive market has had on staff costs, i.e. staff costs have been reduced as much as possible, with reviews of conditions of work and significant use of short term or zero hours contracts. De St Croix (2016) has stated that many workers are in precarious insecure situations which has challenged the concept of youth work as a long-term career option.

1.6 Summary

This chapter has explored how youth work went through significant reforms during the Labour Government years as services became integrated and focused on the agendas set, leaving Taylor *et al.* (2018) to note that an increasing amount of youth work became less educational and more 'social work' orientated. This was in the context of the state moving from a deliverer of services to a securer of services (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015). Change continued, under the Coalition Government, who sought to deal with the national deficit by reducing funding to local authorities and reforming people's expectations of the state. Youth work roles and settings were significantly affected by cuts (NYA, 2019b; Davies, 2019a; McGimpsey, 2017; Offord, 2016). Where gaps in services were left, businesses, social enterprises and organisations from the voluntary community sector, were encouraged to intervene, capitalising on funding sources which became available, encouraging the normalisation of private delivery (Davies, 2019a; Taylor *et al.* 2018; De St Croix, 2015) within the context of a marketised sector at various levels and scales (Taylor *et al.* 2018; Jozwiak, 2013). This reflected the response that local communities in Treescap county made to the withdrawal of services and

demonstrated how services were disassembled and reassembled across the sector (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015).

The Coalition Government continued the reform of services through PfY and the funding of the NCS programme, putting great importance on the use of impact measurement for those undertaking work with young people based on social investment (McGimpsey, 2017). This resulted in various tools and approaches being developed and often linked to funding, despite the concern held by youth workers (Taylor *et al.* 2018). Yet, as such funding was often short term (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015) and often linked to payment by results as well as impact measures, it has meant that many organisations have struggled to stay afloat (Benton, 2015). Those who have survived are business orientated and managed to access funds from an increasingly wide selection of sources such as The National Lottery, philanthropy and business (Davies, 2019a; Buchroth, 2012). They successfully managed the many different requirements and expectations linked to each contract and sought to keep their own costs such as staffing, as low as possible. As a result of such policy changes and the influence these have had on youth services, the nature of youth work was impacted. This will be explored further in the following chapter.

Chapter 2 - Youth work practice

Through the Labour and Coalition Governments and beyond, the youth sector, which has incorporated youth work, has been disassembled and reassembled (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015) into a marketised sector where many providers have become competitors with each other in order to win funding and survive (Buchroth, 2012). Commissioning developed as a very important element of this landscape with most funders using competitive processes and requiring successful bidders to comply with a host of measures. Notably, youth providers were required to demonstrate the social impact of any investment made (McGimpsey, 2017) which required organisations and practitioners to engage in activities that produce and capture such data.

Such a landscape is very different to the beginnings of youth work and state involvement, which need to be understood in order to think through the future (Nicholls, 2012). This chapter seeks to set the contemporary debates in the historical context of youth work in order to understand the nature of historical youth work practice and how such understandings have been challenged as a result of the neoliberal reforms that have taken place.

2.1 The development of youth work practice

2.1.1 Early youth work practice

Youth work has its roots in rich philanthropists with powerful social and religious motivated consciences to help disadvantaged and underprivileged young people (Leighton, 1972) who were vulnerable to poverty, exploitation and using their leisure time inappropriately (Bright, 2015). Others also got involved working with young people, in order to preserve social order and thus their status and wealth (Davies and Gibson, 1967). The Reverend Arthur Sweatman summed up concerns of his day in his rationale for developing youth-based institutes/clubs. He stated:

Their [young people's] peculiar wants are evening recreation, companionship, an entertaining but healthy literature, useful instruction, and a strong guiding influence to lead them onward and upward socially and morally; their dangers are, the long evenings consequent upon early closing, the unrestraint they are allowed at home, the temptations of the streets and of

their time of life, and a little money at the bottom of their pockets (Sweatman, 1863).

Given such concerns regarding young people what followed was a proliferation of local responses to local needs, some of which developed into national movements such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) (YMCA, 2019; Bright, 2015; Smith 1999), the Girl's Friendly Society (GFS) (GFS, 2019) and associations such as the National Organization of Girls Clubs (UK Youth, 2019). Many of these organisations sought to build character in the young people they worked with, such as the various Brigades which were developed, which took their inspiration from military style discipline and religious teaching (Roberts, 2006). Robert Baden-Powell responded to these and developed a less regimented form of work with young people, through the scout and girl guide movement (Smith, 2011; Springhall, 1977; Davies and Gibson, 1967).

The development of work with young people in this early period was pioneered by those of another class to those being worked with (Davies and Gibson, 1967), motivated to act because of the behaviour, beliefs, wellbeing and physical condition of working class young people, using approaches which reflected the values of the sponsor or founder of the institution/club (Smith, 1988). The result was a developing practice where certain characteristics were seen to be important. These included the importance of being young people focused, while they attended voluntarily, alongside others (in association), whilst being supported by respected leaders who sought to support their welfare and personal development (Smith, 2013; Davies, 2009a).

2.1.2 State involvement in youth work

The work with young people was therefore dominated by voluntary sector organisations until rising crime rates occurred during the first world war which prompted the state to provide resource via Juvenile Organising Committees, to plug gaps in services (Bright, 2015; Davies, 2009a; Leighton, 1972). Further state resources were introduced in 1939 as a result of circular 1486 (Board of Education, 1939) and circular 1515 (Board of Education, 1940) which established the 'service of youth' on an equal footing with formal education. The role was to work alongside the voluntary youth organisations in order to continue the character building and

personal development of young people in the context of association (Davies, 1999a; Board of Education, 1940), although implicit to this, was the hope this would divert young people from crime (Davies, 1999a).

2.1.3 The developing nature of youth work

In 1945 The Ministry of Education published a report entitled 'The purpose and content of the youth service' as it sought to formalise the nature of the work undertaken by young people. It identified that the relationship between a young person and an adult was based on consent, was voluntary in nature and used leisure-based activities in order to develop the personality of a young person to the fullest it can be. Whilst the report made clear that it saw the purpose of the youth service as recreation and enjoyment, it was clear that all work was purposeful, providing lessons of self-discipline. This was possible because of the relational nature of the work, the environment as well as through the use of activities and opportunities which were available (Ministry of Education, 1945).

Sir John Maud, a permanent secretary of the Ministry of Education, later stated:

The purpose of the youth service is to help young people make the best of themselves and act responsibly ... young people are to be given a happy and healthy social life, in association with their fellows, perhaps sharing in some common project, accepting and exercising the authority which a free relationship involved (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.36).

This statement was from the Albemarle report which was published in 1960. Within this report, it sought to apply this statement to the contemporary situation of the time and as such stipulated that work with young people should additionally focus on association, training and challenge. This was because youth work occurred through social education where young people could learn about themselves with others and receive advice and guidance through quality relationships between young people and their leaders (Ministry of Education, 1960). This was to be supplemented by training where young people were to learn and develop in "ways that may not be easily measured" (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.55) as such, special interest activities, physical recreation, political education, the life of work and relationships were encouraged. As well as more challenging activities including physical adventure, travel and community engagement (Ministry of Education, 1960). It was

hoped that “spontaneous and flexible youth work” (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.61) would help to meet the needs of local young people.

Although collective action was not considered in the report (Davies, 1999a), it set in motion a resourced service with significant assets, with professional trained and qualified workers, undertaking a variety of work with young people with purpose and clarity. Smith and Doyle (2002) discussed that as a result of such measures, the sector became more reliant on state funding and therefore state direction. However, Cooper (2018) acknowledged that such an institutional linkage helped to develop, refine and define what youth work was in the UK, which was not present for youth work in other countries.

Such a refinement was proposed by Davies and Gibson (1967) who proposed that youth work through social education should be client centred. They said it should not be driven by adult agendas such as preventing young people from delinquency or anti-social behaviour. Neither should it be driven by what adults think young people could benefit from but should allow young people to drive the interaction based on what the young people feel that they want and need, through self-determination. As such, they suggested basic principles to guide a youth worker’s interaction with a young person:

acknowledgment of the social and educational purpose of his [or her] work, acceptance of his [or her] clients, a withholding of judgment about their [a young person’s] values, maintenance of their [a young person’s] freedom to determine their own attitudes, observing confidentiality in his [or her] relationships with them, and a recognition of the worker's own personal involvement in the process (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.183).

Such values were endorsed by Smith (1982) but added that work also needed to be guided by honesty, consistency, flexibility, common sense and equality.

Therefore, youth work was beginning to be understood by practitioners as an important educational interaction in its own right as young people were encouraged to make their own decisions with the support of a skilled worker (Smith, 1988). This approach was observed by Leighton (1972) who writing at the time, described a shift that took place in the work of the youth service, from a model orientation, i.e. where

young people were encouraged to mirror the characteristics of a virtuous leader, to a form that was more client centred, where young people's needs took priority. This also reflected a more communitarian understanding of society, where the importance of intergenerational linkages and the contribution all could have on each other were important (DES, 1969).

Within this period there were various movements such as feminism and civil rights which captured wider attention and these helped youth workers to empower young people and be involved in political action (Bradford, 2015). This therefore enabled youth work to be a practice which was more than "policing, schooling and welfaring" (Butters and Newell (1978, p.44). As an example, Butters and Newell (1978) encouraged youth workers to work within the social education repertoire to help young people understand their rights and responsibilities so that they could campaign about issues, express their voice and make changes to oppressive structures. Such a political thread to youth work was fully endorsed by Smith (1982) and later by Batsleer (2013b) who agreed this was a vital element of youth work practice.

The 1982 Thompson Report (DES, 1982) stated that youth work at this time, had the sole purpose of enabling the personal development of the individual through experiential learning. Youth work was clearly educational in nature. Personal development was achieved through many different organisations, offering a good selection of activities, encompassing a wide number of different traditions including uniformed organisations and church-based work. Young people were being worked with regularly through detached based work, as well as through specialised activities, interest and issue led groups and schemes such as the Duke of Edinburgh (DoE) award schemes. The youth service's strengths were seen to be its' experiential curriculum, participation in decision making, voluntaryism and the non-directive relationship between worker and young people. The report summed up the youth service offer with five As: association, activities, advice, action in the community and access to life and vocational skills (DES, 1982). However, it did criticise the service for not having an overarching accepted theory of social education. This perhaps contributed to Smith (1988) arguing that the term 'social education' should be discontinued, given the unhelpful baggage it had accrued over the years. Instead, he argued that 'informal education' should be used as a term to replace it. Such a

move sought to build on previous developments with a stronger emphasis on the collective. Youth work's educative role therefore progressed towards the "development of people's understanding of, commitment to and competencies in the processes that allow individuals to act together to promote well-being or human flourishing" (Smith, 1988, p.123). This was to occur through purposeful and intentional interactions, using experiential learning, in culturally accessible forms via voluntary participation and dialogical mutual respectful relationships.

In 1987, HM inspectors produced a report which highlighted effective youth work practice focused on the youth workers role in creating and offering learning experiences to young people, within different settings (DES, 1987, p.3). The skill of the youth worker was to engage young people and to partner with them in a deliberate process of learning. However, whilst the skills of the worker were recognised as an important part of the process, other factors were deemed to contribute to success. The report named these as "effective management, adequate resources and appropriate support for staff" (DES, 1987, p.21).

Further development in youth work came as a result of the 1988 Education Reform Act which established the legislative framework for a national curriculum for schools (The House of Commons, 2009). Such a curriculum told teachers what they should teach, the expected outcomes required and the way such outcomes should be tested (Ord, 2007). This development set the scene for the Government to speak to youth workers, with a similar intention in mind. Therefore, three ministerial conferences were organised to discuss the idea further and to produce a common understanding of the role and contribution of the youth service (Ord, 2007; Davies, 1999b). These resulted in the decision for local authorities to develop flexible curriculum frameworks and a statement of purpose which proposed that youth work practice should be based on 4 key characteristics, i.e. education, the promotion of equality of opportunity, participation and empowerment (Young, 2006; Davies, 1999b). Such developments were subsequently implemented impacting youth work understanding and practice (Ord, 2007).

When it was proposed that a set of NOS for youth and community workers were developed in 1996 such a historical backdrop helped to formulate them (Davies, 2008). They were launched in 2002 and then subsequently updated in 2012 and

2019. They contained the essence of what a youth and community work role might entail and were meant to be used in a variety of ways such as informing job descriptions and professional development, as well as supporting professional youth work qualifications (NYA, 2019a) where they are used alongside the relevant Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) Benchmark Statement for youth and community work (QAA, 2017). Within the NOS the purpose of youth work is given, previously quoted on page 17. This definition is the one often referred to, for example in the all-party parliamentary group inquiry into youth work (NYA, 2019b). However, as the historical backdrop revealed, youth work also has a significant set of values (Nicholls, 2012), which the NOS also seek to capture around four themes, i.e. participation and active involvement; equality, diversity and inclusion; partnership with young people and others; personal, social and political development (Learning and skills improvement agency, 2012). When youth work ethical standards (NYA, 2000) and codes of ethics (IFYW, 2019) are also considered then youth work has a professionalised nature (Jones, 2018; Bradford, 2011), but yet still missing some of the characteristics of a profession as defined by Greenwood (1957). Yet, as Sercombe (2010) emphasizes, when youth work is viewed not from the perspective of practices but through the lens of relationship, it is very much a profession due to the relationship a youth worker has with a young person. However, in reality youth work is described as a sub profession or a para-professional occupation (Nicholls, 2012, p.104).

2.1.4 Youth work summed up

There have been many other attempts to sum up youth work practice by those wanting to communicate the essence of youth work but it has been hard to do so (Sercombe, 2010) because the practice is so wide and varied and can differ from country to country (Cooper, 2018; Cullen and Bradford, 2018). Even in the UK, there are different traditions which have been categorised (Cooper, 2018). For example, Smith (1988) suggested such traditions included social and leisure, politicising, character building, rescuing, religious formation, welfaring and personal and social development. This differed from Banks (2010, p.7) who categorised youth work into four areas, i.e. personal and social development/informal education, leisure-based work, youth social work and youth training. Furlong (2013, p.244) again thought differently and his categories consisted of practices that sought to control young people, practices that strove to socialise young people, practices that sought to

deliver informal education and those that sought to develop youthful citizenship. Perhaps youth work is so difficult to classify because it occurs in many different settings, offering many different services (Ingram and Harris, 2013).

Yet, despite such typologies, many youth writers still gravitate to their understanding and experience built up in the post war welfare era of local authority youth services in order to communicate the essence of youth work. For example, Wylie (2015; 2013) stressed that youth work is focused on young people and their personal and social development, following a distinctive methodology such as experiential learning. It has a set of ethical principles (Banks, 2010) and unique voluntary relationships with trusted skilled adults who treat them as individuals rather than a mass. Relationship between young person and youth worker is at the centre of the practice, in a variety of settings (De St Croix, 2018). Such a relationship allows dialogical, mutually respectful conversations to occur, which allow for supportive advice, encouragement and practical help. Therefore, informal educational encounters happen, following the timeline and agenda of the young person (Richards and Lewis, 2018; Wylie, 2015; Jeffs, 2011).

In terms of how this vision might affect the setting that it is carried out within, Williamson (1997) discussed that centre based youth work should seek to create a good social meeting place with things to do and people to talk to. Merton (2007), suggested such settings should be safe, reflective, include activities, encourage choice and voice, as well as respond to the here and now.

2.2 The importance of local authority youth services

The presence of the local authority youth services shaped understandings as they provided the necessary infrastructure for youth work practice to be encouraged across all sectors, in various ways (Cooper, 2018; De St Croix, 2016).

For example, as the local authority youth service had sustained state funding, it encouraged people to develop their skills in youth work practice and take up the various roles which were available in the youth service, i.e. volunteers, support workers, professional youth workers and managers. Such roles were underpinned by local training arrangements which were often funded (Jones, 2018; Davies, 2008) and allowed people from a variety of backgrounds to benefit from the structure and

support given, through the oversight of professional youth workers, in all levels of practice and management (De St Croix, 2016).

In order to support the professional youth roles predominantly required by the local authority youth service, University courses were developed, which reached their peak in 2008, with ~ 65 courses teaching 1470 students per annum (NYA, 2014). Such courses are overseen by the Education Training Standards committee (ETS) sited in the NYA which acts as the professional statutory and regulatory body for youth and community work in England. This committee is linked via a memorandum of understanding to the Joint Negotiating Committee (JNC) for youth and community workers who endorsed the qualifications. As a result of the link to JNC made via Albermarle (Ministry of Education, 1960), all local authorities were obliged to implement the JNC pay, along with terms of conditions for workers which were set out in 'The Pink Book', as a result of a collective voice of the workforce via union involvement (Jones, 2018; JNC, 2012).

Youth workers were often then able to progress into higher paid roles in the 'Youth Service' and as such, the qualified youth workers often provided managerial support and supervision for the youth work practitioners (De St Croix, 2018). All such provisions created a culture in local authority youth services which sought to preserve and develop such an educational focused youth work provision. As a result, this youth work enthusiasm did in turn affect others within the VCS youth sector. For example, there were often collaborative projects undertaken between the sectors, as well as the youth service resourcing VCS youth organisations through grants, training and youth worker support. Although non-statutory groups were often connected to national organisations, it was clear that the local youth service performed a vital supportive role. Leighton (1972, p.41) described the local authority youth service in this role as "their parent body" where the youth service would be used "for guidance, financial help and the sort of servicing which keeps them ticking over."

Such a historical understanding of educational focused youth work practice was facilitated by a relative stable, yet underfunded, local authority youth service (Jeffs, 2011; Jeffs and Smith, 2010; Williamson, 1997). However, through the policy changes brought in by the Labour and subsequent Governments, youth workers

started to raise concerns that the nature of youth work practice they understood started to change.

2.3 Policy reforms and concerns from practice

Spence (2004) raised concerns regarding how the Labour Government's policy reforms were impacting on youth workers. She observed that youth workers were being compromised in their role because of the need to achieve and record outcomes as a result of the REYS report (DfES, 2002). She also observed that time for building relationships with young people and allowing them to drive the youth work process was also under threat.

Such concerns were well founded, according to Cooper (2012) who published the results of the research that she had undertaken in a local authority youth club. She sought to find out whether she could introduce activities to support young people to critically appraise issues that were important to them in their community. These issues included body image and the disproportionate use of anti-social behaviour orders. She found that the ideas that she produced were not taken up by the youth workers in charge. This she attributed to the youth workers wanting to achieve outcomes that they had been set, linked to the implementation of ECM. This led Cooper (2012) to conclude that the practice observed was being directed and controlled by adults, with the workers reducing opportunities for the young people to further grow and develop. Similar points were made by Davies and Merton (2009) and Sercombe (2015). She came to the conclusion that the workers were being complicit in embedding "structural forces of domination" ensuring young people "accept their allocated place in society" (Cooper, 2012, p.67) and challenged workers to be more critical of systems and practices that they are part of, in order to enable young people to be able to critically engage with issues through collective action.

Spaces in which young people felt comfortable engaging in political activism was explored by Garasia, Begum-Ali and Farthing (2015). Whilst there were places where young people felt that they could discuss issues important to them and where they were listened to, youth clubs were not viewed positively and were disempowering spaces for those interviewed. A case study revealed that young people were dissuaded from interacting with politicians and concerns were raised that political education which had been part of historic youth work, was under threat.

Davies and Merton (2009) undertook an inquiry into how youth work was being conceptualised in practice between 2008 and 2009. They also found that some youth workers viewed targets as problematic, as only those things which could be measured and used for data were valued. However, they also noted that some youth workers viewed having targets as good. As such, they had incorporated them into their practice and had normalised them, along with their traditional understandings of youth work practice. There was no doubt that this research demonstrated that the nature of youth work practice was in the process of transition. For example, target-based work was being prioritised over open access provision, which was often short term and individualised, which meant relationships were not as deep as they had been previously. Garasia, Begum-Ali and Farthing (2015) also observed the individualised nature of the work undertaken with young people. They specifically noted that during personal interventions, personal responsibility was encouraged and as a result, the type of work being undertaken was moralising, supporting young people away from behaviours that society deemed problematic. Davies and Merton (2009) ultimately summed up their understanding of the changing nature of youth work by stating that youth work had moved away from an educative process to one which focused on “prevention, protection and rehabilitation” (Davies and Merton, 2009, p.22).

De St Croix (2016) explored how grassroots youth workers, i.e. part time or volunteer staff, were being affected in their practice by the policies of the Coalition Government and the previous Labour administration. Her research discovered five important changes which had happened which were threatening grassroots youth work, i.e. managerialism, marketisation, performativity, surveillance and the precarity of workers roles (De St Croix, 2016, p.175). Through this research (De St Croix, 2018; 2016) it is clear that targets and performance measures, along with the managerial processes associated with them, have continued to be developed, applied and normalised in youth work practice, especially as ‘payment by results’ funding mechanisms and impact measurement tools have been implemented. In a situation where funding is tight, De St Croix (2018) understood that those projects that have the required processes in place in order to capture what funders want are in a stronger position, than those who have not yet considered this important.

However, De St Croix (2018) discovered that the implementation of such measurement tools did not easily fit with the engagement processes and the relationship between the young people and their workers, as they took up valuable time and were seen as an intrusion (De St Croix, 2016). Such measuring tools also did not seem to capture the full reality of the work undertaken with young people. Despite this, youth workers undertook such monitoring work because they understood that this was an important element of their role, with some finding enjoyment and a sense of purpose from it. She described this behaviour as a form of performativity as the process had instilled meaning for the workers involved. (De St Croix, 2018). However, for other workers, she found that targets were prioritised because they did not want the project to fail due to performance issues.

The impact, according to De St Croix (2018) was that the youth sector had been distorted as projects which could produce the required evidence were prioritised, favoured and therefore funded, leaving the harder to measure projects such as the open access provision vulnerable to closure. She therefore encouraged the use of alternative measures, rather than a reliance on numbers and outcomes.

This perspective is similar to that of Jeffs (2011) who suggested that in the desperate search for funds, educational objectives have been side lined from youth organisations. Youth work has therefore become the servant of the agendas of those that seek to prevent young people from draining their resources in the future, whilst making a profit for managers who seek to benefit from the vulnerability of others (Jeffs, 2015). Wilkinson and Leonard (2015, p.27) summed up their understanding of the condition of youth work under the Coalition Government, by stating, "Youth work has become an exercise in managing uncertainty and chaos."

2.4 The de-professionalisation of youth work

Within the sector, another significant concern which has been raised has been the de-professionalisation of youth work (Nicholls, 2012). A clear illustration of this according to Jeffs (2015) was when responsibility for youth work was moved out of the Department for Education to the Cabinet Office, ending the state's endorsement of youth work being as important as other educational areas. Other writers such as Davies (2013) suggest that when the Government revisited the guidance to section 507B of the Education and Inspections Act 2006 they deliberately kept the guidance

vague, as there was no clarity on what 'sufficiency' meant (NYA, 2019b). Davies (2013) believed this was a deliberate act so that the state could pay less towards the funding of youth services. Unite (2017) also understood such actions to have been a deliberate attempt from the state to de-professionalise youth work, which subsequently has resulted in many calls to rethink such action (NYA, 2019b).

When PfY (DfE, 2011b) is scrutinised, there does appear to be evidence for such claims, as there appears to be a strong message within the documentation that volunteers and unqualified staff, with some training, would be as competent as professional workers. Davies (2012) suggests that such an approach made an erroneous, ominous assumption, namely that young people no longer needed access to professional staff and that those without the same training as youth workers were able to perform in the same way as qualified youth workers.

However, there were many examples where unqualified staff were a preferred option. For example, De St Croix (2017) discussed that the Governments' own funded NCS programme did not require qualified youth workers but rather group facilitators with no underpinning of essential youth work knowledge and skills. Such workers have been placed on temporary contracts and only used seasonally. This practice appeared to be condoned and deemed acceptable, thus setting others a precedent to follow.

Wiggins (2015) also discussed that the reality that youth work was increasingly reliant on volunteers and also questioned whether it was reasonable to expect volunteers to deliver services in a similar way compared to professional staff, especially as there appeared to be little support to enable them in these roles. Ultimately, she questioned the ethics of basing decisions purely on monetary grounds without considering what is best for young people.

Within local authorities there was evidence demonstrating that those qualified youth workers who remained after changes in service provision had occurred, were often subject to changes in their JNC terms and conditions, especially when jobs were advertised, meaning that the same qualified worker would be on less favourable terms (Jones, 2018; Unite, 2017). Likewise, Unite (2017) also found evidence of youth work posts being advertised requiring less than a JNC professional degree, i.e. a level three qualification. Some of the reasons given for such changes, were

attributed to cost savings as well as a diverse mix of organisations delivering youth contracts who used lower qualified staff and/or volunteers on precarious contracts. Such a position was further exacerbated given the reduced training opportunities for such workers, which used to be provided by local authorities (Unite, 2017; De St Croix, 2016).

Such a precarious context has meant that the demand for professional youth qualifications has fallen and Universities have been closing courses as they no longer had sufficient numbers on them (Richards and Lewis, 2018; Wylie, 2015), with the numbers of courses and those on them declining (NYA, 2017). As a result, when the All-Party Parliamentary Group on youth affairs (APPG) examined the youth sector, the need for trained workers was requested, along with associated training opportunities, overseen by more experienced and qualified youth workers (NYA, 2019b). This was in the hope that such moves would tackle the de-professionalisation of youth work. Yet such recommendations are purely aspirational, given the civil society strategy launched in 2018 (Cabinet Office, 2018). This Governmental strategy continued the trajectory set in PfY of delegated responsibilities for youth services locally, devolving more power to local people, community groups and parishes and putting in place ways that people can work together more effectively to commission local services, rather than considering ways of developing a quality workforce.

2.5 Taking a stand

As a result of concerns regarding the effects of neoliberal policy on the nature of youth work, some have chosen to take a stand. This has been through various approaches, from workers showing individual signs of resistance (De St Croix, 2016), to statements which seek to identify the core characteristics of youth work practice (Davies, 2015; 2005), to associations such as In Defence of Youth Work (IDYW) as well as union resistance (Nicholls, 2012).

Davies first sought to place a marker in the sand regarding youth work practice in 2005 when he published his youth work manifesto (Davies, 2005) which questioned the form of work which was being undertaken in the name of youth work, as he felt that it "ultimately wasn't youth work at all" (Davies, 2015, p.97). This was due to the impact of Labour Government policies, which he felt compromised youth work's

educational heart (Davies, 2005). Therefore, he chose to write such a purest manifesto to help all involved in practice to understand what youth work is, i.e. as a collection of values and principles which should not be separated.

Within this first statement Davies (2005, p.7) discussed the following: That youth work is founded on the voluntary engagement and participation of young people, that young people are citizens in their own right and not just citizens in waiting and should be able to influence the processes in which they are involved. Young people should be seen as individuals with rights and needs, just as important as others, and not through the lens of labels which dehumanise them into a negative mass. Work therefore needs to start with young people at the centre, starting with their experience and places in which they feel able to be comfortable and relax, viewing young people with potential, seeking to enable them to grow and develop in all areas of their lives. Therefore, youth work should take into account their feelings and not just their knowledge or what they can do. However, youth work had a strong history of working in association and, therefore, youth work should incorporate group work. As such, a young person's peer group is as important as their individual needs and allows the youth worker to be responsive to wider connections and identities that young people may be linked into.

Ten years later Davies (2015) re-asserted his manifesto and discussed once more the need for voluntary participation as the core element of youth work practice, which he noted was so out of kilter with the dominant discourses, where adults seemed to be in control (Davies, 2015). His updated manifesto mostly remained the same, apart from a few minor amendments which he used to emphasise and clarify important elements e.g., the importance of open access youth provision.

Ord (2009) questioned the prominence of voluntary participation that is placed by authors such as Davies (2005) and critiqued the link that youth work has made between voluntary participation and voluntary attendance. He argued that voluntary participation is what mattered, which therefore made it possible to undertake youth work when enforced attendance was required, for example when engaging with a 'young offender' or in a school environment. In such situations he suggested that the way forward was to consider the power and authority that the designated worker

held, as well as the implementation of youth work values and practices (Ord, 2009; 2007).

In Davies and Mertons' (2009, p.10) research they demonstrated that youth workers were indeed involved in practices which assumed compulsory attendance, where young people were referred into a session run by a youth worker by various agencies. The result was that youth workers sought to find creative ways to negotiate and build appropriate relationships with young people, whilst refusing to be involved in certain practices. For example, refusing to get involved with attendance issues and therefore not being associated with power linked to this authority role.

Davies (2015) however, disagreed with Ord's (2009) argument and in his 2015 version of his manifesto (Davies. 2015) stated that undertaking work with young people in settings requiring compulsory attendance used 'youth work approaches' or 'youth work skills' but stopped short of calling such practices 'youth work.'

Inspired by Davies' (2005) stance, IDYW was developed in 2009 following the circulation of an open letter which sought to take a stand against the pressures to conform to the dominant ideologies that were seeking to change youth work practice into something which was unrecognisable. Like Davies (2015; 2005) it adopted seven important statements which summed up youth work that it wished to defend, with the sanctity of the voluntary principle being foundational (IDYW, 2009).

However, given the changes which occurred in practice, in 2014, IDYW (2014) issued a statement which sought to include those youth workers who worked in other settings in which the voluntary principle was not so straight forward, perhaps acknowledging a more realistic stance in line with the arguments of Ord (2009).

Such an approach which is exemplified through Davies and IDYW, according to Wylie (2015; 2013) was nothing more than a romantic position. This was because it highlighted the unique qualities and characteristics of youth work in its purest form but was not effective at convincing politicians or civil servants to move away from the target-driven culture that was being prioritised. Banks (2010) suggested such a position was unrealistic in reality and based on an essentialist perspective. Others, according to Wylie (2015; 2013), took a managerialist approach, concerned with demonstrating the impact of their work as encouraged by 'The Centre for Youth Impact' (2019). However, the approach that Wylie (2015; 2013) argued for is a

principled pragmatist approach which drew on both areas. This position upheld the unique nature of youth work but was realistic about the context in which it is practiced. Therefore, according to Wylie (2015; 2013), organisations should be concerned about how they measure their projects so that they can demonstrate their worth and be sustainable, in the light of contemporary social policy. For example, he understood that a youth worker should be able to state:

With this level of resource we will be able to reach this number of young people, we will be able to offer this range of experiences, help more of them to decide things for themselves and to take responsibility for this or that activity; and for a percentage of them to make progress in acquiring new skills which are robust enough to be accredited by an external body, if they choose (Wylie, 2013, p.62).

2.6 The future

Despite the changes that have occurred in youth work and the sense of loss which has been experienced (Jefferies, 2015; 2011), many continue to offer thoughts on the future of youth work, which will now be discussed.

Wylie (2015; 2013) and Jefferies (2015; 2011) both believed that there would always be a need for local, grassroots, youth work to occur through localised youth clubs. This was because youth work benefited local young people and local communities (Wylie, 2015; Jefferies, 2011). They also noted that from the local level, new innovation had often occurred (Jefferies, 2015) and so work undertaken locally had in the past shaped the national direction. However, in a situation, with no national direction, Wylie (2013) believed that such an approach, should be embedded in a localised preventative and early intervention strategy in order to be successful.

This focus on localised strategies appeared to be a common theme in national thought. For example, the LGA (2017) argued that despite the changes that had occurred at local authority level to youth services, that there was still a role for the local authority. However, this role was as a coordinator and overseer of all services. The thought being that the local authority was best placed to ensure a good mix of youth provision was developed. It could also ensure training was available for local providers so that there would be suitably trained and skilled practitioners to undertake the work within the diverse mix of youth providers. However, the civil

society strategy recently published by the Government (Cabinet Office, 2018) continued along the same lines as PfY as it wanted to facilitate local solutions to local needs and create both a mix of competition and collaboration, achieved through commissioning rather than state delivered services.

However, Davies (2017), Whitfield (2017), Garton Ash (2016), Monbiot (2016) and Presser (2016) argued that commissioning and contracting work does not always work and may not be any cheaper than state run provision. As a result, Davies (2017), influenced by a Fabian society report (Harrop and Tinker, 2014), argued for a return of state funded and state-run services, such as a youth service. This was based on the premise that the state needed to redevelop a commitment to collective mutuality which supported the wellbeing of all. Such a vision is similar to that offered by Robinson and Howell (2019) as they consider what a new statutory funded youth service could look like, which seemed to suggest a more pragmatic solution as per Wylie (2015; 2013).

This is a very different approach to Jeffs (2015) who considered that the future for youth work might be better outside of statutory funding. His argument highlighted how many voluntary and faith-based organisations remained true to their mission and ideals without compromising what they stood for. De St Croix (2016) took a similar approach as she discussed a cooperative approach which meant that youth work could remain autonomous, true to itself and could be practiced without constraint.

Yet, presently there appears growing calls for the Government to rethink its approach to youth services. The all-party parliamentary group inquiry into youth work (NYA, 2019b) is a recent report which recommends change. For example, the report seeks a minimum requirement for local authorities to provide youth services and wants to create a healthy eco system once again so that both universal and targeted provision could be both sustained, overseen by qualified youth workers. Such recommendations seem similar to those found in the interim report from the 'Youth Violence Commission' (YVC) (2018). This report highlighted how competition for funding has increased "silo-isation" where the disjointed nature of the sector has adversely affected young people and so they also recommend a statutory duty for youth work to be established in both local authorities and central Government. The

report also recommended that local grassroots youth work organisations be sustainably funded as they meet the needs of local young people (YVC, 2018). Both reports are very different from the policy direction of the Conservative administration but do seem to align with the pledges of what a new Labour Government are proposing (The Labour Party, 2019a; 2019b).

2.7 Summary

This chapter has given an overview of how youth work has developed and changed over time, with the educational form of youth work being endorsed from the 1940s through to the late 1990s. During this time, youth work developed both practical and theoretical understanding (Smith, 1988) becoming a distinct professional field (Sercombe, 2010). Youth work was sustained because local authority youth services developed their own local ecosystems, where they ran youth provision whilst working collaboratively with the VCS, recruiting and training volunteers and promoting good practice (Leighton, 1972). However, the nature of youth work practice changed as a result of the policy environment of successive Governments (Chapter 1) which has seen youth work become adult driven, as managers and funders have decided what the focus should be, rather than young people.

As local authority youth work has changed, there has been a steady de-professionalisation of youth work (Unite, 2017) as more non-statutory organisations have found a role to play in a marketised youth sector. Therefore, JNC rates and terms and conditions have been replaced by cheaper alternatives (Jones, 2018) with staff being recruited with little or no training available (Wiggins, 2015). This had led to the reduction of youth work students and so Universities have closed courses (Richards and Lewis, 2018; Wylie, 2015).

Concerns about the erosion of youth work have been expressed through academics and practitioners taking a stand and being explicit about what they saw the characteristics and nature of youth work was (Davies, 2015; IDYW 2014). However, such a stance appears to have paid off, as there appears to be an increasing number of calls for a statutory youth service to be reimagined and reinstated (The Labour Party, 2019; NYA 2019b; YVC, 2018) in order to tackle some of societies' issues such as knife crime, but whether this will still be based on an educational foundation remains to be seen.

Both policy and practice are essential factors that have informed this study. However, another essential ingredient has been the conceptual lenses which have been used to help understand the data and the knowledge which has arisen from this research. Important concepts which have been used will now be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 3 – The conceptual lenses

As discussed in the introduction, the conceptual lenses used within this thesis are drawn from the work of Michel Foucault and Zygmunt Bauman. This chapter seeks to enable the reader to understand some of their concepts which will then be used to interpret the data which has arisen from this study. Throughout the text illustrations of how such concepts have been used in the field of youth work will be used, in order to demonstrate the relevance of the ideas to contemporary issues faced. The concepts of Michel Foucault will be explored first, followed by those of Zygmunt Bauman.

3.1 Michel Foucault

Michel Foucault's oeuvre has been categorised into three phases (Oksala, 2007). The first phase contained four works using his archaeological approach, otherwise named as the "history of thought" (Rabinow, 2000, p.117). He determined that each historical period had its own 'episteme', i.e. structural order, through which people understood reality (Garland, 2014). Therefore, by using this method he sought to dig into history, to unveil the relationship between ideas, scientific statements, discourses and the context of these, in order to ascertain why certain understandings came into being (Downing, 2008; Mills, 2003; Foucault 1980b).

The second phase contained two works using a genealogy approach or as Foucault described it, "the history of the present" (Foucault, 1991, p.31). This method involved starting with a present situation and a specific claim of authority, in order to find out its descent and emergence (Garland, 2014; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982, p.119; Foucault, 1980b). This methodology allowed specific understandings and practices, which may have been taken for granted, to be scrutinised and, if necessary, challenged and changed as a result.

The third phase has been termed his 'ethical phase' where he developed further volumes of his History of Sexuality (Oksala, 2007). However, such a categorization is not perfect as Oksala (2007) acknowledged as this classification misses out many of his lectures and interviews which have since been written up and made accessible. Yet what it perhaps demonstrates is how Foucault's approach to his

studies developed over time, as well as his ideas. A number of his ideas used in this thesis will now be explored.

3.1.1 Discipline

From the eighteenth century onwards, according to Foucault (1991), the human body was a subject of power, as it was seen as an important tool to be mobilised and trained up for productive uses. As such, many different techniques were designed to make the required changes in behaviour so that bodies could be made docile and made into valuable assets. Foucault called such techniques 'disciplines' or 'disciplinary methods' (Foucault, 1991). Such an approach was a form of detailed domination, 'political anatomy' and type of power, whereby the few in control could ensure others would operate as desired and achieve the required outcomes.

Foucault (1991, p.167) discussed many forms where this disciplinary approach was to be found such as timetables, prescribed movements and imposed exercises, as well as the combination of different disciplinary elements, in order to create an effective and efficient greater whole. Such techniques were accompanied with the use of hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and the examination, in order to ensure that bodies undertook the required task in a way that was desired. He observed such forms being integrated into the social body and were historically present in institutions such as the army, school, hospital, place of work and prison (Foucault, 1980a). Foucault (2007a) developed his thinking and argued that governmentality became the focus of the state with population as its' target. This new art of government incorporated within it three important elements i.e. sovereignty, discipline and government (Foucault, 2007a, p.107). Government took pre-eminence but with sovereignty and discipline still present within the complex power formation in the modern state (Bevir, 1999). In Foucault's (2004, p.242) discussion of biopower he stated:

This technology of power does not exclude the former, does not exclude disciplinary technology, but it does dovetail into it, integrate it, modify it to some extent, and above all, use it by sort of infiltrating it, embedding itself in existing disciplinary techniques.

Both biopower and discipline are” two poles around which the organisation of power over life was deployed” (Foucault, 1998, p.139). Where discipline individualises and makes bodies useful, biopower massifies and is concerned about the large-scale population as a whole. It is through the disciplinary training of individual bodies that wider population agendas could then be developed and maintained (Foucault, 2004; Myers, 2008; Pylypa, 1998). In other words, everyone is “the constitutive product of a plurality of disciplinary mechanisms, techniques of surveillance and power knowledge strategies” (Knights and Willmott, 1989, p.549).

3.1.2 Panopticism

Within his disciplinary discussion, Foucault (1991) became interested in how the behaviour of others was affected when they knew that they were being watched and considered the panopticon as a significant development in the ‘power of the gaze’. He discussed Bentham’s panopticon design for a building such as a prison, whereby a central tower was surrounded by a circle of multi-storey cells which were all visible from the central tower. The significance of this machine was that the person in a cell, under observation, was subjected to a range of disciplinary mechanisms, i.e. a careful distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights and gazes which affect them. The most significant of these was surveillance, as the inmate was assured that they would be watched but the unpredictability of the gaze encouraged the inmate to behave in the desired way and therefore become self-surveillant.

However, whilst the physical design of panopticon could be put to use in many different institutions, on many different subjects, Foucault (1991) understood the panopticon as a model, which could be generalised and used wherever the behaviour of individual’s was required to be addressed (Foucault, 1980d). It was, therefore, applicable in many situations, throughout society, where it could be a subtle presence affecting behaviour as a political technology and specific technology of power (Foucault, 1991). Panopticism, therefore was a disciplinary mechanism which sought to use omnipresent surveillance and gaze, to move the burden from the watcher to the individual subject. In contemporary society, this has meant a redistribution of responsibility, placing the burden of behaviour management from the state to the individual citizen as a result of each subject knowing that they will be

watched via surveillance, during their everyday life (Dove, 2010; Bart, 2005; Perryman, 2006). However, Foucault (1991) optimistically understood that such a tool, would not be misused, as those operating such a mechanism, should be also under scrutiny and inspection, supervised by society as a whole.

Young people have been affected by many means of surveillance designed to “watch, control and protect” in order to encourage them to behave in socially acceptable ways, according to De St Croix (2016, p.113). She specifically discussed how youth workers, who worked on the streets as detached base workers, could be used as a strategy of surveillance to shape the behaviour of young people and as such were well placed to support crime prevention strategies. Whilst her research (De St Croix, 2016) found that some workers were happy to undertake this role, she also found that despite funding being available to do such work, some youth projects and their youth workers deliberately refused to do such work. This was because they have perceived their role as different to crime prevention, due to the unique relationship youth workers have with young people, which is not one of surveillance and control but education, support and development. She therefore encouraged detached youth workers to be mindful of all tools of surveillance and the role they might play in them, in order that they might be able to challenge and resist any oppressive use of surveillance on young people (De St Croix, 2016).

3.1.3 Biopolitics/Biopower and governmentality

Within Foucault’s oeuvre, he discussed the role of the sovereign, the state, and the subject. He began by exploring how the sovereign had the power over life and death, as his account of the execution of Damians, a subject who tried to kill the king, graphically illustrated (Foucault, 1991). In his 1975/6 lectures, Foucault discussed how, over time, a shift took place from “take life or let live ... to make live and to let die” (Foucault, 2004, p.241). Whilst, disciplinary technologies worked on individuals and bodies in order to train and direct them for certain purposes and tasks. Foucault (2004) identified that a new technology of power developed, which sought to work on people together as a mass, which he termed ‘biopolitics’ or ‘biopower.’ Within this technology of power, the state took an interest in the wellbeing of the population, in areas such as the rate of birth, death, disease and

longevity. Foucault (2007a, p.11) discussed that the state then developed a mixture of ways in which events which may impact on the wider population, such as biological or social issues, may be controlled, which he termed 'technologies of security'. These technologies incorporated and built on various disciplinary processes in order to ensure the wellbeing of the territory in which sovereignty was exercised over (Foucault, 2007a; Foucault, 2004). However, by focusing on the need for overseeing the wellbeing of a population, Foucault (2007a) realised that the use of the word 'sovereignty' didn't fully capture the dynamic of overseeing the wellbeing of a population and so he used the word 'government'. By using this term, he sought to capture the fact that overseeing populations had specific characteristics and tasks associated with it, which were different from ruling and protecting a principality. Foucault (2007a) therefore understood governing as 'an art', undertaking tasks to achieve certain good outcomes for a population, rather than the imposition of demands made by a sovereign, to meet their own needs and wants. Yet, he perceived that such 'an art' involved sovereignty, discipline and governmental management, working through apparatuses of security (Foucault, 2007a). The term he chose to use to summarize such oversight of populations was 'governmentality'. He used this term initially to discuss the role of the state in its work in overseeing a population, especially in conducting the possible actions of others through the various measures it sought to use via freedom. However, he then broadened the term out, for 'governmentality' to include the means by which anyone could seek to conduct and direct other individuals and/or groups by structuring "the possible field of action of others" through various means by using the freedom of others (Foucault, 2000b, p.341). As his understanding evolved, he also used governmentality to describe not only how others seek to conduct and direct others through various means but also linked the term to the way individuals may act on themselves, via technologies of the self, in order to transform themselves and achieve a greater sense of wellbeing (Foucault *et al.* 1988).

According to Skott-Mthre (2005) biopower enabled 'youth' to be identified as a specific category through observation so that they could be effectively governed. As a result, one example of governmentality in action has been through the notion of citizenship. Wood (2010) noted that one way in which the Labour Government sought to shape the conduct of young people, was through the introduction of

citizenship education in schools, which wanted to reinforce the norm that a good citizen was an active citizen. Such an approach was also adopted by subsequent Governments through the introduction of the National Citizen Service (Bacon, Frankel and Faulks, 2013).

3.1.4 Power

Throughout his work, Foucault discussed power. He believed that to understand power, power should be studied locally in its capillary forms with the focus on how power is manifested in seeking to govern behaviours and bodies (Foucault 2000b). For Foucault, power was found and experienced through relationships at the lowest level (Foucault, 1998), it wasn't something that could be possessed by a person or a group and others could not. Rather, power circulated and was rooted throughout social connections and networks (Foucault, 2004), with people not only themselves subjected to its effects but also the means by which power was exercised (Foucault, 1980b) through various techniques or forms of power (Foucault, 2000b).

He understood that power acted upon the actions of others and there was a whole dimension of possible responses that could occur, as a result of the importance of freedom that those being acted upon should have (Foucault, 2000a). Therefore, an adversary may seek to act in such a way as to “render the struggle impossible” (Foucault, 2000b, p.346), i.e., think through the possible avenues open to the one being acted upon and work on them. He therefore believed that in order to understand power, exploring the relationships through which power was enacted, was essential which included the role that the individual played as well as larger mechanisms and strategies employed by the state (Foucault, 2000b).

Despite power often being perceived negatively, his understanding was that power was productive, stating: “power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production” (Foucault, 1991, p.194).

Such an understanding of power that highlighted how important relationships were in the implementation of power (Foucault, 1998) should be taken seriously by youth workers (Skott-Myhre, 2009). This is because the role of youth workers could be used for either good or bad motives. For example, youth workers could be used to normalise and socialize young people's behaviour, as a technology of conversation

or they could encourage young people to express themselves and if necessary, demonstrate resistance when needed. Therefore, youth workers needed to be aware of their impact and align their response in accordance with the relevant youth work values and ethical statements (Skott-Myhre, 2009).

Apart from Foucault, other academics have considered society and how power may manifest itself. Notably Deleuze who had worked with Foucault (Kelly, 2015), published a postscript in which he argued that disciplinary societies had peaked at the beginning of the twentieth century and that there was a transition taking place, where such societies were being replaced with societies of control (Deleuze, 1992). In his postscript on the societies of control (Deleuze, 1992) he primarily argued that the distinguishing factors of a disciplinary society were the use of enclosed spaces typified by the family, school, factory, hospital and prison, where an individual would move from one to another being influenced by each of them. Yet, he argued that such environments of enclosure were in crisis, as society was in transition. In control societies, Deleuze (1992) discussed that specific enclosures as per the factory were making way to wider flexible all-encompassing forms of power (Gane, 2012) such as the corporation. Such an entity could embed within itself cultures and ways of being which would continually have an impact on those within it. Therefore, in control societies, many such entities could co-exist forming a wider universal system of ever-changing control. As a result, these form continuous limitless possibilities of control, which could be applied as required, unlike the previous fixed forms of confinement which existed in disciplinary societies (Gane, 2012).

Deleuze (1992) highlighted the various technology changes that were occurring where the technology in control societies had moved from machines to computers. Capitalism had moved from production to product, with marketing encouraging consumption and information technology providing constant monitoring and oversight of coded 'dividuals'. Markets were seen to be all important, along with inequality and debt.

Gane (2012) discussed how Bauman, developed the ideas of Deleuze and incorporated them into his ideas of the Liquid society, notably his ideas on individualisation and the Synopticon.

Deleuze's (1992) understanding of control societies have provoked various responses. Many have wanted to develop rather than dismiss his ideas, such as Lambert (2018). Others have insisted that the ideas of Deleuze should be perceived as a "mutation of Foucauldian theory" (Beckman, 2018, p.5). However, it was Kelly (2015) who continued to argue that the regime of discipline is still in existence (Beckman, 2018) and as such, specifically addressed and critically appraised three significant points of concern regarding Deleuze's ideas. The concerns Kelly (2015) raised were that a) Deleuze had misinterpreted Foucault's notion of discipline; b) that Foucault had already discussed areas highlighted by Deleuze; c) that changes which Deleuze stated as characteristics are not new or haven't happened.

Among the arguments that Kelly developed (2015) was the point that when Foucault (1991) discussed discipline, he did not only focus on enclosure but about making docile bodies productive, through technologies of power, including concepts such as panopticism, which were not even mentioned by Deleuze. This was a surprising omission as panopticism was a significant part of Foucault's understanding of disciplining power and the discipline society (Galie, Timan and Koops, 2017). However, perhaps that was because for Deleuze the means of control were invisible and sought to control at a distance.

Others such as Haggerty and Ericson (2000) have agreed that times have progressed and as such, panopticism has also developed so that social control could be named post panoptic because of the expanding, unstable, boundaryless nature of surveillance in society, which was being used for reasons other than disciplinary purposes. Haggerty (2006, p28) clarified such purposes of contemporary surveillance as "deterrence, consumption, entertainment, titillation, health promotion, education, governance, accountability child-rearing and military conquest". As a result of advances in technology, surveillance has therefore developed to include new forms, other than watching the physical presence of others. These forms include, examining all forms of data in cyberspace (Galie, Timan and Koops, 2017).

Given, that there is an array of viewpoints on this issue, it is important to understand the perspective of this thesis. My perspective is that whilst Deleuze's society of control concept and ideas regarding contemporary surveillance give a compelling account of power in society, they need to stand alongside Foucault's understanding

of discipline as a technology of power. This is because I understand that discipline has been so integrated into society (Foucault, 2007a), that it still acts as a technology of power in different forms, as Graham, Treharne and Nairn (2017) and Bart (2005) have argued. I think this is especially important, when discussing the flows of power at a localised level rather than at a macro society level that Deleuze (1992) discussed. Whilst, large corporations may have the means to exert control through technology as discussed by Deleuze (1992), at a local level those choosing to exert power, only have limited means to do this, such as contracts, scrutiny, surveillance by CCTV, physical buildings and hierarchical authority (see Chapter 7). Therefore, power as exerted through discipline as described by Foucault (1991) is still active and relevant as Kelly (2015) argued, which I have used to underpin elements of this thesis.

3.1.5 Discourse

In the Archaeology of Knowledge, Foucault (2002) explored discourses which are made up of individual statements which are brought together in order to represent and give meaning to a particular topic. Often different sources are used to convey similar meanings, which Foucault described as a 'discursive formation' (Foucault, 2002, p.41). Discourses construct how topics are discussed and acted upon as they provide the relevant language and understanding to guide what is acceptable or unacceptable within a specific field. Therefore, it is discourse that gives meaning about an area of interest and so Foucault argued that discourses are really important to be studied, especially the associated 'rules of formation' (Foucault, 2002, p.42) that underpin them. This was because Foucault (2002) understood that there are specific reasons and conditions, in historical contexts, why certain statements and discourses are taken more seriously than others, which enable certain understandings, meanings and practices to occur. He gives an example of this in action in his discussion on homosexuality (Foucault, 1998), in which he argued that as a result of the many discourses that occurred in different fields such as the church, the law, psychiatry and medicine, homosexuality as a concept was produced and then acted on in different ways.

Youth workers have been influenced by discourses, according to Fitzsimons (2007). She explained that when youth workers have led sessions discussing issues related to sex, youth workers have often focused on the potential dangers associated with it.

As a result, they have focused on sexually transmitted infections or pregnancy rather than exploring the associated pleasures that are associated with it. Upon reflection, Fitzsimons (2007) became aware that this approach derived from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries where a prominent discourse was the regulation of the population. Such learning therefore made her explore ways in which to discuss sex from a different perspective where a more positive approach was taken and adopted.

3.1.6 Power/Knowledge

Foucault (1998) discovered that discourses joined power and knowledge together and that ultimately power and knowledge were integrated with one another. They were so connected that he stated: "It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" (Foucault, 1980a, p.52). This is important as when knowledge is linked to power, it can be perceived as the truth, with the power also to make itself true. Such knowledge can have significant repercussions on the way people behave and as they do, they enact power (Hall, 2001).

This was illustrated in the context of prisons where each prisoner was closely watched and reported on, in order to compile a body of knowledge that would underpin the penitentiary practice and processes related to the offence and the offender (Foucault, 1991). Such a collection of knowledge in turn allowed the creation of a typology of criminals which defined the characteristics of a criminal with a perceived scientific nature. This knowledge then prescribed how each type of criminal should be treated.

The starting point when understanding the effect that power/knowledge has, according to Foucault (1980b), should be the exploration of power/knowledge at the point of application at the lowest local level. It is at the extremities that the complicated mix of influences which impact everyone's thoughts, experience and behaviours, are evident. It is by seeking to understand how, not why, individuals are constituted by internal and external factors within their micro-context, that power knowledge dynamics can be identified.

The youth worker relationship with a young person could be understood as a power/knowledge relationship when a young person allows the worker to act on their behalf (Lohmeyer, 2017). Lohmeyer (2017) suggested that this can be addressed

when young people are actively involved in and aware of such power relationships and are truly empowered to think and act for themselves. He compared this commitment towards empowerment to restorative practices, where the power-knowledge discourse was of control. He therefore challenged practitioners to examine the power-knowledge dynamic in all practices used so that underlying power relations can be identified and ultimately changed.

3.1.7 Regime of truth/games of truth

As a result of discursive formations and the interaction of power/knowledge, a regime of truth is formed in a society (Foucault, 1980c) which enables people within it to consider certain statements and realities as true and false. In so doing, decisions are made and actions are taken in line with this truth (Rose, 1999).

Foucault (2000e) reformed his thinking in his later work and moved from a 'regime of truth' to 'games of truth' where he emphasizes the dynamic agency of the individual and how they may use truth for their own advantage. He used the concept of 'word game' to mean a set of procedures that lead to a certain result, which on the basis of its principles and rules of procedure may be considered valid or invalid, winning or losing" (Foucault, 2000e, p.297). Therefore, understanding who is speaking the truth, along with how and why, is really important in order to understand a situation more.

There is a role to be played by a local University with local youth workers in bringing to light and challenging any 'regimes of truth' that may impact on work done with young people (Hughes, *et al.* 2014). According to Hughes *et al.* (2014) the voice of academics commands a level of authority and expertise which when necessary can represent the voice of practitioners back to the decision makers.

3.1.8 Pastoral power

In seeking to explore power, Foucault (2000b) discussed how the state's power used both individualisation techniques and totalisation procedures as a result of the state absorbing practices from the Christian church and classified such methods as 'pastoral power'. He noted that this power was salvation orientated, sacrificial, individually orientated, relational and truth seeking/producing. Such qualities were then transformed by the state to oversee and ensure the health, wellbeing, and security of individuals through the relationship between the citizen and state officials

e.g., the police, philanthropic organisations, the family and medicine. Pastoral power therefore produced knowledge about the population and about the individual.

Foucault (2000b) highlighted that the outcome was the production of individualizing tactics found in various powers such as the family, medicine, psychiatry, education and employers.

3.1.9 Resistance

In his writings on power, Foucault discussed that when power is exercised, there would be resistance (Foucault, 1998) which would not be present until power was exerted (Foucault, 1988a). However, points of resistance are possible and present throughout the network of power relations (Foucault, 2000b) as they are:

distributed in irregular fashion: the points, knots or focuses of resistance are spread over time and space at varying densities, at time mobilising groups or individuals in a definitive way, inflaming certain points of the body, certain moments in life, certain types of behaviour (Foucault, 1998, pp.95-96).

The result is that when resistance occurs disagreements and fractures will take place and then regroupings so that the social body is changed and remoulded. Such is the presence of resistance that Foucault believed that there is always an opportunity to “modify its grip in determinate conditions and according to a precise strategy” (Foucault, 1988a, p.123).

In her research, De St Croix (2016) found that amongst the youth workers that she interviewed, there were a number of ways in which youth workers chose to resist what was being asked in order to be authentic to themselves and their professional youth work understanding. Some of these actions appeared quite small, for example, refusing to ask young people on the street to fill in registration forms on the first meeting, or discussing cuts with young people when they were told not to. However, they were still a form of resistance as they sought to work against the enactment of a particular form of power which they encountered and disagreed with.

3.1.10 Counter conduct and critical attitude

Foucault (2007b) noted that the word ‘conduct’ could be used in a variety of ways and through his discussion on governmentality highlighted the importance of freedom and thus stated “power is only exercised over free subjects” (Foucault, 2000b, p.342). He brought both conduct and freedom together when he discussed a

situation which occurred in the church where those under its care wanted “to be conducted differently, by other leaders ... and other shepherds, towards other objectives and forms of salvation, and through other procedures and methods” (Foucault, 2007b, p.194). This was a specific form of resistance, whereby those within the church were still wanting to be governed, just in a different way (Lorenzini, 2016). Therefore, the term that Foucault (2007b) developed to describe such a specific struggle was ‘counter conduct’.

Foucault was aware that there were many such struggles which occurred outside of the church, where the common issue was:

How not to be governed like that, by that, in the name of those principles, with such and such objective in mind and by means of such procedures, not like that, not for that, not by them. (Foucault, 2007b, p.44).

Therefore, Foucault devised the term ‘critical attitude’ to supersede his ‘counter conduct term’, in order to describe the actions which subjects may take in order to challenge, limit and transform the processes of government which they experience. Foucault initially defined critical attitude as “the art of not being governed quite so much” (Foucault, 2007b, p.45) but developed this to include action. He did this by discussing how, through ‘critical attitude’, individuals question both truth and power and undertake to explore ways to be governed differently and potentially transform the situation. Therefore, individuals who exercise ‘critical attitude’ willingly practise “the art of insubordination” in order to be desubjugated and involved in the politics of truth (Foucault, 2007b, p47).

3.1.11 The subject and technologies of the self

The theme of the subject was discussed throughout Foucault’s work but he chose not to set out a theory because he sought to demonstrate how the individual was formed into a subject given the specific influences upon them (Foucault, 2000d). This meant that according to Foucault there was no exemplar subject, as different influences and actions would have different consequences in changing the subject (Foucault, 2000d). Foucault understood that the subject could have two meanings: “Subject to someone else by control and dependence and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge” (Foucault, 2000b, p.331) and as such his work explored three ways in which the subject was constituted. Firstly, through the

relationship between truth and knowledge; secondly, in the relationship between power and subjects acting on others; thirdly in relation to ethics in which the subject becomes a moral agent (Foucault, 2000d).

Towards the end of his work Foucault introduced the idea that the subject is produced as a result of four technologies, i.e. production, sign systems, power and technologies of the self (Foucault, 2000d). The last two of these were of interest to Foucault. Power sought to conduct, dominate and objectivise the subject, whilst the technology of the self described the way in which individuals worked on themselves. This included their “bodies, souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality” (Foucault 2000d, p.225).

In order to explore how someone might have worked on themselves he explored the sexual behaviour in Grecian and Roman times. He discovered that a valued Greek approach to life was ‘taking care of the self’ which was subsequently overshadowed by the understanding to ‘know yourself’ (Foucault, 2000d, p.226). This differed from later Christian influenced world views, as the Greek ethic to ‘take care of self’ was about self-control despite minimal boundaries and controls, it was essentially about choice (Foucault, 2000d). Therefore, despite certain Grecians having the freedom to sexually please themselves in various ways, he noted that those who were able to master and control themselves were perceived to be in a higher place, in an aesthetic mode, where they were able to work on themselves to create a work of beauty and “leave to others memories of a beautiful existence” (Foucault, 2000d, p.254). From this discovery he argued for the reintroduction of the act of creation, suggesting that individuals should create and stylize themselves new forms of being, as a work of art (Foucault, 2000d).

3.1.12 Parrhesia

In 1983 Foucault delivered six lectures entitled ‘Discourse and Truth’ which sought to explore the notion of ‘parrhesia’ which could “mean the one who speaks the truth” (Foucault, 1983, p.2). He did this in order to explore what the conditions would need to be, in order for someone to present themselves as a truth teller. Foucault identified five characteristics of such a truth teller, which included frankness, where they do not hide anything from their directed expressions; truth, where the teller says

what is true because it is true; danger, as the truth teller takes a risk in stating what is true; criticism, as the truth may criticise those involved; duty, in that the truth teller sees it as their role to speak the truth out. (Foucault, 1983). He discussed that 'parrhesia' was used in the realms of rhetoric, politics and philosophy. In philosophy, the term was used in community, public and personal life and often linked to the 'care of the self'. For example, in community, advice was given to community members along with confessionals whereby members could learn further about the truth of oneself. In public life, Foucault discussed the Cynic philosophers who used critical preaching, scandalous behaviour and provocative dialogue to get their message across. Finally, in personal relationships, Foucault (1983) discussed the need for truth to be declared to the other in a relationship, so that self-delusion became less possible. As if the only truth came from self-examination and self-diagnosis, this could mean an individual could be deceived.

Various technologies of the self, including 'parrhesia' were explored by Besley (2005) who thought about young people's personal, social and moral education within schools. She challenged schools to consider the various technologies which are at work within the school context and questioned whether helping pupils consider the 'care of self' may be a useful way to encourage further development in the young people who they were dealing with.

3.1.13 Neoliberalism and marketisation

Within Foucault's lectures at the College de France he undertook to construct a genealogy of the modern state and its different apparatuses, many of which he found were present in contemporary forms of governmentality (Foucault, 2007a). During his lectures between 1978-1979 he discussed liberal and neo-liberal forms of government, building on his previous lectures where he traced the development of the state from ancient Greece and from the sixteenth century onwards (Foucault, 2010; Lemke, 2001). He especially noted how naturalism developed in the eighteenth century where individuals were encouraged to think and provide for themselves in the context of a juridical framework. At the heart of this understanding was the concept of freedom and security where the role of Government was to manage the conditions of that freedom (Foucault, 2010).

In terms of economics, liberalism believed in the market ruling itself which would naturally find a true price for products sold. The role of the state was to look after the interests of the many and therefore intervene when necessary. This was called a laissez-faire approach (Foucault 2010). Yet this approach was critiqued by a group of economists associated with the *Ordo* journal in Germany, who sought to imagine a different reality to their situation. This was because Germany after the second world war had very little, apart from an economic freedom to develop. The second world war had shown the state to be defective and so the new order, which was progressed by the *Ordo* liberals, was to make the market economy the formulation of both the state and society (Gane, 2014; Foucault 2010; Lemke, 2001).

A consequence of this was the view of the market not as exchange, as per liberalism, but of competition, where inequality had to function in order for competition to thrive (Foucault 2010). In this neo-liberal system, it was understood that competition was not a natural phenomenon, it had to be constructed and actively promoted, which required Government to be actively involved, ensuring the conditions were right for competition to flourish. This meant that “one must govern for the market, rather than because of the market” (Foucault 2010, p.121). In the German situation the economy was prioritised, with the state becoming the economy’s guarantor. With a focus on a free market, market principles were sought to be applied to everything and competition was the means that could be used to ensure marketisation developed (Gane, 2012; Foucault, 2010; Peters, 2007). A strong active state developed effective competition through regulatory frameworks and activities (Dean, 2014). The belief was that a strong economy should develop an enterprise society where individuals could be involved in developing enterprise activities and gain the means to provide for themselves and their family (Foucault, 2010).

Since Foucault delivered his lectures on liberalism and neoliberalism in the College de France, neoliberalism has continued to develop, taking on various different forms, given the context in which the ideals have been applied. As such, neoliberalism is a highly problematic term as it is used to describe a whole manner of mongrel understandings and manifestations that seek to encapsulate its essence when put in practice (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018; Dean, 2014; Peck, 2013). However, what has not changed in contemporary society is the way that neoliberal ideas are

being continually applied and embedded. Such a continual dynamic advancement of neoliberal ideas has been called 'neoliberalisation' (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018; Dean 2014; Hall, 2011; Peck and Ticknall, 2002).

The impact that marketisation had on the youth work sector has been discussed by De St Croix (2016). She noted that the decline of local authority-based youth work has given rise to various forms of organisations who have competed with each other in order to secure funding to undertake work with young people. The result has been an unequal availability of youth provision, as it only exists where there is sufficient resource in terms of finance and human capital. Yet there was also inequity in terms of capabilities found within organisations to bid for possible contracts, as larger organisations have more resource to put into a bid compared to a grassroots-based organisation. This gives the larger ones a better chance of securing more funds and driving smaller organisations out of business. Such a competitive scenario has meant that staff security has become more precarious, with the rise of more flexible working and the use of volunteers in order to keep costs as low as possible.

3.1.14 The entrepreneurial self

During his lectures of 1978-1979 Foucault also discussed the early ideas of a group based in Chicago, America (Foucault, 2010). They especially were concerned about the ambiguity of the social policy of the Ordoliberalists and as such sought to redefine the social dimension that economic rationale could be applied to (Lemke, 2001).

One particular focus of the Chicago school was the potential the economic man (homo-economicus) could play in an economic context of competition not exchange. The result of their thinking, according to Foucault (2010), was that the individual was viewed to have human capital which, according to the individual's ability, could be used to earn an income and achieve a level of economic wellbeing. The individual, therefore, was no longer a dependent employee but an independent entrepreneur with full responsibility of ensuring they had the necessary skills, knowledge and experience to earn their own income and make their own way through life (Foucault, 2010; Lemke, 2001).

From the 1980s onwards, the role of the individual was emphasised further (Miller and Rose, 2008, p.48). An individual was to be active, making the most of their personal choices whilst being personally responsible for their actions.

Governmentality was not only exercised by the individual through technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988) but through the use of the freedom that the individual had. Through such freedom, individuals could be shaped by various technologies so that overall objectives held by the state could be ultimately met (Rose, 1996). Therefore:

Homo-economicus is someone who is eminently governable. From being the intangible partner of laissez-faire, homo-economicus now becomes the correlate of a governmentality which will act on the environment and systematically modify its variables. (Foucault, 2010, p.271).

Neoliberalism has impacted youth workers. Hughes *et al.* (2014) found that youth workers through their practice, were encouraging young people to be:

entrepreneurial in making a 'self' that is acceptable and conforms to a normative ideal; a fiscally active citizen of the future, desired, and 'nudged' by the Government and youth work interventions (Hughes *et al.* 2014, p.7)

Such a position many youth workers found uncomfortable as it clashed with their youth work values and ethics, but they were in a tricky position. On the one hand, they wanted to help young people the best that they could, whilst upholding their professional values, and on the other, they knew that they needed to ensure that they kept their employers and funders onside. They, therefore, found themselves in an incongruent position which left many unhappy.

3.1.15 Civil society

Foucault discussed the notion of civil society and how it is a governmental technology essential for governing economic subjects where they can be managed (Foucault, 2010). He explored the characteristics of society noting that being and working together with other humans is a natural phenomenon where individuals are brought together in community, linked together by "instinct, sentiment and sympathy" (Foucault, 2010, p.301) which are different values to a pure egoism economic relationship. Another characteristic of civil society is that civil society members experience a "spontaneous formation of power" (Foucault, 2010, p.303) whereby through the differences in gifts and talents some assume the role of leader and others allow themselves to be led. This has resulted in civil society having both spontaneous synthesis (through collective support for each other) and subordination which allows an equilibrium to occur. It is in this context that the economic bond

works as it finds out the egoist interests, which oppose and work to isolate the individual and break down collective interests and disrupts the equilibrium through economic egoism. Such an economic egoism has worked and transformed society from savagery, through to barbarism and to civilization, resulting in a society where individuals are concerned with themselves but collectively, they are reaping the benefits. Therefore, Foucault (2010) understood civil society as a complex form in which the mix of bonds and relationships are part organic, but which could be used to govern, as individuals are mobilised through their interests.

3.1.16 Technologies

Foucault *et al.* (1988) discussed various technologies of power and these thoughts have been built on by academics, such as Miller and Rose (2008), and Dean (2010). Such writers have explored, developed and applied Foucault's thoughts on governmentality to contemporary culture in the UK. An important concept that Miller and Rose (2008, p.32) have emphasised from Foucault's work is that of 'technologies of government', by which they mean the active mechanisms which are used to govern subjects. These can be direct, indirect, intentional and unintentional (Miller and Rose, 2008). Such technologies are extremely diverse and are used to shape, direct and guide others so that the required objectives are achieved. Often such technologies rely on a whole range of interrelated practices, but Miller and Rose (2008, p.33) stress the importance placed on "government at a distance" where goals are achieved as a result of many indirect influences but especially through the self-regulation of autonomous individuals who can be mobilised in order to achieve wider political objectives.

3.1.17 Performativity

Performativity is a "culture and mode of regulation" that occurs as a result of a competitive context, where measures and targets are put in place to which an individual is held accountable (Ball, 2003, p.216). This concept was developed by Ball (2012; 2003), who was also influenced by Foucault and identified performativity as a policy technology at work in many contexts, especially education.

As a result of such accountability processes, an individual is encouraged to become increasingly responsible for their own productivity and for the performance of others. Therefore, through the technologies of agency and performance, an individual is

encouraged to work harder and find a sense of worth, as a result of achieving designated performance measures. What may start out as externally imposed accountability measures may ultimately become internally imposed. This deep inward change means individuals have prioritised economic values and obligations over moral ones. In discussing performativity and school inspections, Perryman (2006, p.155) introduced the term 'panoptic performativity' to describe the technology which has been used to shape the behaviour of teachers as they have sought to ensure they performed well, due to a sense of being watched and ready for an Ofsted inspection.

Performativity has also affected youth work. De St Croix (2018) found that as a result of an increased expectation for youth projects to demonstrate their impact, youth workers were required to accept and implement various accountancy systems. These sought to encourage greater attendance of young people in youth projects, as well as capturing data linked to outcomes achieved with them. Through regular reporting, youth workers were held to be accountable for their performance and were strongly encouraged to achieve what they needed to. Some youth workers felt very uncomfortable regarding this approach, whilst others embedded such processes as part of their professional identities, giving them a sense of pride in what they did.

3.2 Zygmunt Bauman

Zygmunt Bauman was born in Poland in 1925, where he stayed till the late sixties, after which he taught in Israel and then moved in 1972 to a teaching post with the University of Leeds (Bordoni, 2016). His oeuvre can be divided into three phases, which are loosely linked to where he was living and teaching. Phase one is associated with his writings on Marxism and dialectical materialism and is linked with his time in Poland. Phase two is associated with his work on solid modernity and is linked to his time in Leeds and phase three is associated with his understanding of liquid modernity (Garrett, 2012, p.647).

The following concepts are present in phase three of his work, as he sought to discuss the change to modernity happening in contemporary society. This was in the context of globalisation which had impacted all and which individual states could not control to protect their citizens (Bauman, 2007).

3.2.1 Liquidity

One of Bauman's key concepts was that society had moved from modernity to postmodernity which he compared from moving from a solid to a liquid (Bauman, 2007; 2000). He realised, that where there once had been solid, taken for granted social structures and institutions these had changed or were changing, into more fluid, flexible and unstable forms. Solid institutions were therefore not being replaced by other solid and permanent manifestations but by transient substitutes which were themselves subject to change (Bauman, 2007). Therefore, throughout his work, Bauman sought to describe and discuss such changes that he identified and their implications in a post-modern society.

In Bauman's work, he did refer to and apply some of Foucault's concepts. For example, he discussed the panopticon and discussed how, in his view, such a mechanism was costly in terms of time, space, funding, presence and engagement (Bauman, 2000). He therefore argued that such a process was being dismantled (Bauman, 2001a) and modified as other strategies were preferred instead. This led him to argue that a new post panoptic society was developing, whereby the supervisors observe others through technology (Bauman, 1998) and so are inaccessible and out of reach. According to Bauman (2000, p.11) the prime technique of power developing is "now escape, slippage, elision and avoidance." As a result, he put forward the idea of contemporary society being subjected by the synopticon, where the many watch the few, i.e. through television, which captivated individuals through seduction (Bauman, 1998).

3.2.2 Individualism

Just as Foucault had done, Bauman (2001b) also identified that the individual was the most important player in modern society, responsible for looking after their own interests and welfare. In such a context, Bauman (2007) argued that the bonds between individuals were becoming less permanent and transitory in nature. In the past such bonds had been viewed as places of investment and sacrifice of individual interest. He put this change down to the influence of economic marketisation which he believed encouraged divisiveness. This was because as individuals prioritised competitiveness, then collaboration was only used as a means to achieve individual goals. As such, Bauman (2001b; 2000) claimed that the individual only established relationships with others if there was a benefit for themselves. This was because

shared endeavours may have constrained individual freedom and what the individual may have felt as to what is best for their situation or wellbeing.

As a result of the relationship between globalisation, the risk society and individualisation, young people have been affected by individualism and consumerism (Jeffs and Smith, 2002). As such community has been eroded from the experience of young people and so the youth worker has a role of seeking to create and sustain community, even where young people may not see the need for such connections (Jeffs and Smith, 2002). This is especially important in the context of more individualised practices in the sector such as mentoring, advice and guidance as well as counselling where the focus is on individualised case management.

3.2.3 Sicherheit/unsicherheit

Inspired by Freud, Bauman (1999) took the German word 'Sicherheit' and used it to underpin many of his thoughts on liquid modernity. Translated, the term means security, certainty and safety. Whilst sicherheit was to be welcomed, Bauman (1999) understood that it was unsicherheit, the negative aspects of sicherheit, that were an increasing characteristic of modern society:

the dissipation of self-assurance, the loss of trust in one's own ability and other people's intentions, growing incapacitation, anxiety, cageyness, the tendency to fault-seeking and fault-finding, to scapegoating and aggression. All such tendencies are the symptoms of gnawing existential mistrust (Bauman, 1999, p.17).

Bauman's (1999) argument was that unsicherheit was a feature of everyday life. Insecurity is experienced in many forms as there is no stable form of livelihood, as globalisation impacted an individual outside of their control. Identity is also no longer fixed but transitory as individuals are encouraged to be creative and express themselves. Uncertainty is especially prevalent as it is demanded by an economic marketplace, driven by neoliberal ideology under the guise of competitiveness, deregulation and flexibility. The vulnerability of an individual's body, possessions, neighbourhood and community, all have significant effects on how individuals perceive the world, their choices and their decisions, as unsicherheit penetrates all aspects of life (Bauman, 2000).

Therefore, every individual is affected by a sense of insecurity due to the fluid, unpredictable world that now exists, especially when it comes to work (Bauman, 2001a). Bauman argued that business stressed the importance of a flexible workforce, preferring short term, rolling or zero-hour contracts instead of having a long-term commitment to loyal employees (Bauman, 2001b; 2000). According to Bauman, this had various implications. Firstly, individuals would invest in self-preservation (Bauman, 2001a) doing whatever is required to meet their challenges and improve their wellbeing (Bauman, 2000). Secondly, workers would view loyalty and commitment as transient and not permanent (Bauman, 2007) so were more likely to choose to move to something else if an employer did not meet the expectations of a particular worker (Bauman, 2001b). Therefore, work is no longer viewed as a vocation (Bauman, 2001a; 1998) but rather as a game where the strategy of the player sets short-term objectives considering next steps rather than the long-term plan (Bauman, 2000).

In such a precarious and insecure world, Batsleer (2010) discussed that the response towards children and young people in policy and practice has been to seek to control whatever was possible, for example, by the way safeguarding processes and procedures have been implemented in the sector. However, she also noted that the fluidity of institutions allowed youth work an opportunity to develop and take on different forms, including 'Liquid youth work'. She developed her thoughts by suggesting that whilst 'liquid youth work' might be flexible and short term in nature, youth workers should ensure that relationship building is always at the heart of what they do, so that educational development work is able to take place (Batsleer, 2013a).

3.2.4 Consumerism

Bauman (1998) argued that society has shifted from a 'producers' society to a 'consumer society' where individuals sought to gain the best advantages from the opportunities that have presented themselves (Bauman, 2000). As such, consumers in a consumer society have certain characteristics. For example, firm bonds of loyalty towards brands, items or human relationships are not the norm, as consumers have been taught that they can try something for a trial period and if they are not entirely satisfied they can get their money back (Bauman, 2000). At the same time, consumers have expected instant results within as little time as possible

being invested on their part in making something work (Bauman, 1998). For Bauman (1998, p.83) consumers are “first and foremost gatherers of sensations” and as such are seduced by what is on offer to them, are easily bored and are constantly looking for the next attraction, as they are always on the move.

When discussing youth work from a feminist perspective, Batsleer (2006) argued that youth work practice should be working against such an individualising and short-term consumer-based culture. Youth work instead should continue to emphasize the importance and benefits of long-term association with others. It should work to secure good relationships and networks as such linkages would create new opportunities for young people. She also argued that youth workers should understand that choice is not just about spending power but should be about ensuring young people fully know and exercise their rights, as well as able to exercise informed consent. Therefore, according to Batsleer (2006) youth work holds the possibility of making a difference in the world by showing and demonstrating a unique counter cultural approach.

3.3 Summary

This chapter has explored many of the concepts that Foucault and Bauman considered in their extensive oeuvres which covered a wide range of topics. Many of the concepts that Foucault tackled seek to help the reader understand the intricate processes which have been at work in society which have affected so many, in different ways and forms over the years. Whilst Bauman explored contemporary influences and changes that have occurred in society which has produced quite a bleak picture of the world (Bauman and Haugaard, 2008) where, as a result of unsicherheit, “safe ports are few and far between, and most of the time trust floats unanchored vainly seeking storm-protected havens” (Bauman, 2000, p.136).

All these ideas provide a strong resource that will help understand the data which was produced as a result of this study. The following chapter will help the reader understand the thought process and methods that enabled such data to be generated and then analysed.

Chapter 4 - Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to report, describe and discuss the research process that was undertaken for this study, underpinned by its philosophical basis and Foucauldian perspective, in order to tackle the research questions. It will, therefore, seek to provide the reader with the necessary understanding required to ensure they have confidence in this study and the resulting conclusions.

4.1 A pragmatic approach

There are various discussions regarding the starting point for research. Punch (2014) and Robson (2011) proposed that researchers can either start from a paradigm-driven approach or a pragmatic approach. I started from a pragmatic approach, i.e. an interest in my chosen topic which gave rise to the title of this study and the following research questions:

- What national and local policy changes have affected the delivery of youth work in 'Treescape county' post- 2010?
- How has youth provision in 'Treescape county' been affected by (and responded to) the implementation of these changes?
- How are consequent models of youth provision in 'Treescape county' viewed by current service users, providers and other stakeholders?
- How do emerging forms of youth provision in 'Treescape county' compare with traditional/existing understandings of professional youth work?

Four functions of social research are identified by Ritchie and Ormston (2014), i.e. contextual, explanatory, evaluative and generative. According to such categories, the research questions mean that this research study holds both contextual and explanatory functions. This is because the study seeks to explore the nature of youth provision across the communities studied and how this was subsequently viewed by stakeholders, given the policy environment (the contextual functions). It also seeks to examine how such provision was created (the explanatory function) (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013).

These functions support the justification for this study as the specific situation being explored has not been previously studied. What happened in Treescape county was

a combination of distinctive factors that occurred nationally and at a county level. This led to parish/town councils becoming involved at the hyper-local level (Davies, 2019a) and developing youth provision at a specific moment in time (2010-2015), given the unique set of circumstances.

4.2 The research paradigm and approach

Many researchers (Punch, 2014; Creswell, 2007; Crotty, 1998) have discussed the importance of addressing ontological, epistemological and methodological questions early on in the research process. This I did once I had developed the research questions that I wanted to investigate and I came to the following understandings, which then underpinned my research:

Ontology seeks to understand the beliefs that people hold regarding the nature of reality and what actually exists (Frost, 2016; Bryman, 2012) and as such there have been various ontological positions which have been described and discussed across the academic community (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013; Robson, 2011). The understanding of reality which underpins this study is a social constructionist position informed by critical realism as discussed by Nightingale and Cromby (2002). This perspective sees reality created as a result of the interactions that happen between individuals and the social world that surrounds everyone (Creswell, 2007; Frost, 2016). Such a reality can exist beyond the researcher and discovered through the understandings of individuals, as in critical realism (Ormston *et al.* 2014; May, 2011; Robson, 2011; Nightingale and Cromby, 2002).

Epistemology examines what is classed as acceptable knowledge and truth (Bryman, 2012) as well as how it is acquired. Epistemology will be influenced by the ontological position adopted (Frost, 2016; Crotty, 1998). Therefore, in my case, I adopted the constructivism-interpretivism paradigm (Roller and Lavrakas, 2015); this perspective argues that social reality is different to that of the natural world and science. It therefore needs a different approach (Gray, 2014; Bryman, 2012). The approach adopted views the social world as being made up of many different understandings and subjective perceptions of truth which result in the context of social interactions with others (Frost, 2016; Roller and Lavrakas, 2015; Punch, 2014) in a specific historical and cultural environment (Crotty, 1998). Although a thorough understanding of such truths is always going to be incomplete, an attempt is made to

comprehend some of these (Robson, 2011), with the interpretations only being a basic attempt to understand the multifaceted dimensions of reality (Holliday 2007).

Therefore by adopting a constructivism-interpretivism paradigm and given the research questions, the most appropriate approach taken for this study was a qualitative one (Flick, 2014; Bryman, 2012). This approach meant that I was keen to site my research within specific settings in order to discover rich data which revealed the situation as people saw it from different perspectives (Holliday, 2007), in the hope that commonalities and peculiarities would be revealed. Such a view is similar to that of Choak (2012, p.90) who discussed that such an approach is the most appropriate to collect data about “feelings, meanings and experiences of individuals and groups.”

As a result, this study could also be described as inductive (Lichtman, 2014), as I did not want to test out a theory from someone else (Bryman, 2012) but instead I was keen to start from the data and determine the link to theory from this perspective. This was important as the study was exploring unique events in the lives of four communities, which had not been studied before. However, given that a Foucauldian and Bauman perspective was subsequently applied to the resulting data, I argue that there was also an element of a deductive approach in this study as ideas from both theorists were explored and applied to the data in order to see if their theories were appropriate and furthered understanding.

When conducting research, Bryman (2012) argued that the researchers’ own values will also have an impact on it. Therefore, Savin-Baden and Major (2013) argued that a researcher should be transparent regarding their personal stance on the subject being studied. In terms of my own values which may have influenced this study, the reader needs to understand that I am a professionally qualified youth worker. I have a particular interest and knowledge in regard to how youth work is undertaken as I have overseen a professional youth work degree programme for many years. Therefore, I do hold in high esteem the NOS for youth work (LSIA, 2012), which were in place at the time of this research. This document includes an important youth work value base as well as descriptions of the knowledge and skills that a youth worker may be expected to undertake in their role (Appendix 3). This document is also supported by the youth work code of ethics set out by IFYW (2019)

(Appendix 4) as it supports youth workers in their decision making ensuring quality youth work practice develops. Therefore, such knowledge, skills and experience mean that I do have high expectations of what youth workers at various levels, should be doing and how they should be managed, supported and resourced in order to be able to fulfil their role correctly.

4.2 Research design

There are many different forms of methodology to choose from when designing a research study (Silverman, 2017; Lichtman, 2014; Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2007). The design for this research was based on the case study approach as this can be used to investigate many different things, including:

an individual, or a role, or a small group, or an organisation, or a community or a nation. It could also be a decision, or a policy, or a process, or an incident or event of some sort” (Punch, 2014, p.121).

As this study involved investigating the various decisions and processes which led to the establishment of local youth provision in various different communities, it was decided that a multiple case study approach (Stake, 2005) would be the most appropriate.

Whilst one in-depth case study within a specific community could have been a focus for a study; as I was interested in exploring different examples of provision that had been created, I decided that the case study approach would also allow for a comparative design study to be achieved (Flick, 2014; Bryman, 2012). Individual cases could then be explored as entities in their own right and then compared with each other (Tucker, 2012).

According to Lewis and Nicholls (2014) a researcher needs to be mindful of seasonality and how that may affect the findings. I was certainly aware of this and so the research was designed to take place in generally the busiest time for youth clubs, i.e. between autumn through to spring when it is cold outside with dark evenings, as young people may prefer to be in somewhere warm during these seasons. Therefore, given the impact of the seasons, this also gave the rationale for exploring two separate ‘cases’ at the same time. As the data collection took

approximately two years (Appendix 5) this limited the cases to four, which according to Gray (2014) is a suitable number for comparison purposes.

Within each case study, multiple perspectives were then taken (Gray, 2014) from a similar sample (Lewis and Nichols, 2014) and examined in depth (Tucker, 2012) in order to explore the perceptions and experiences of those who had relevant involvement in each case. Those which formed the sample will be discussed later but were chosen as they would provide the best perspectives for this study as they were either directly involved or were aware of the developments in their local community (Gray, 2014; Choak, 2012).

In terms of the cases which were studied, they were chosen as a result of the following criteria, which was developed in reference with the research questions.

- (i) All cases were to be part of the same geographical county (Treescape county), overseen by the county council that had made the decision to change the nature of the local authority youth service in 2010.
- (ii) The previous local authority youth service had provided regular youth work sessions in the location of the local community identified.
- (iii) The resulting new youth provision was developed as a result of significant support by the local parish/town council since 2010.
- (iv) The resulting youth provision provided open access youth sessions for young people in their local community between the ages of 11-19.
- (v) The resulting youth provision was not part of a uniformed youth organisation such as the Scouts or Guides.

When all the possible cases were identified, the following criteria was then applied:

- (vi) That half of the cases should be located in two different borough council areas, i.e., two in each district area - Greenacre and Meadow Bank.

4.3 Locatedness

Each of the cases studied, were located in their specific areas with their specific histories. It is important that these elements are accounted for, as they enable further understanding regarding the subsequent approaches to youth provision that were developed in each place.

4.3.1 Birchwood



Key information regarding the Birchwood area

There are 11,275 people living in the area, 1,990 of which are 0-16 years old; 16% of people have no qualifications compared to 22% of people in England; 9% of children live in poverty compared to an average of 19% across England; 44% of people aged 16-74 are in full time employment, compared to 39% across England; 3% of households lack central heating compare with 3% across England; 13% of households have no car, compared with 26% across England. The overall crime rate is lower than the average across England. The percentage of people satisfied with their neighbourhood is higher than the average in England; 17% of people have a limiting long-term illness compared to 18% across England (OCSI, 2016a).

The geography and community of Birchwood

From the above picture, it can be seen that the Birchwood community is dispersed over a wide area. The geography is that the more you move to the right of the map, the more you move uphill. The area mostly consists of housing, with a small superstore and small shops. There are several businesses locally supporting a specialist industry.

You can also see from the picture that there are various main roads which subdivide the community. When I spoke to an independent community figure called Ava, they noted the following about the impact of such a geography:

The history is that up the hill is the village and when major employers came, that's where the managers lived. The housing at the bottom of the hill was built for the workers along with the social housing. So, you've got those things: you've got the railway line which divides them from us and you've got the main road which divides us from them. Even though everyone is in the same community, those above and below would not consider themselves to be the same. So, there's a real divide, it is very historical and it's very real even today. You know the sketch that I look down on him and I look up to him, it is very much like that.

The county youth service

Given that housing for the workers and social housing was at the bottom of the hill (to the left of the picture), perhaps this explains the location of the county council youth centre. When TJ was interviewed, who was a previous youth work manager for the youth service, he stated the following regarding the history of the youth centre:

There has been a youth centre on the current site for years. In 1979 I remember it was a horrible building, very ram shackled, the kind of temporary type of building that was put up probably in the 50s or early 60s. Yet, there was youth work going on most evenings of the week. It mostly serviced the estate the behind the building, which in the 80s was labelled the worst estate in Europe, because of the intensity of the deprivation there. The intensity of the deprivation was such, that in almost every single pad, there were occupants of complex social problems and needs ... Due to a change in the leadership in the county youth service a new centre was planned ... it was felt to be a really good centre, a quality facility that could really help young people on that estate and so from 1991 and for the next best part of 20 years, it ran a broad range of services for young people. It directly ran open youth work sessions, three evenings a week, there were open youth work sessions for anyone in the target age range and work increasingly developed as various

new priorities came about such as services for young people with disabilities, young carers and so on.

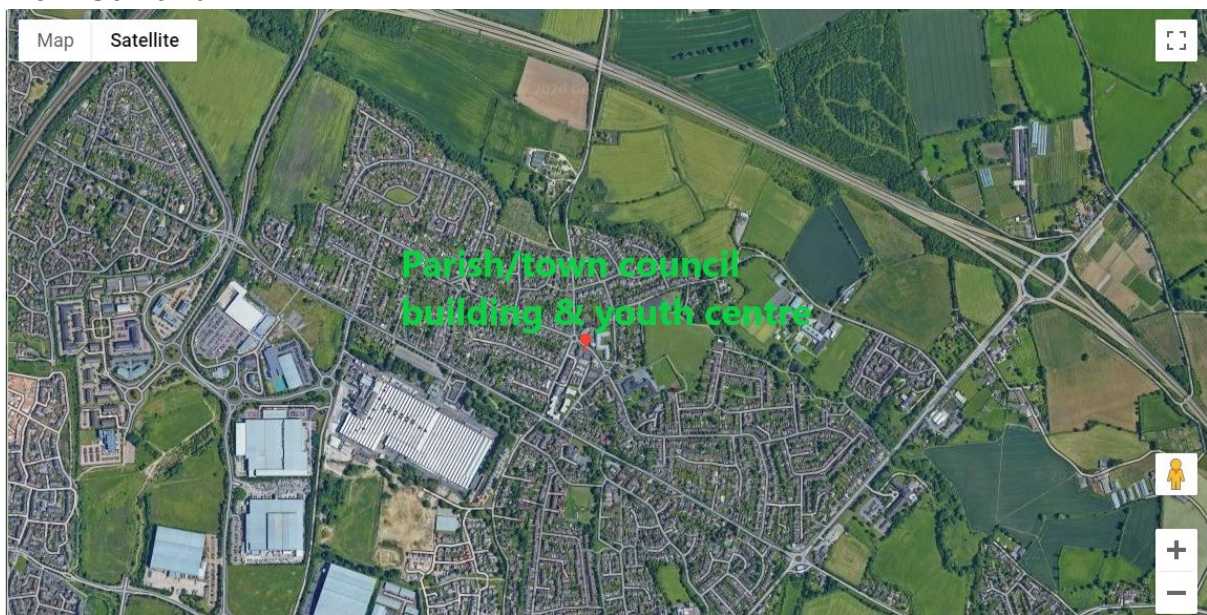
Current youth facilities

Given the fact that the neighbourhood project was based in the community towards the back of the centre, with a history of deprivation, this building appeared to be a natural choice for a community centre run by the 'Birchwood Project'. However, due to negative relationships between young people from the traditional housing estate it served and the new management, they sought to attract young people from across the area.

The outdoor equipment such as a skate park, bmx track and MUGA for young people is located up the hill from the youth/community centre on the same site as the parish/town council building. It draws young people from across the area but, as it is not located near the youth/community centre, there are no natural links between the two sites, unless a youth worker engages with young people in both settings, as the previous county council employed youth worker used to do.

Please also see Appendix 1 for further details regarding the local response to the changes in youth services.

4.3.2 Oakland





Key information regarding the Oakland area

There are 7,630 people living in the area, 1,435 which are 0-16 years old; 21% of people have no qualifications compared to 22% of people in England; 22% of children live in poverty compared to an average of 19% across England; 44% of people aged 16-74 are in full time employment, compared to 39% across England; 2% of households lack central heating compare with 3% across England; 17% of households have no car, compared with 26% across England. The overall crime rate is lower than the average across England. The percentage of people satisfied with their neighbourhood is higher than the average in England; 19% of people have a limiting long-term illness compared to 18% across England (OCSI, 2016b).

The geography and community of Oakland

From the above pictures, the Oakland community is a self-contained area defined by major road routes, one of which dissects the community down the middle. There is a great deal of housing with some larger industrial estates/retail outlets nearby. At the heart of the community is the parish/town centre where the youth centre/club is located. This is around the corner from some local shops.

When I spoke to an independent community figure, Evelyn, they noted the following about the community:

This community I think is wonderful. I think it is very mixed ... There's some real deprivation and there's some reasonable affluence but it's not huge and

there is a whole raft of people in the middle ... I find it quite interesting that it is a village and to say anything else, you're in deep trouble. Community members see it as a village, not a suburb despite new housing which is growing the community ... it's got a village mentality, it behaves like one and people know and will tell me about people within the area ... The community has a library and a parish/town centre, which are both fantastic resources. However, the community is very divided with the main road. Half are over there and half of us are here ... it's a though they have another centre, they've got the coop and the doctors and a chemist, I'm not sure how many of them come this side of the main road to our facilities.

The county youth service

When interviewed, TJ gave the history of the youth club/centre:

In 1979 there was a youth centre on the same site as now. It was horrible building in a tough little enclave. Most of the kids who came to the youth centre came from the local social housing estate. The centre was a temporary type, one of these flimsy buildings, it wasn't a very pleasant building in which to operate. Success there depended on how good the youth worker was ... the youth club opened four evenings a week, a traditional youth club, that was all. Through the 1990s the building got worse and more shambolic, but it was on a big site, right next to the shops and opposite the library, it had a big footprint. The local parish/town council was quite wealthy, due to local housing developments and so they negotiated with the county council to actually rebuild a much better facility on that whole site that included a local parish/town centre and youth centre. The resulting youth centre was actually smaller than what we had but we had an outdoor, floodlit area, that was open access. Open youth work provision was run three evenings a week and then it had a number of little specialist groups. The county youth service leased the provision from the local parish/town council and funded the workers who worked there.

Current youth facilities

The same youth centre which was used by the county youth service was being used to run the researched youth sessions. There is an outdoor MUGA next to the youth

centre on the same site as the parish/town council offices. Both the MUGA and youth centre draw young people from across the community so there is a good link between these assets.

Please also see Appendix 1 for further details regarding the local response to the changes in youth services.

4.3.3 Elmbrook



Key information regarding the Elmbrook area

There are 12,320 people living in the area, 2,400 of which are 0-16 years old; 22% of people have no qualifications compared to 22% of people in England; 13% of children live in poverty compared to an average of 19% across England; 42% of

people aged 16-74 are in full time employment, compared to 39% across England; 2% of households lack central heating compare with 3% across England; 18% of households have no car, compared with 26% across England. The overall crime rate is lower than the average across England. The percentage of people satisfied with their neighbourhood is higher than the average in England; 18% of people have a limiting long-term illness compared to 18% across England (OCSI, 2016c).

The geography and community of Elmbrook

From the above pictures, it can be seen that the Elmbrook community is separated into three areas. Firstly, housing going uphill on the right is separated from social housing in the middle by a railway line, which is in turn separated from a large industrial area by another train line. The housing in the middle section is mostly social housing, whereas the housing on the hill, is mostly private residences. There is a parish/town council building on the high street. The high street has a good number of shops.

The view from the local councillors regarding their community was that Elmbrook was a very vibrant community, with lots of community events which was evident through the various large community events which occurred throughout the year, with the support of the residents and shop keepers.

The county youth service

Joyce, one of the local councillors stated:

County council youth work had been located in a church hall and facilitated by a full-time member of staff and four part time members. The full-time member of staff had an office in Maple Hill youth centre. However due to the state of the building in Elmbrook, it closed and the building was sold to a developer. Youth work was delivered from a community car park out of a converted metal shipping container. Plans for a new youth centre had been drawn up and the funds allocated but such a vision disappeared overnight when the changes happened.

Current youth facilities

Parish/town council sponsored youth work continued from a local carpark when the changes in the county youth service occurred. They were delivered by 'Youth Aid'. The skate park and new youth centre were located together next to a sports field. There is a good link between such resources.

Please also see Appendix 1 for further details regarding the local response to the changes in youth services.

4.3.4 Maple Hill



Key information regarding the Maple Hill area

There are 10,475 people living in the area, 1,885 of which are 0-16 years old; 17% of people have no qualifications compared to 22% of people in England; 5% of children live in poverty compared to an average of 19% across England; 39% of people aged 16-74 are in full time employment, compared to 39% across England; 2% of households lack central heating compare with 3% across England; 11% of households have no car, compared with 26% across England. The overall crime rate is lower than the average across England. The percentage of people satisfied with their neighbourhood is higher than the average in England; 16% of people have a limiting long-term illness compared to 18% across England (OCSI, 2016d).

The geography and community of Maple Hill

From the above pictures, it can be seen that the Maple Hill community is in a rural location, situated on a hill. It has a centre with shops with a variety of housing estates that surround the central area.

When discussing the area, Ethan stated:

You know, there is a lot going on here for this size of place. Part of it is a physical geography element because it is halfway up the hill and you can't really see it ... it's tucked away in that little hollow but it's got an unusual amount of facilities for a place this size with the swimming pool and the cinema. There are other places, not too far away about six miles, but people don't go, they prefer to stay local and so it creates a strong community focus. You know, before I came here people told me things like there's more community activities per capita here than there is in any other place in the country. Who works out ridiculous quasi-statistical facts like that I don't know, but, it's believable ... I've heard it described as the death of ambition a number of times because people are happy and content. There is lots going on for young people.

The county youth service

The previous county council owned youth centre was also located in the built-up centre (see picture). According to Zoe, who used to work for the youth service:

The building was a two-storey building. It was quite a large building actually, you walked into one main room and it was quite a big room, and then there was a second room off to the side plus office space, storage space and then there was also an upstairs room that wasn't as big as the entire ground floor but it also had toilets and another office downstairs. They had a lot of space and they were quite spoiled by what they had.

According to Sara, a local councillor in Maple Hill, the youth centre housed various youth workers and they undertook various open youth club sessions, each week, for many years, subsidised by a local trust. However, the building was “not fit for purpose” and was subsequently closed down due to its poor condition and the changes that arose in the county.

Current youth facilities

The new youth centre was located in the previous police station, once it had been renovated. It was also situated in the centre of the community. Towards the end of my research, a new site for a skate park had been located and is marked on the above picture. It is located outside the main community but near other sports assets.

Please also see Appendix 1 for further details regarding the local response to the changes in youth services.

4.4 Research methods

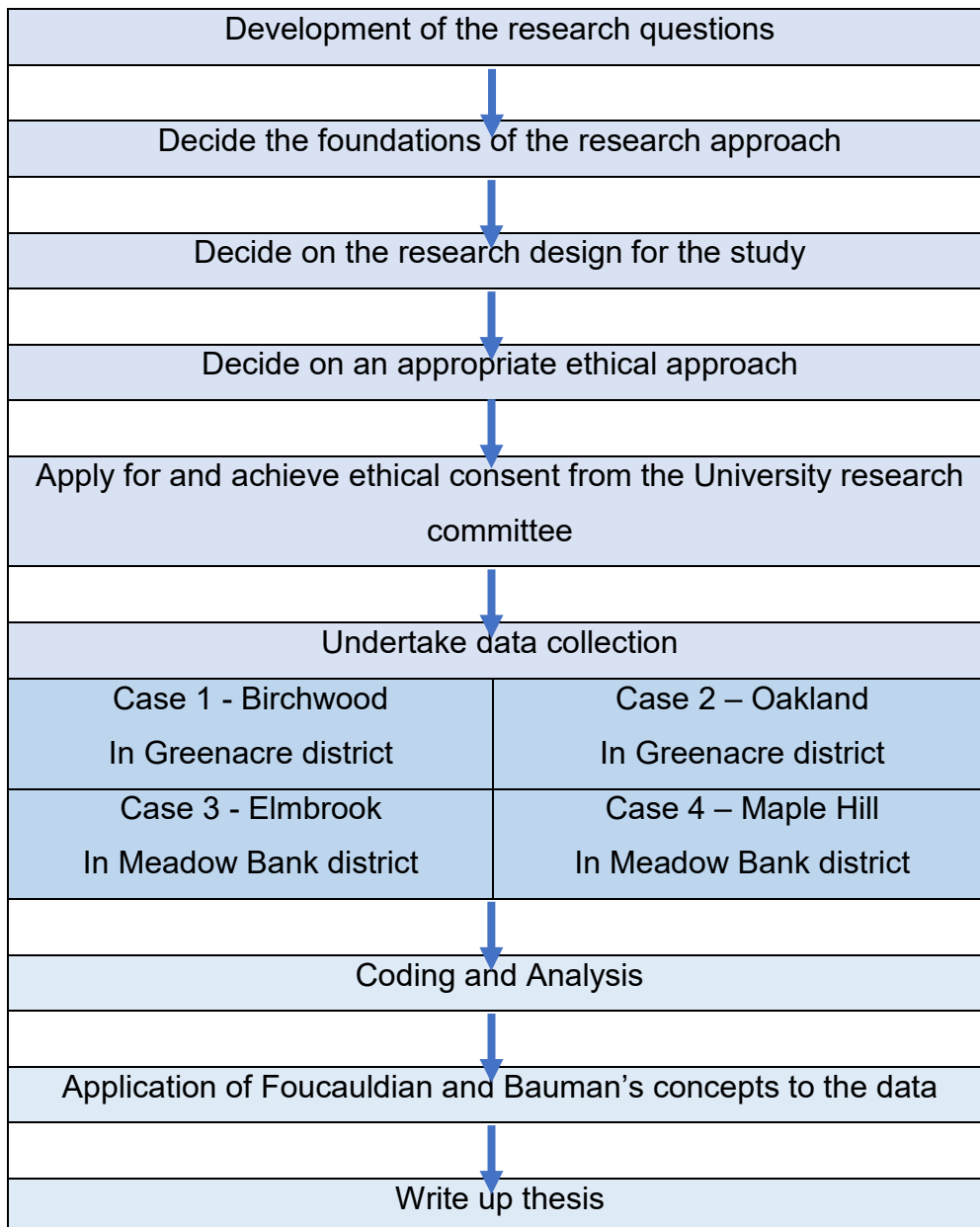
As case studies give the opportunity to collect in depth data, it was important that relevant tools to collect such data were used, given the array available (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013; Denscombe, 2010). As such, observations and interviews were chosen to be the main collection sources, with questionnaires prepared to collect some data from young people who may not want to or don't have the time to participate in interviews (Tucker, 2012).

To further aid my understanding of the situation I also read and analysed any documentation which was available publicly or which was given to me when I met with people or the youth providers (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013; Robson, 2012). These documents gave supportive evidence to what had happened in the communities and insight to some of the decisions taken (Tucker, 2012). As such,

triangulation was built into the process to ensure reliability and validity (Lewis *et al.* 2014) (see section 4.7).

The whole research process can be summarised in figure 1:

Figure 1 - The research process



The time allocated to each element of this process can be found in Appendix 5.

4.5 The sample

Each location studied had one physical building where one or more organisations delivered youth sessions. These youth sessions became the focus of the study.

Relevant sample groups were identified with each case (Lewis and Nichols, 2014) and were identified as the members would each have a valuable perspective to contribute to the study in terms of the history, journey and experience that had been obtained as a result of their involvement. This approach is purposive sampling (Silverman, 2017; Flick, 2014; Ritchie *et al.* 2014). The sample groups chosen were as follows:

Table 2 - The sample

Group 1	Young People
Group 2	Youth Workers
Group 3	Middle Managers
Group 4	Trustee/Chief Executive Officer (CEO)
Group 5	Parish/town council contacts
Group 6	Other relevant perspectives Independent community figure Previous local authority youth workers District borough council officers

More detail of these groups will be given in the section 4.9 below.

4.6 Discourses

Sarantakos (2013, p.14) stated that discourses are:

socially constructed frameworks of meanings which serve as guiding rules, norms or conventions. They are expressed in statements which contain information about what is appropriate or inappropriate, allowed or not allowed, acceptable or not acceptable, valued or not valued.

Such a quote was based on the work of Foucault (1988a) who pioneered this understanding of discourse as a system of representation and meaning (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001; Hall, 1997). According to Foucault (2002) there are multiple discourses that exist in a set moment in time that guide understanding. Such discourses can change so that what made sense in one era, may not in another. He demonstrated this through works such as 'The Will to Knowledge' (Foucault, 1998) where he explored how sexuality had been given meaning and understood.

Batlseer (2010, p.154) argued that the discourses of "youth work can never be disaggregated from understandings in the wider culture of both 'youth workers' and 'youth'" as well as noting (p.153) that youth work "occupies an ambivalent space" as youth work seeks to reinvent itself constantly in the light of different messages of worth and importance. Therefore, it is important to locate the various discourses regarding youth work, youth workers and young people which have potentially impacted on the understanding of those who were in my sample. These people were rooted and located in each community and the wider youth sector within Treescape county. I will therefore, explore such discourses below:

4.6.1 The Albermarle Discourse

As discussed in chapter two, significant state investment in youth services occurred as a result of the Albermarle report (Ministry of Education, 1960), where the state embraced a responsibility to resource and support young people in their growth and development outside the scope of formal education. As such, the state invested in young people and the youth work process. It endorsed trust in young people putting at centre stage, the voluntary participation of young people in relationship with trusted adults (youth leaders/workers), so they could encourage holistic development through appropriate activities (Ministry of Education, 1960).

This discourse which advocated for young people and a state supported youth work sector and process, had shaped the understanding of Treescape county youth service significantly, as demonstrated through its stated purpose:

to deliver social education: that informal education and training, voluntarily entered into, which prepares young people for adulthood and which complements the formal education received in schools and colleges (Treescape County Council, 2004, p.3).

This purpose was also informed by the core values of education, empowerment, equality and participation which were rooted in the ministerial conferences of the early 90s (Ord, 2007), which sought to sum up the Albermarle informed approach.

This discourse would have influenced those who had experienced the youth service pre 1997 such as members of the communities studied, as well as youth leaders/workers who had been trained and had worked in the county youth service for many years. As a researcher, I observed and interviewed people who specifically related to this discourse and as such, they critiqued the present-day youth work experience and attitude to young people in the light of their understanding.

4.6.2 Discourses of reform

As explored in chapter one, when the Labour Government was elected to power in 1997 they started to reform the services that worked with young people as they were deemed to be inconsistent, fragmented and inadequate (DfEE, 2001; 2000;1999). As a result, during this period there was a great deal of change that those working with young people had to work through. In Treescape county the county youth service sought to stay true to its' Albermarle roots. However, due to Government directives this proved challenging, given the variety of discourses and technologies that were employed. Examples of discourses relevant to this research study include:

4.6.2.1 The discourse of youth participation

The importance of involving young people in decision making became an important area for all to consider during the Labour Government (Podd, 2010). The initial aim was to engage young people with the reform agenda. Young people were viewed as those who could contribute and shape services. However, this view subtly changed over time towards an understanding that they should primarily learn from such

experience, meaning that youth participation was focused on using the process to develop skills that young people may need for their future adult life (Farthing, 2012). In Treescapely county this discourse saw many youth participation projects develop, including a youth council set up by the Meadowbank district council through the input of a county council youth worker. This youth council was still active during the time of my research. This youth council mainly recruited young people from local secondary schools but at the time of the data collection 'Enterprise for Youth' had been commissioned to engage with young people in community contexts and run local youth forums. Some of these forums were occasionally housed in a few of the youth clubs that were visited, for example in Elmbrook and Maple Hill. As a result, young people in this district were generally understood as those who had valuable perspectives to input into council decisions (at all levels). Therefore, there was an expectation of young people informed activity within local communities by the local councillors, who had high expectations on those youth leaders/workers facilitating such groups.

4.6.2.2 The discourse of positive activities

Positive activities were introduced by the Labour Government through various policy documents including Youth Matters (DfES, 2005a; 2006) and Aiming High for Young People (DCSF, 2007). The aim was to provide young people with a wealth of opportunities to help develop key life skills and to discourage them from crime and antisocial behaviour (Jones, 2014; DfES, 2005a). Therefore, a mixed view of young people was presented in this discourse, along with a mixed view of youth work (Wylie, 2015). The Government gave young people, parents and communities the responsibility to address local needs with local solutions, made possible through various funding options being made available (DCSF, 2007). Youth work had a contribution to help deliver this agenda, but not exclusively. As such, while youth leaders/workers may have viewed the positive activities agenda as a way of funding their youth work driven activities and so help informally educate young people, others may not have shared this view and viewed the 'positive activities' agenda differently.

This discourse had influenced the understanding of some youth leaders/workers, managers and councillors as they referred to 'positive activities' during their interviews as an adopted approach to work with young people (e.g., see Chapter 8).

It was important, therefore, to understand what these interviewees meant when they used the term. It appeared that some local councillors may have seen some young people in a negative light, as they felt they needed to provide solutions to prevent young people from behaving negatively.

4.6.2.3 The discourse of social integration

According to Levitas (2005) this discourse focused on the importance of reducing the number of young people not in employment, education, and training (NEET). It resulted in the connexions service being created (DfEE, 2001) who worked alongside youth workers to achieve this goal, with various degrees of success (Wylie, 2015). However, this discourse tended to view young people only in regard to their future potential, whereas the contribution that youth workers made to the interactions with young people was to seek their flourishing (Smith, 1988) but value them for who they were in the present (Spence and Devanney, 2013; Wylie, 2013; Davis, 2005).

This discourse had influenced the understanding of some senior youth work managers and youth leaders/workers within Treescape county youth work sector as they had continued to prioritise a response to young people who were, or were at risk of, being NEET during the time the data was collected. However, as youth workers were approaching such an issue, I noted that young people were being viewed as those who needed support 'in the present' in order to support their long-term future.

4.6.2.4 The discourse of safeguarding and protection

As discussed in chapter one, significant developments occurred in safeguarding and protection of children and young people under the Labour Government, which significantly affected many different services and roles, bringing people together to ensure that services and workers strove to achieve the best outcomes for all who needed support (DfES, 2003). Under this discourse young people needed to be protected and workers were required to take responsibility for their welfare at all times (DfES, 2005b). This discourse was present in shaping the understanding of youth, youth workers and youth work in councillors, youth work managers and youth leaders/workers as they verbalised this in the observations and interviews. Even

young people's own perspective of themselves and the role of youth workers was shaped by this discourse.

The Labour Government's reform discourses had a significant impact on youth work (Wylie, 2015). According to Davis and Merton (2009) the resulting nature and understanding of practice had fundamentally changed the traditional Albermarle understanding of youth work. The work with young people was shaped by targets (Smith, 2007; 2002; 2001) and meeting specific needs, which may not have derived from young people themselves (Garasia, Begum-Ali and Farthing, 2015). However, through such changes youth workers learnt to reinvent youth practice and apply their value bases to each scenario that faced them, meaning that youth workers were practicing in ways which previously weren't possible from the perspective of the Albermarle discourse, but still maintained the notion that they were undertaking youth work.

Therefore, for some being interviewed who had been influenced by such discourses their understanding of youth and youth work was different to that of those with an Albermarle perspective. Young people were still important but there was a greater justification for adult led interventions. Youth workers had learnt to be adaptable, flexible, accountable, and creative, working with young people in different ways, depending on the opportunities or priorities that different organisations had which were often linked to funding streams.

In terms of my own understanding I would place my own understanding of youth work as being influenced by this set of discourses the most, as it was during the Labour period that I was practicing most as a youth worker and dealing with such changes in this county.

4.6.3 Neoliberal discourses

The third large set of discourses which were influencing the understanding of youth, youth worker and youth work had their roots in the Labour Government era which were then further developed during the Coalition Government.

4.6.3.1 Citizenship

During the Labour Government, the notion of being an active citizen was developed and linked to rights and responsibilities that all should exercise as British subjects

(Packham, 2008). This was linked to participation (as previously discussed) but citizenship was notably taught as a subject in school for the first time, based on the principles of social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy (Dunn and Burton, 2011). However, the role that youth workers could take in this was minimised (Edmonds, 2012). Citizenship education continued but declined during the Coalition Government (www.parliament.uk, 2018). As a result of the National Citizenship Service (NCS), citizenship education continued, but notably outside of the school environment over a short term programme, based on adventure, discovery, social action and celebration (NCS 2019). Youth organisations tendered for contracts to run the scheme in local areas and then sought to recruit young people and unqualified workers to staff the programme (De St Croix, 2017).

This discourse saw the understanding of 'youth' as those needing to be educated into citizenship and as 'bodies' so that organisations could achieve their targets. Youth workers were replaced by unqualified group facilitators who could be on temporary seasonal contracts (De St Croix, 2017).

Such a need to educate young people was present in many interviewees accounts, with the NCS programme being understood as a good experience that young people had done or should do. This was especially prevalent in those youth sessions undertaken by 'Youth Aid' who also were running the NCS programme locally, for whom youth clubs were prime recruiting grounds. My observations and interviews revealed that youth organisations were happy to take on youth work staff who were not qualified and on insecure contracts.

4.6.3.2 Marketisation

Through the Labour Government more and more different organisations were encouraged to undertake work commissioned by the state (Benson, 2015; Sercombe, 2015). Such marketisation continued into the Coalition Government with new organisations becoming possible which specifically impacted those in Treescape county as a result of the changes which occurred in youth services, under the wider discourse of the 'Big Society' (see Chapter 5). This resulted in a localised marketplace of local buyers of services and providers competing over short-term contracts.

This discourse encouraged local youth work entrepreneurs to offer solutions to local needs. For some, this discourse made youth work competitive and to cause all to engage in a fight to survive. Young people were seen as consumers of clubs, who got used to seeing different providers and choosing between them. Youth workers understood the importance of achieving good attendance and good reviews in attempt to attain stability for their own roles and the young people who they worked with.

These discourses shaped the understanding of youth, youth worker and youth work within Treescape county across many years as the policy context enabled many changes to occur. Youth work moved from a state endorsed service to a practice which was acknowledged as important but not a necessity for the state to fund. Yet, youth work in Treescape county continued with youth workers reinventing and adapting practice and their understanding of young people. This embraced a rich mix of understandings created over time through the various discourses and influences of individuals who had been affected by such constructions.

4.7 Reliability and validity

There has been a great deal of debate regarding these terms and their applicability to qualitative research with some writers choosing to use words such as, credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability and reflexivity instead (Korstjens and Moser, 2018). I have chosen to use reliability and validity as terms in this thesis as I agree with Lewis *et al.* (2014) and Robson (2011) that these terms should still be used as they convey the importance, stability and credibility of qualitative research.

4.7.1 Reliability

Reliability in quantitative research explores the consistency, stability and replicability of research findings (Lewis *et al.* 2014; Brink, 1993). In qualitative research, it has been argued that it is not possible to precisely replicate the data, given the various variables involved (Choak, 2012) but what is possible is a detailed account of how the process followed has produced the particular set of conclusions (Lewis *et al.* 2014) so that an assessment of the reliability of the whole research process can be made (Flick, 2014) which I will seek to do through this chapter. This description will

therefore be able to be used if others wished to undertake a similar process (Noble and Smith, 2015).

4.7.2 Reliability and discourse

As discussed above, discourses help all make sense of their situations, understandings and practices as a system of representation (Hall, 2001; Foucault 2002). However, as noted above, discourses can mean that individuals develop different understandings, for example of 'youth' and 'youth worker'. This is therefore a potential issue for the reliability of research as it cannot be assumed that participants will give an exact same account of what is being explored, due to their different perspectives, shaped by discourse. Yet, such differences are acceptable, according to Maxwell (1992, p.8) if "the differences were due to differences in the perspective and purposes" of the participants, as that is what should be expected (Choak, 2012).

Given Foucault's (2002) understanding that discourses will shape understandings, I took the decision to ensure that such differences in understanding were able to be clearly shown through this thesis. This demonstrates that such a mix of perspectives were present in the sample of each community and across the whole data set. However, given that I did have a mix of participants who had the same types of roles and exposed to the different discourses across the communities, it gave me the opportunity to compare the different perspectives expressed. Such a comparison process (Noble and Smith, 2015; Brink, 1993) allowed me to understand the various discourses demonstrated within the sample. This was important for the data analysis so I could understand each view correctly and ensure that I represented and interpreted each participant's perceptions accurately.

4.7.3 Validity

Validity encompasses the concepts of accuracy and truthfulness (Brink, 1993) and "whether the researchers in fact see what they think they see" (Flick, 2014, p.483). Flick (2014) demonstrates that there are multiple opinions linked to validity and discusses various typologies which have been developed. I have chosen to use Maxwell's (1992) validity typology to guide my research, notably the categories he labelled as descriptive, interpretive, and theoretical validity to ensure the trustworthiness of this study (Noble and Smith, 2015).

This section will explore key arguments and approaches undertaken and should be read along with the specific detailed sections within this chapter.

4.7.3.1 Descriptive validity

This type of validity is concerned with the factual accuracy of what was seen and heard and is the foundation of all validity categories (Maxwell, 1992).

As discussed in the following sections, the data was collected through observations, interviews and via documents. Observations were undertaken as described in section 4.10. All recordings were made once each session had ended, in order to create a log and record of the situation (Bryman, 2012; Tucker, 2012; Robson, 2011) and to ensure that these logs captured accurately all that had happened and all that had been observed. My field notes included detailed descriptions, observer comments and subjective reflections, as discussed by Nichols, Mills and Kotecha (2014) and Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011). Interviews were undertaken as described in section 4.13. Each interview was recorded and then meticulously transcribed (Creswell, 2007) (see 4.14 below). All interviews were then checked for accuracy to ensure that the text reproduced was an accurate account of what was spoken, ensuring that the text captured both the words said and any inferences made (Maxwell, 1992). This is important as the strength of research using qualitative data is that it can directly use and showcase the actual words and actions of research participants. The text was only 'cleaned' for the purposes of inclusion in this thesis, after analysis had taken place it was again checked against the recording to ensure no loss of meaning had taken place.

4.7.3.2 Interpretive validity

This type of validity is concerned with meaning and the responsibility of the researcher to accurately understand what was meant by each participant observed and interviewed (Maxwell, 1992). I will address two issues in this section, my positionality and discourses, both concern validity.

4.7.3.2.1 Positionality

There has been an ongoing debate regarding the positionality of researchers (Greene, 2014) in qualitative studies, which has led to academics over the years taking sides on an insider-outsider dichotomy discussion. It is important to address

this to ensure that there is confidence in my results and that due consideration was taken during the research process regarding my impact.

Merton (1972) drew attention to such a debate which argued that only those who shared a *priori* knowledge of a community and its members could truly understand the complexities of that focus of study (Hellawell, 2006). Whereas others such as Simmel (1950) have argued that outsiders who have *no priori* understanding of the research setting are able to take a more objective stance (Fleming, 2018; Chavez 2008; Hellawell, 2006). This is because they are able to look at the situation afresh and are able to identify elements that perhaps someone who is an insider would otherwise miss (Budd, 2001).

Insiders have therefore been defined by researchers as those who share the same characteristics with members of the same group, such as cultural, biological, occupational or organisational connections (Locke, 2019; Greene, 2014; Bonner and Tollhust, 2002; Merton, 1972). Although, as Fleming (2018), Greene (2014) and Hellawell (2006) argue, having a *priori* knowledge of a community does not mean that the researcher has to be a member. Outsiders, therefore, are understood as those who do not share such characteristics or interests, or who study outside of their topic, interest or background (Saidin and Yaacob, 2016). Both positions have many advantages and disadvantages associated with them (Saidin and Yaacob, 2016; Greene, 2014; Unluer, 2012) as will be discussed.

This dichotomy has in itself been challenged (Chavez, 2008; Mercer, 2007; Hodkinson, Banks, 1998) as both perspectives contribute to understanding the focus of the study (Saidin and Yaacob, 2016). As such, Pugh, Mitchell and Brooks (2000) argue for both positions to be occupied through having one person on each side to ensure that there is an interactive partnership between the positions that will enable robustness of the research to be strengthened. However, academics have progressed this position further, arguing instead that the role of the researcher should be understood as a continuum and not seen as a dichotomy (Breen, 2007). Likewise others (Trowler, 2011; Chavez, 2008; Mercer, 2007; Labaree, 2002) have argued for the researcher holding both insider and outsider positions simultaneously, with positionality changing depending on the context. Such an embracing of both positions is preferred by Hellawell (2006), as it gives the researcher the best of both

positions as none have “a monopoly on advantage or objectivity” (Chavez, 2018, p.476).

I found that my positionality varied throughout the time I undertook my research, between insider and outsider positions, with various multiple positions being taken (Gill 2013; Mercer, 2007; Labaree, 2002). Therefore, throughout I sought to ensure to treat the familiar as strange (Merton, 1972) and ensure I was aware of keeping an appropriate researcher perspective (Chavez, 2008; Lambree, 2002) so that credible research (Greene, 2014) could be undertaken.

Chavez (2008) discussed that a researcher could be a total insider where they share multiple similarities with their research focus or a partial outsider, where they may only share a limited number of similarities to their research focus. Within such a typology I was at most a partial insider, with the only similarity to many interviewees being my link to youth work within the county. However, Banks (1998) discussed a typology that included four potential positions that a researcher could hold as an insider/outsider. These were indigenous-insider, indigenous-outsider, external-insider and external-outsider, with the positionality linked to the community in which one is socialised (Chavez, 2008). I will now use such terms to describe where I thought my positionality was across the communities, groups and individuals that I spent time with, as these will demonstrate that I held multiple positions at the same time.

In terms of the geographical communities that I worked with, I could be seen as an external outsider, as I lived and worked outside of these locations, only entering them in order to undertake my research. As such, I had not been socialised into these communities, and only had a partial understanding of their cultural values as my only association with them was that I lived in the same county.

In terms of those with whom I met and observed during the research, I felt that I was in the following positions in relation to Bank’s (1988) typology:

4.7.3.2.1.1 Groups 1, 2 and 3

Young people, youth workers and middle managers

In terms of the youth workers and young people and some of the youth work managers within each setting I was classed as an indigenous outsider. I was not an

indigenous insider as I had not visited any of these youth sessions since they had been developed post 2011 and had not met any of the youth workers before. The term indigenous outsider I feel is correct, as although I had not had any previous contact with these places or workers before, as a qualified youth worker I shared with the workers and young people an understanding about youth work in different settings and contexts. This pre-existing knowledge/understanding (Saidin and Yaacob, 2016; Chavez, 2008; Labree, 2002; Bonner and Tollhust, 2002) ensured that I quickly related to what was happening in each place (Mercer, 2007; Labaree, 2002), quickly orientated and as such, did not feel any culture shock related to what I experienced and witnessed (Greene, 2014; Mercer, 2007; Hellowell, 2006). However, I did have to learn how each group ran and functioned, which an indigenous insider would not have to worry about (Bonner and Tollhust, 2002). Although, I had not met the workers or the young people before, my experience in the field and sector enabled me to know how to interact with those present and build rapport quickly (Saidin and Yaacob, 2016; Bonner and Tollhust, 2002) as I identified with the role of youth worker researcher (Greene, 2014; Hodkinson, 2005). The fact that I was not located in the community and thus had no shared history (Hellowell, 2006) impacted the research differently depending on the situation. For example, I found that I needed to spend a greater amount of time in Oakland building up trust, compared to other settings. As such, I did not benefit from an insider's advantage of having such pre-existing relationships and I was not able to detect whether someone had changed their approach because I was present (Chavez, 2008; Bonner and Tollhust, 2002). However, as I spent a good number of sessions attending the same groups, I believe the risk of this was minimised; plus as an outsider it enabled me to observe and get to know each group, so that I was less likely to miss something of importance (Fleming, 2018) which was influenced by knowledge and experience in the sector (Chavez 2008). It also enabled the young people and workers to be honest with me, as they knew that they could say anything, and it would not be fed back to those in charge (Bonner and Tollhust, 2002).

4.7.3.2.1.2 Groups 4 and 6

Trustee/CEOs and previous local authority youth workers

For the majority of this group, I would class myself in the category of indigenous insider. This was because I had known the majority of those in these roles as a

youth worker and had met them previously either in my previous youth role in the county, in my role as lecturer at the University or in both roles, as they had stayed in the county continuing their work with young people. We all shared a commitment to the local county youth sector, a history of working together and the shared profession of youth work, as we all were professional youth workers. As an insider with these people, this gave me the advantage of access (Saidin and Yaacob, 2016; Greene, 2014; Chavez, 2008; Hokinson, 2003; Labaree, 2002), both to them to interview and to the projects they had connections to. It was through such contacts that I gained access to all the clubs run by 'the Birchwood project', Youth Aid and their staff, Enterprise for Youth and their staff, clubs at Elmbrook, as well as being introduced to the chair of the trustees in Oakland who then granted me access to the youth work there. In effect, such contacts enabled me access to all youth clubs studied. I also think that those in these settings also trusted me with a lot of sensitive information, which they would not ordinarily divulge to others (Saidin and Yaacob, 2016; Unluer, 2012). This I believe was because they knew me, they trusted me (Fleming, 2018; Mercer, 2007) and I was out of the situation (Bonner and Tollhust, 2002). I felt that they believed that I understood what they were saying and so I was one of a few people who they felt they could 'off load' to. Therefore, such an insider position, did benefit the research process as it promoted the 'telling of truth' (Bonner and Tollhust, 2002). I also think it was because they knew that I was part of the University and so was from a neutral institution and so was not a threat to them competitively (Bonner and Tollhust, 2002). Some researchers may find being in the role of a researcher and colleague problematic (Unluer, 2012), I found that in my case it was not problematic but advantageous, due to the amount of contact that I had with them, which was sporadic rather than continual, due to the different roles that we inhabited.

4.7.3.2.1.3 Group 5

Group 5 – Parish/town council contacts

Both the geographical location and all those who undertook this role, were new to me. I had not previously had any extensive contact with these people, in these roles, in these communities before. Therefore, I had to spend time developing trust and ask these contacts to brief me about the history and the council's present approach to youth work in order that I could understand the decision-making processes

(Bonner and Tollhust, 2002). The positive to this was that I was not perceived as a threat (Bonner and Tollhust, 2002) to any of them or the processes they oversaw. Therefore, they were very open throughout the interviews and at times shared some very sensitive information, especially regarding providers (Greene, 2014; Bonner and Tollhust, 2002).

4.7.3.2.1.4 Group 6

Other relevant perspectives

In terms of those with whom I counted as having other relevant perspectives, such as the independent community figures, I believe I was an indigenous outsider in relation to them. The independent community figures met this description because they were linked to a local faith community in each place. Due to my previous role with a specific faith denomination, I shared many values and understandings with them but, apart from one person, I had not met any of these individuals before. Whereas with the district borough council officers I was in the position of external outsider as I had not previously met them, had no dealings with their role or had any shared understanding with them.

4.7.3.2.1.5 Further validity considerations

Given, the fact that my research incorporated both insider and outsider positions. It was important to ensure any potential positional issues were addressed, as follows.

a) Subjectivity

Insider researchers have been accused of losing their objectivity (Unluer, 2012; Trowler, 2011; Chavez, 2008; Mercer, 2007; Labaree, 2002; Bonner and Tollhust, 2002) due to their closeness and familiarity with the setting or people involved. As such it has been suggested the researcher should adopt a perspective of distance in order to have a sense of objectivity (Greene, 2014). As all the youth clubs that I visited were new to me, it meant that it allowed me to take such a distanced stance (Bonner and Tollhust, 2002) as I was able to view all that I saw afresh (Budd, 2001) without being “blinded by the ordinary” (Chavez, 2008, p.475). Even the people I interviewed who I knew, I did not know in their involvement with each community until I interviewed them. This allowed me to hear for the first time their account and thus engage and respond in the same way as I did with all those I interviewed. Therefore, I did not fall into the trap of going native (Greene, 2014), where the

researcher takes on the traits of those who are being studied. I also felt that because there was a base of trust which had already been set, that these people did share with me more details than if I had not known them (Fleming, 2018; Bonner and Tollhust, 2002). The disadvantage being that I had more transcriptions than to complete and I had to be specifically aware of confidentiality, given some sensitive information that they shared with me.

b) Bias

Tackling bias is an issue facing all researchers, especially insider researchers (Saidin and Yaacob, 2016; Greene, 2014; Chavez, 2008). As this was an issue that I was personally interested in and lived through and did know some key players, I needed to pay special attention to this. According to Greene (2014, p.4) bias is where “the researcher’s personal beliefs, experiences and values influence the study methodology, design and/or results.” However, Fleming (2018) argued that in terms of research design, the insider who has pre-understandings is able to focus their research on the relevant issues, as they have the necessary insider knowledge to determine where the focus should be. Certainly, understanding youth work within the county studied, enabled me to determine a previously unresearched area. Yet I believe that bias was minimised, because the research design enabled the collection of data from communities and projects that I had had no previous contact with since the changes occurred and so I approached them all with fresh eyes and detachment (Fleming, 2018; Budd, 2001). Further points are made below:

4.7.3.2.2 Discourses

Interpretive validity expects the researcher to not only capture but to understand the perspective of participants who are being observed and questioned, and should be “based initially on the conceptual framework of the people whose meaning is in question (Maxwell, 1992, p.9). Jaipal-Jamani (2014) agreed, noting that all relevant frames of reference that a research participant has should be taken into consideration so that meaning is captured accurately.

Therefore, in this research, discursive constructions (Batsleer, 2010; Foucault, 2002; Hall, 2001), as mentioned above (section 4.6), were considered throughout the research process in order that the relevant meanings and understandings intended

(Choak, 2012) were not only captured but were present in the data analysis process and beyond.

In order to do this I ensured that each piece of the data was treated as important as each other, which meant that I sought to ensure that I relistened to all of the interviews multiple times, not just checking the recordings for accuracy of the text but to ensure that the meaning which was being vocalised came across. This was not just about listening to small sections but listening to the whole interview in context in order to identify each interviewee's specific understandings of terms such as 'youth' and 'youth worker/leader' (Batsleer, 2010). This is when my knowledge and understanding of the sector was very relevant as I was able to quickly identify what was being meant by each interviewee. Such an expert in the field, according to Jaipal-Jamani (2014), increases the credibility of research given their expert knowledge of the field. From such understandings, data could therefore be coded and analysed to ensure that across the process there was consistency of each participants' voice (Choak, 2012) including the discursive meaning.

Throughout the analysis process, the data was compared and contrasted with each other (Greene, 2014; Labree, 2002) and triangulated across all the data available, collected from observations, interviews, documentation and initially questionnaires (see below), across the different sites. Triangulation (Lewis, *et al.* 2104) is an important element as when the data from more than one source reveals similar findings, it strengthens the validity of the research (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011).

As a result, multiple comparisons were made across the data (Brink, 1993). One such comparison undertaken was between the understandings of the individuals, as recommended by Maxwell (1992) to ensure that there was consistency in the meanings from the different discourses identified and that each perspective was represented in the data (Nobel and Smith, 2015).

However, throughout this process I also had to be aware of the impact of discourse on my own understanding, to ensure that I did not show preference or bias in anyway (Choak, 2012). Therefore, to seek to prevent this I took several steps.

Firstly, I have been open about my background, possible influences and the process I went through (Smith and Noble, 2015), so that this could be noted and considered when contemplating the findings, as these are to be understood within a discursive context (Wetherell, 2011).

Regarding the sample (sections 4.5 and 4.13), the person selected was dependant on the role that they undertook, thus I sought to avoid selecting based on discourse preference or discursive alignment.

When interviewing, as noted in section 4.9.7, I was keen for each interviewee to tell me their perspective and so I tried to ensure they talked the most, so that my discursive influences would have minimal impact. This was especially important in the key question 'what is youth work?' (see Appendix 19) as it enabled the participant to share their understanding from their point of view, and through their response help reveal the discursive formations (Foucault, 2002) which influenced their perspectives.

By triangulating the data (Lewis *et al.* 2014), the rich data which was subsequently produced, ensured that the findings were thoroughly based on the results. Given that I took care in ensuring all meanings were represented and had been compared with each other, it meant that there was little chance of bias.

Finally, the whole research process was overseen by supervisors who ensured the process was undertaken correctly and with due diligence (Gray, 2014; Green, 2014; Unluer, 2012).

4.7.3.3 Theoretical validity

Theoretical validity explores the appropriateness of the theoretical perspective used. Maxwell (1992) discussed that validity is achieved when applied theory is used in line with expected conventions and is used in a similar way that others may have applied it.

The conceptual lenses used are based on Foucault and Bauman (see section 4.18) and are valid as they have been used in line with the approached used by other academics, for example De St Croix (2016), Gane (2008) and Fittzsimons (2007). The application of theory to the data was checked thoroughly via the use of supervision throughout the process.

4.8 Ethics

4.8.1 Ethical permission

When undertaking any research, ethical considerations require to be worked through in order that the research is safe for all concerned and that dignity and human rights are upheld at all times (Flick, 2014; Lichtman, 2014). As such, participants should participate in research fully informed and willing to grant their consent, with their data and anonymity being protected (Bryman, 2012; Rogers and Ludhre, 2012; Tucker, 2012). Relevant ethical codes such as those provided by the British Sociological Association (BSA) (BSA, 2017) were read and followed. These were done in conjunction with the guidelines of the sponsoring organisation, i.e. The University of Gloucestershire (UoG) (UoG, 2018). As young people under eighteen years of age were to be involved, the research proposal required special scrutiny (Lichtman, 2014). As such, the study was automatically required to follow the University's guidelines for involving children and young people in research (UoG, 2006). Flick (2014) argued that adherence to ethical codes and submission to an ethical committee are essential for good ethical practice. As such, I made a relevant application to the University's research ethics committee and attended in person to discuss my application.

This resulted in permission from the research committee to undertake my study (Appendix 6).

4.8.2 The ethical process

The following process was deemed acceptable by the UoG research committee:

- Before I visited the specific youth provision, details about me and the research study were made as widely known as possible. This was done via the youth workers speaking to the young people about it. The types of information developed included a short article for a local/project magazine/web page (Appendix 7), a poster for the club (Appendix 8) and information sheet for all concerned, which could also be easily read by young people (Appendix 9).
- Beforehand, a letter (Appendix 10) was also sent to young people's homes along with the information sheet (Appendix 9) in order to seek consent from parents (Appendix 11). Young people were asked to return their parental request forms.

- Youth workers reminded young people about these forms and collected those that were returned; these were passed onto me.
- When I arrived in the youth provision, the youth workers introduced me (see section 4.13.7) and I was then left to interact with young people and at the appropriate time, invite them to participate in my study through completing a questionnaire and/or by being interviewed. At this point the youth workers and I reminded the young people about the study and their right not to be involved or to opt out.

The fall-back position

- Given the nature of open access youth clubs there remained a distinct possibility that on the evening when the data collection started, young people would turn up who did not know about the research or who would spontaneously decide that they would like to participate in it and who did not have a parental consent form. Professional youth work values (Appendix 3) seek to create an inclusive environment and so in these instances it was agreed that I would seek to include them.

In such instances the process was that I first ensured that they understood what the research was about and obtained their verbal and written consent (Appendix 12). After their involvement I was then to give them a letter for their parents to explain the research; this gave them an opportunity to not allow their son's/daughter's answers to be used in the research (Appendix 13).

- Before any data was collected, all young people were talked through the research, the information form and the consent form. Only when they understood what the research was about and they were happy to continue, did any data collection begin.

When this ethics process was implemented, as suspected, many young people who did not return their parental consent form before the interviewing wanted to be included. Therefore, I undertook the anticipated fall-back position as noted above.

4.8.3 Ethical issues encountered

There were many occasions different participants were very honest and open regarding their context, including their views on management, other staff members,

the funders and the providers. Often, they wanted assurance of confidentiality, in which case I referred them to the ethics forms that I carried with me and adhered to the ethical guidelines rigidly and kept confidential information safe. This meant that I was party to some significant information which could have had an impact on various relationships and decisions in each community. Such disclosures can be linked to my perceived positionality as discussed in section 4.7.3.2.1. However, the information shared gave me significant power/knowledge (Foucault, 1980a) which I and others could have used for commercial advantage. As a result, I was extremely careful how I spoke about my research to all concerned to ensure that no confidentiality was breached and, as a result of knowing what I did, I took relevant steps to ensure I could not be implicated in any contracting decisions. For example, I was aware that there was a significant change about to happen in Maple Hill, i.e. the youth collective project was going to end and a smaller contract was also ending, which meant the council were preparing to put the call out for new providers for their sessions. As a result, I was keen to ensure that all my observations and data via interviews was collected in good time before this process started so that I could not affect the outcome.

According to Clough and Nutbrown (2012, p.102) researchers not only have to keep all participants records safe and secure but also need to ensure the data used does not embarrass or draw attention to those being questioned. Therefore, all names have been changed, fictional location names have been created and any possible identifiers have been taken away.

4.9 Gate keeping

In order to undertake research, access permission must always be sought. Those who grant permission are called gatekeepers, especially in studies involving children and young people (Webster, Lewis and Brown, 2014; Walford, 2001). Kay (2019) proposed a strata of gatekeepers involved throughout the research process, starting with the University ethics committee, as described above. Next, Kay (2019, p.43) suggested that the most appropriate person to seek permission from is the 'organisational gatekeeper'. In my case this was a relevant trustee or CEO. I contacted these gatekeepers either via email or by phone, asking to meet up with them to give them further details about the study (Appendix 14). My positionality helped this process as discussed in section 4.7.3.2.1. Once these key people were

happy with the approach which I was proposing to take, they put me in contact with the leader in each provision, to speak about what was required further. Kay (2019, p.43) states people in such roles are classed as 'domain gatekeepers.' Suitable arrangements were then made between myself and the local leader via emails and direct conversations to organise dates which were convenient for me to be there. During this contact with the leader, I would discuss the research ethics with them. I asked for the posters to be put up in advance and letters generated to be sent home to parents following the templates I supplied (as in Appendices 8-11). Kay (2019, p.43) classed parents as 'guardian gatekeepers.' Oakland was the only club to insist that their logo was put on the letter home to parents. A few permission forms came back from each location, but that was expected given the informal nature of the provision and the young people involved. However, as that was anticipated the fall-back ethical consent position (see above) was consistently applied, which sought permission from individuals as 'auto gatekeepers' (Kay, 2019, p.43). Navigating all such gatekeepers took time, as the study was explained, questions answered and trustful relationships built, which enabled the research to be undertaken (Kay, 2019).

4.10 Undertaking observations

Observation seeks to "understand practices, interactions and events that occur in a specific context" (Flick, 2014, p.294) either as a participant or as an external observer. I chose to adopt a participant observer approach (Flick, 2014; Nicholls, Mills and Kotecha, 2014; Robson, 2011) where I chose to participate in the youth group activities from which I observed others. I took this role because young people in youth clubs are not used to being watched by a non-participatory observer and therefore may behave differently to how they usually do. As my epistemological position is based on a constructivism-interpretivism understanding, meaning that knowledge is constructed and interpreted through interaction, I felt that the way to have the minimum effect on the data (Nichols, Mills and Kotecha, 2014) was to adopt a role that the young people were used to, i.e., as youth worker, especially as I was used to being in this role as a qualified youth worker myself. This meant that I planned many regular weeks of attendance to youth provision in effect to 'disappear', i.e., to be accepted by the young people and so I was able to observe what occurred in the session as a participant, so that what I observed was as close to normality as

was possible given my presence. Robson (2011, p.331) terms this approach 'habituation'.

However, there was another reason connected to this approach. Foucault (2004; 2000b) discussed that power works through relationships at the lowest capillary level (Foucault, 1998). It was important therefore, that as an observer, I took measures to ensure that my presence did not negatively affect anyone present. This allowed me to observe each youth club in action, as close to their 'normal' as possible.

Attending each youth session multiple times, enabled me to build up an accurate picture of each club, thus increasing the validity of this research (Korstjens and Moser, 2018). However, I do not consider this as an ethnographic method as my involvement with each case was over a relatively short period of time, visiting different groups accordingly, so whilst I took a participant approach in each youth session, I did not fully immerse myself in each youth session over a longer period of time (Flick, 2014).

I made the following visits in each case– see Appendix 15 for specific visits:

Table 3 - The number of visits to each youth provision

Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook	Maple Hill
8 visits to observe youth sessions in total	14 visits to observe youth sessions in total	10 visits to observe youth sessions in total	10 visits to observe youth sessions in total
X4 visits to the bike project X1 visit to the junior club X3 visits to the sport sessions	X10 visits to Friday sessions X3 visits to Wednesday sessions X1 visits to a Thursday session	X6 visits to Youth Aid sessions X2 visits to Faith matters sessions X2 visits to Youth Forum sessions	X5 visits to Youth Aid sessions x4 visit to Enterprise for youth X1 visit to Youth Forum sessions

When approaching any observation it is important to ensure that there is a focus (Nichols, Mills and Kotecha, 2014; Punch, 2014). When visiting each youth session I was keen to see how they were structured, what resources were being used and how the youth leaders interacted with the young people. I was interested in the youth worker's practice knowledge, experience and wisdom. I wanted to experience the culture and environment which was being created and observe over various occasions the young people who used the provision as suggested by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011).

Observations can either be structured or less structured, with structured observations relying on predetermined categories (Robson, 2011). Such categories direct the focus of the observation, making the observation selected and researcher orientated (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). My approach was less structured as I was keen to observe how each session unfolded and took my data from that which presented itself, with reference to the topics of interest as described above. Therefore, my approach could be viewed as a semi-structured observation.

In terms of collecting observational data, Clough and Nutbrown (2012) discussed various ways this was possible. I decided to keep my observational methods simple, in order in to keep my presence as close to normality as possible, i.e., be recognised as a youth worker but in the role of a researcher (see section 4.11 below). The young people were often sought their opinion on various things and so the approach taken was designed to be as familiar as possible to the young people. Any activity completely out of the ordinary I feared, would have had a detrimental impact as it would have affected the young people's behaviour unduly.

Important elements that were observed are summarised in the table in Appendix 16.

After each session I recorded everything I had witnessed in a log (Bryman, 2012; Tucker, 2012; Robson, 2011) as discussed in section 4.7.3.1.

When involved in a 'case' I was often told about a meeting that I should try to attend and observe. Walford (2001) discussed the usefulness of visiting meetings in order to help with his background understanding of an area of study in question. This led me to contact the chairperson responsible for each meeting in order to secure an invitation for me to attend. At each meeting I adopted an observer role (Lichtman, 2014), which according to Robson (2011, p.323) was classed as an 'observer-as-

participant' role, as I did not participate in the meeting other than introducing myself. This consisted of me introducing myself and sharing details about my research project via my information leaflet (Appendix 9). I then explained that I would be taking notes but outlined my ethical stance of confidentiality and anonymity. Agreement was then requested by all members present, which in all cases was achieved. However, on occasions, the subjects discussed did stray onto some sensitive topics where privileged information was shared. At such points, I was either asked not to record the information or was asked about my ethical clearance to ensure confidentiality.

Table 4 - Other observations undertaken

Other Observations			
Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook	Maple Hill
	14-11-13 Trustees meeting	13-3-15 A youth club users management group	4-11-2015 Community youth fund raising committee
	3-2-14 Monday youth leaders meeting		2-3-15 Parish Board meeting for the whole of the 'youth collective project'

4.11 Observations and power

In light of Foucault's (2004; 2000b) understanding of power, I undertook the observations considering the following:

I knew that I might be associated as a new youth leader/worker to the young people present, as I was another adult present. As such, how I was introduced and how I introduced myself was an important consideration, as I didn't want to be perceived as a leader, due to any associated power linked to the role (Foucault, 2000b). It was agreed that the initial introduction should be done in each setting by the usual leader in charge at the beginning of each session. I was introduced as 'Steve, a youth worker who was undertaking some research', thus reminding the young people (and

leaders) of the details about my research which they had already received (see section 4.8 above). In my personal introductions, I also introduced myself like this and stated why I was there. From this I hoped to demonstrate that I was there for a specific purpose and was a youth worker undertaking research, meaning that I could be viewed as a trusted individual, who was experienced in working with young people. This introduction also enabled me to build a relationship with the youth leaders/workers, so that they were also reminded of who I was and why I was present. The fact that I did not wear an organisational uniform helped to distinguish me as someone other than a leader, although not all settings had organisational 'livery' that leaders were asked to wear.

For each session I was very aware of where I should place myself within the youth club to observe, blend in and build rapport and trust. Therefore, throughout each session I placed myself in various locations in each setting. For part of the session I placed myself behind the serving hatch of the kitchen as this position allowed a good view of the setting and it enabled me to build up relations with the youth leader/worker(s) who were present. However, I was conscious that if I remained static in this position I would be associated with the role of leader and so I also ensured that throughout each session that I positioned myself strategically where the young people were, for example at the pool table or seating area, in order to be able to have conversations with young people and watch the wider room.

Within Foucault's oeuvre he discussed the power of the gaze (Foucault, 1991), where those subjected to observation would change their behaviour and thus is an exercising of power (Gordon *et al.* 2005). This was another reason why I decided not to just sit and watch the room, without engaging with others, as this may have changed the behaviour of those who felt under scrutiny. My approach, therefore, was to keep surveying the room whilst engaging in other activities, such as playing pool. Many years of working in such an environment had developed this skill (Jaipal-Jamani, 2014), which I found worked well for such observations.

However, whilst keeping a close watch on each youth club session, I was alert to what the young people were 'getting up to' and privy to their conversations. Sometimes, young people would do or say things which as a youth worker, I would have ordinarily challenged and confronted and thus exerted my power (Foucault,

2000b). However, because I was not in the role of a leader, I did not engage in any type of intervention and instead left this to the designated leaders. I did this as I did not want to inhabit a position of power or exercise power as Foucault (1998) discussed. This was so that as a researcher, I could observe the interactions that subsequently happened between the young people and the youth leaders/workers.

Regarding my interaction with the youth leaders/workers, there were occasions when they appeared to want feedback on what I thought about the youth club and session. As a University lecturer in youth work I was aware that I taught students regarding the practicalities of working with young people in such environments, which I could have used to give tips and guidance to the youth leaders/workers present as required. However, in such a context this would have been an example of power/knowledge in action (Foucault, 1980a) which would have potentially changed the practice of the leaders. Therefore, when this happened, whilst I was generally encouraging of their practice, I still was quite guarded in terms of what I said, as I did not want any possible changes occurring because of my influence.

Given that Foucault (1991) stated that power was productive, I hoped that as a result of me being involved in the various youth club sessions what would be produced was a set of participants who were willing to be interviewed (young people and youth leaders). This indeed was the case, please see below.

4.12 Undertaking questionnaires

I thought that using questionnaires would enable further data to be collected at youth club sessions by busy young people who didn't want to engage in an interview. I therefore devised the questionnaire to give out (Appendix 17) following advice from Robson (2011). However, it became quickly apparent that young people didn't want to do any writing or fill in the questionnaires, as they either returned them with just one-word answers on them or they were left mostly incomplete. Tucker (2012) warned that the use of questionnaires had drawbacks with return and completion rates being poor, which certainly I experienced in this context.

Holiday (2007) discussed that it is in the nature of qualitative research to have to deal with the unexpected and Lichtman (2014) described qualitative research as dynamic and changeable. As such, both warned that the researcher needs to ensure that the tools used are suitable for the situation which is being studied. When

reflecting on the situation, I noted that on many occasions young people were happy to chat about my research and so I tried giving the young people the questionnaire and talking it through with them, and so ended up using the questionnaire as the basis for my interviews with the young people. This worked well as the young people were happy then to chat through the questions, as they could see what they were and because there was no writing involved. Once these questions were asked there were some occasions when the young people were wanting to chat further about their experiences and I then asked further questions in line with the questions asked to the other sample groups.

4.13 Interviews

Purposive sampling (Flick, 2014; Richie *et al.* 2014) identified who I should interview in order for me to gain each perspective required.

Interviews were chosen as they were deemed to be the most effective way to collect valuable deep qualitative data from the participants which would allow their opinions to be documented, explored and interpreted (Lichtman, 2014; Choak, 2012).

Further discussions regarding how I handled power dynamics are to be found in section 4.13.7. However, in all the following sample groups I was aware of the potential impact of any power that I had, or was perceived to have, and so I took various actions to mitigate such worries. For example, through paying attention to the context and my communication skills (Hodkinson, 2005) so that each person would be put at ease. In doing this I hoped that any power which was present in the relationship (Foucault, 2001b) would turn productive (Foucault, 1991) and produce data.

The sample groups comprised the following.

4.13.1 Sample group 1 - young people

As a result of the changes that occurred in youth provision, young people were impacted, either seeing the local authority clubs closing or seeing new youth provision being opened and run. It was therefore important to understand what their opinion of the resultant provision was and where possible try and find young people who could compare what was put in place, to what was present previously.

The differences encountered across the 'cases' are detailed below:

- Birchwood

Birchwood youth provision was in a state of flux when I started visiting, with established sessions petering out due to poor attendance rates and a lack of staff and funding which then stopped. They had a successful junior club but as it was outside of my focus age group, whilst I went to see it in action I didn't take any data from it. Instead I had to wait for new plans to be put in place and a new youth provision to start, which was a sports session. However, I didn't observe many, as these sessions were based around the delivery of structured sport opportunities with minimal opportunities being created for wider educational development, so apart from sports skills development there was little to observe. Interviews were captured quickly on breaks within evening sessions as this was the only opportunities created for them to take place.

- Oakland

The young people who attended the youth provision mostly knew each other and, as an outsider, it took a long time for me to build up relationships with the members and for them to be comfortable with me being present. This was demonstrated by the fact that it took me eight sessions before a young person was willing to work through the questionnaire with me. However, once a few showed willingness to engage, others then chose to also be involved.

In order to get an understanding of the various youth sessions run and in order to see different young people from the community, I varied the nights that I attended and managed to get interviews from young people from these different groups.

- Elmbrook

Given that I spent so long in Oakland, I was shocked when on the first night young people were happy to undertake interviews. I made sure that I visited all youth sessions run by different providers in the building and managed to get young people interviewed from the different sessions so that a comparison between providers could be made.

- Maple Hill

Each week there were two different providers running sessions and so I visited the sessions by the different providers. Young people seemed to be happy to engage with me and interviews started on the second visit to both sessions that I attended.

4.13.1.1 Young people practice issues

In general, all young people across the 'cases' engaged with the interviews because they knew about the research, were interested and because I had built some rapport with them during the session so when I asked them for an interview they agreed (Lichtman, 2014; Choak, 2012). As I was aware of the potential negative impacts of power (Foucault, 2000a) and the value base of youth work (see Appendix 3) no coercion was involved and only those who were truly willing to engage in the interviews did so.

Each interview with a young person began with ensuring they were fully aware of who I was (see section 4.13.7), what the research was about, understood the ethical consent requirements and signing the ethics forms.

Using the questionnaire provided the base questions and it became obvious very quickly if the young people were willing to chat about their answers and their experiences or if they wanted to finish quickly. The style of interviews that I undertook with them were semi structured in nature (Robson, 2011

The interviews took place at each youth provision during an active youth work session, as young people were almost guaranteed to be present. Some young people were happy to be interviewed by themselves, others wanted to bring one or two friends and they supported each other to give a collective response. Such an approach not only allowed the friends to work through the questions together, supporting each other, but according to Choak (2012) was an appropriate ethical approach as it reduced the power relations between the interviewees and the researcher (Foucault, 2000b).

In terms of interviewing young people at each youth provision, there were various elements which had to be dealt with at the same time, i.e. interviewing space linked to safeguarding, confidentiality, and anonymity.

All the settings investigated had a main space and had a private office. However, the number of staff present and the physical set up of the building determined whether it was deemed safe to use the office or not. In most cases the office was not used as this was not in the line of sight and would have required youth work oversight due to safeguarding protocol. If a youth worker had to be present, such a factor may have limited what young people felt able to say.

Therefore, for most interviews, a quieter space was found in the main room where we were in full view of others, to ensure good safeguarding protocols were kept. In this context, all spaces were noisy with background music with other young people and youth workers engaging in various activities and conversations. Such a background environment meant that the interviews could not be over-heard and whilst the youth workers were present, they were always busy doing relevant jobs that needed their attention. As an interviewer I ensured that I always faced into the room so that I could also keep an eye on what was happening to ensure, no one was listening in. As such, the young people appeared to be happy to be open and honest with their answers and much useful data was collected.

The only time one of the offices was used was at Maple Hill during an 'Enterprise for Youth' session. This was possible given that there were designated senior members (who were over 18) who were given the responsibility to keep a watch on proceedings through the various windows in the office. The use of this facility ensured that the young people could feel that they could be open and honest about their answers in a quieter environment.

All interviews in this context were recorded and I made sure no young people could be identified as a result of their participation.

The number of interviews conducted with young people is set out below:

(N.B. One interview is counted, even when there may have been more than one young person present giving their thoughts).

Table 5 - Number of interviews undertaken with young people

Location:	Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook	Maple Hill
Interviews:	2 interviews	6 interviews	10 interviews	7 interviews
Total time:	25m 56s	57m 12s	1hr 4m 37s	1hr 3m 5s

4.13.2 Sample group 2 - youth workers

This group consisted of youth workers who were actively involved in each setting since the changes to local authority youth services and were employed to oversee or be involved in various youth sessions that I visited.

As a result of my attendance observing the sessions and interacting with the young people, various conversations were had with various leaders in each setting. Various conversations built up a natural interest in what I was doing and as such these youth workers put themselves forward to be interviewed, therefore, the sample identified were self-selected.

The only person I contacted to organise an interview with was Jackie, who was a freelance worker in Maple Hill. Jackie was someone who many others had talked about as she had a relevant perspective on the youth provision in the community given her community involvement in art projects.

4.13.3 Sample group 3 – middle managers

This group consisted of those who had a mid-tier of responsibility in their organisation and as such were able to make important decisions but were still under the authority of someone else within their organisation.

In both Oakland and Elmbrook the people I spoke to had been managers for their organisations during and shortly after the changes to local authority youth services and as they were willing to be interviewed were included in the sample.

Such managers were easily identifiable after speaking to people within the organisations and communities which resulted in me approaching them and they consenting to be interviewed.

4.13.4 Sample group 4 – trustees/CEOs

This group comprised of trustees or CEOs of youth providing organisations which had been awarded funding towards running specific youth provision in each area. The projects in Birchwood and Oakland were locally based organisations which were demonstrating their commitment to the local area, whereas the organisations supplying the provision in both Elmbrook and Maple Hill were organisations with their headquarters located out of the local community. See Appendix 1 and 2 for further details.

This group of people had to be approached in order to gain permission to undertake the research in the youth provision that they oversaw, as such they were informed about the research at the very start and were keen to ensure their voice was heard.

4.13.5 Sample group 5 – parish/town council contacts

This group comprised of two subgroups. Firstly, the parish/town clerks were interviewed. These were important people to include as they were the people who knew about the community and the decisions which were made regarding solutions for the local young people. It was through these contacts that the correct parish/town councillors were identified and then approached.

All contacts were interviewed separately apart from the councillors in Elmbrook, who had a shared story and contribution that they wished to tell together. Their experience was a joint understanding as they had always been involved in doing things together in regard to young people in their community.

4.13.6 Sample group 6 – other relevant perspectives

This group comprised of three subgroups.

The first group consisted of an independent perspective of the local community and the resulting youth provision and so I identified a group of people who had the same role within each community. I approach them for an interview, which they all agreed to.

The second group were people who had previously worked as youth workers for the local authority youth service with an area wide focus.

The third group were people who had a youth/community remit within the local borough council and whose area covered two of each of the communities studied.

Further details regarding when these interviews occurred can be found in Appendix 18.

4.13.6.1 Groups 2-6 practice issues

For the adult groups listed above, i.e., groups 2-6, I contacted them either because I had met them at the youth session I had attended, or as a result of a conversation with someone else who I had interviewed.

For those I had not met previously, I made the first approach through either telephone call or email explaining about the study. I always had a 'phone' conversation to ensure they understood the study and that their questions were

answered during which I confirmed the location and time allocated for the interview (Bryan, Carpenter and Hoult, 2010).

In terms of meetings places, I wanted to be very accommodating to the interviewees as I was keen to secure the interview. Therefore, meetings took place in the most convenient place for interviewees, given that they were assisting the research in their own time. I did suggest meeting at the University but for some, due to the large travelling distances involved, this was deemed impractical, especially as this may have meant interviewees would choose not to be interviewed. Places which the interviews occurred included:

- Youth club settings – when the young people were not present
- Parish/town council premises
- Individual's offices/places of work
- Individual's houses
- Coffee shops
- The University of Gloucestershire (for those who were close by)

Therefore, the majority of these venues were comfortable, private and ensured that the interviewees could freely engage with the interviewer as they were assured of anonymity and confidentiality (Bryan, Carpenter and Hoult, 2010).

Where no alternative venue was possible, the interviews took place in a coffee shop. These were chosen for their busy nature and atmosphere. The seating location was carefully chosen to ensure that I could face the rest of the café to ensure no one else could overhear the conversation. In such cases, there were no identifying factors between the person and the research so others could not determine what the conversation was about.

According to Clough and Nutbrown (2012, p.26) researchers need the capacity to view their chosen topic with "new and different lenses" in order to explore beyond their current knowledge and discover the unique features of that being explored. Whilst I understood youth work as a professional practice and had experienced many different forms of youth work in different contexts, I had not previously experienced the cases chosen since the changes in the previous local authority youth service had taken place. Therefore, the forms and contexts were new and unknown, especially as the local communities were taking responsibility for them.

Therefore, I sought to approach each case with an open mind, careful not to make assumptions of knowledge because of the subject being explored. Instead I was keen to take note of all the specific unique characteristics and practices which were revealed in each place. Please also see section 4.7.3 above.

In doing so, I was seeking to make the familiar strange (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012; Holiday, 2007) in order to ensure that nothing was taken for granted and that a critical stance towards the present was adopted. This was relatively straight forward, as I soon found out that each 'case' was underpinned by a different organisation with different policies and procedures. I therefore could not take anything for granted. As a result, the way I structured the questions (Appendix 19) sought to encourage each interviewee to tell me from their perspective areas of interest, from which I would then ask for clarification, as demonstrated by the extract below:

Interviewer: Tell me what happens at the end of a session?

Interviewee: We have to do an evaluation with the young people. It's a very simple evaluation, like we have different ways of doing it. For example, I'm sure you've heard of the blob tree, we'll do that or we have this thing where we have splatter targets with one for good and one for bad and they have to throw wet paper at it and write why they found the session good or bad. And then we take that on board and use their comments to, you know, improve it really. Our evaluation is mainly for the funders, so we and they know what's happening.

Interviewer: Do you have to fill out any forms? If so, tell me what data you may collect?

Interviewee: We fill out a standard form about the session, it asks us to write positive outcomes, any areas of improvement, individual outcomes from the young people and any safeguarding instances and stuff.

4.13.7 Interview schedule and process

Please see the interview schedule outlined in Appendix 19.

The interviews were semi structured in nature. This meant that I had a core list of questions which were then used during the interviews to fit into the flow of conversation (Bryman, 2012; Bryan, Carpenter and Hoult, 2010). This meant that

specific topics which arose during the interview could be explored further (Tucker, 2012).

My approach to interviewing was to create a good 'relational space' (Bryan, Carpenter and Hault, 2010) using a responsive interview style (Flick, 2014), i.e. a relaxed atmosphere where the interviewee would feel happy to interact and share their perspective of their situation. This was done through meeting where the interviewees were most comfortable, given the consideration of confidentiality and anonymity. In each location, I took note of the room lay out and ensured that the setting and layout created a relaxed atmosphere where no physical aspect of the space enforced any form of power relations (Foucault, 2001b). The aim to create an approach of mutuality also contributed to the decision to use semi structured interviews. In doing so what I was aligning myself with was my own professional youth work values (Appendix 3). I sought to minimize any hierarchical relationship (Foucault 2001b) that there could have been perceived to be present. I wanted to ensure that a more equal relationship of working alongside/with (Lichtman, 2014) could be created based on trust (Punch, 2014; Bryman, 2012) so that these relationships would be productive (Foucault, 1980c).

My approach in each interview was to undertake an initial briefing where I introduced myself, the scene for the research was explained, along with the ethical nature of the research. I ensured that I emphasised my role as a youth worker researcher in the introduction as I wanted to ensure that the power within the relationship (Foucault, 2004, 2000b) was going to be productive (Foucault 1991) and didn't inhibit in anyway (Hodkinson). I felt that all participants understood the role of youth work and therefore would feel more comfortable interacting than if I emphasised a role which they could not relate to e.g., lecturer (Hodkinson, 2005).

I then guided the interviewee through my questions, paying interest in what was said, through radical listening (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012), where necessary seeking clarification as well as exploring further areas of interest. Throughout, I ensured that there was a good amount of reciprocity between the interviewee and myself (Punch, 2014). For example, this short extract at a beginning of an interview seeking to build up a picture of the role of the interviewee, demonstrates the engagement that I was having in the process:

Interviewer: Can you tell me how many hours you are currently undertaking?

Interviewee: At the moment I'm working every Wednesday at Alderplace for five hours and every other Tuesday at Maple Hill for five hours, 'cause I do girls brigade on a Tuesday so I have to split.

Interviewer: Oh, okay.

Interviewee: But as of January, my hours are changing and I'm doing between 15 and 20 hours each week, so I'll be taking up Cherrytree and Pinecross as well.

Interviewer: Oh, okay.

Interviewee: So that's exciting.

Interviewer: Yes, it is

Interviewee: Meeting new young people, so and we've got a new youth centre opening in Pinecross, so that's doing really good.

Interviewer: Great news

Interviewee: Yeah.

In doing so, I acknowledge that as a researcher I was part of the knowledge building process where my approach was important, as it gave the interviewee an opportunity to construct "the landscape of their experiences" with me (Bryan, Carpenter and Hoult, 2010, p.166). Therefore, the interviews were not just produced from one person and transmitted to another but that through the questioning and discussion, an understanding of the realities of each situation was co-constructed and generated (Choak, 2012; Bryan, Carpenter and Hoult, 2010; Walford, 2001). The result was the agreement of the account, which was viewed to be an accurate representation of it and recorded.

However, where possible, I tried to ensure that the interviewee was given the space they needed to speak on their own accord. This was to ensure that it was possible to understand their perspective due to the impact of discourses as discussed in section 4.7.3.2.2

My approach in building such a 'relational space' was productive (Foucault, 1991). This was because many of the interviewees provided a great deal of information,

with some divulging of their own accord, sensitive information regarding the situation they were in. This information often linked to the history, the state of practice, the people, the organisations, or the contracts which were in place. This was a great privilege but also, as noted above, subject to ethical guidelines which were closely followed, in order to protect each individual and the organisation discussed.

4.14 Transcription

All interviews were transcribed verbatim as this is noted as common practice (Lichtman, 2014; Choak, 2012; Creswell, 2007) and especially as the analysis was planned to be thematic, which meant that a thorough transcript was required (Lichtman, 2004; Braun and Clarke, 2008). This was important because a thorough transcript gave me the necessary detail needed for analysis which was more rigorous than just notes. Such transcriptions contributed to the validity of the research undertaken (Lichtman, 2004) (see section 4.7.3.1. above). Bryman (2012) discussed many positive reasons for the transcription of interviews, stating that transcriptions allow the researcher and others to revisit the interview which can reduce biases and increases transparency. He also made the point that transcriptions mean that the data could be used in ways which weren't envisioned at the beginning of the research process. However, the main disadvantage of this process is the length of time it takes for accurate transcription (Bryman, 2012; Choak, 2012). In order to get to know my data thoroughly I undertook the majority of the transcriptions (fifty-two) but paid for the remaining thirteen to be undertaken as it was taking a great deal of time.

4.15 Documentation

As a result of my interaction with those in each community I was often given documents which participants thought would be useful for my research. These provided useful contextual information that enabled what was observed and discussed in the interviews to be understood in greater depth (Flick, 2014; Creswell, 2007).

4.16 Coding and data analysis

The process of coding and analysis adopted a thematic approach (Flick, 2014; Lichtman, 2014; Spencer *et al.* 2014) following specifically the approach suggested by Braun and Clarke (2008, p.87), which included the following steps:

1. Familiarisation with the data
2. Generation of initial codes
3. Searching the themes
4. Reviewing the themes
5. Defining and naming the themes
6. Producing the report

The coding process started with each piece of data being read in detail in order to familiarise myself with it and to understand what was being said by the interviewees. This led me to generate an initial set of codes from the data in order to start organising it. The entire data was coded manually, contributing to my further understanding of it. When new codes were needed, they were generated. All codes were given a unique colour code and the text was highlighted accordingly, then the data was collated together under each code.

The set of initial codes and definitions generated are found in Appendix 20.

In phase three of Braun and Clarke’s process (2008) the codes are then examined, and themes are identified which consisted of main themes and subthemes. The data was collated into the following themes and subthemes.

Figure 2 - Initial theme 1

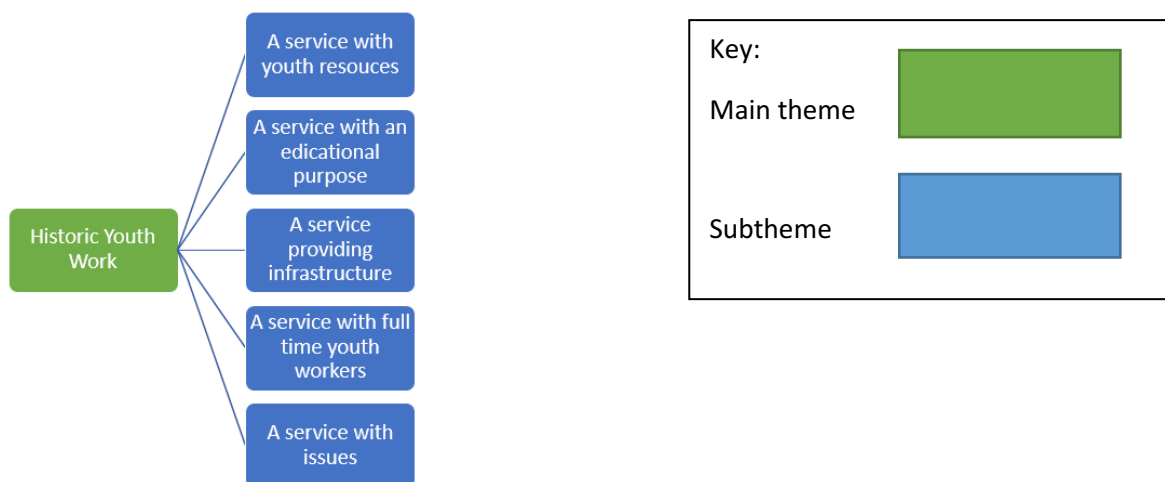


Figure 3 - Initial theme 2



Figure 4 - Initial themes 3-9

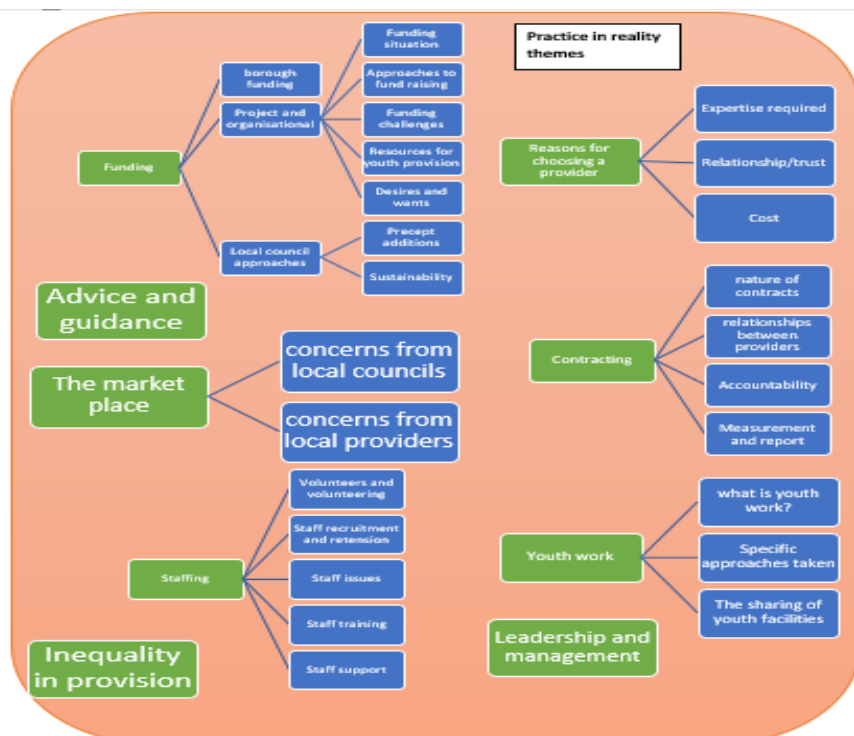
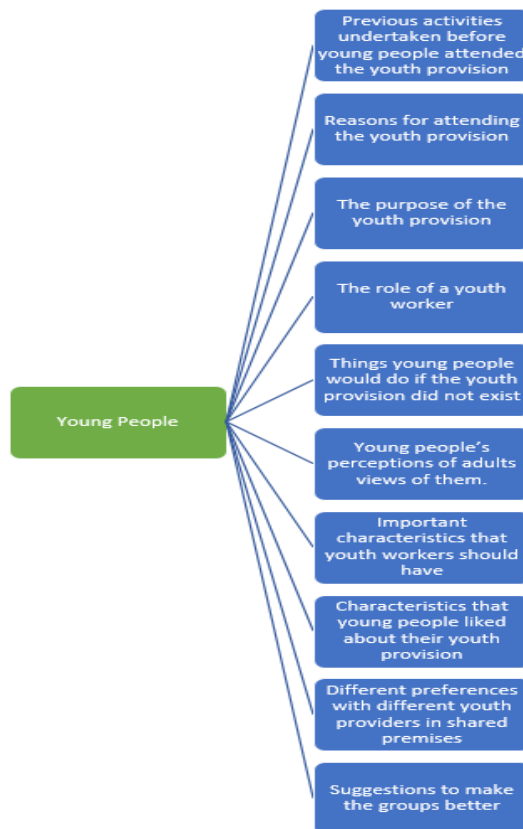


Figure 5 - Initial theme 10



According to Braun and Clarke (2008), phase four should seek to review the initial themes in order to ensure the data fits the theme. Where necessary changes can be made to where the data is sited, or the actual theme can be changed. Once this has been done, they recommend that the whole data is then reviewed to ensure the themes adequately capture the whole data and the story it tells. If required, the themes should be reworked.

In this phase, I was confident that some of the themes, for example, the 'historic youth work' and 'young people' correctly captured the relevant data and so I left these as they were (see Figures 2 and 5 above).

However, when I reviewed the other themes, I felt that there should be further work undertaken as I felt that some of the themes were not appropriate or could have been amalgamated with others or that new themes should be created. So that a better cohesive story was captured, I undertook various changes.

Firstly, I removed any themes which were unrepresentative of the experience of the majority of the cases. For example, in respect to the community topic I took out the theme 'an active church' as it was only relevant in one of the cases.

I then concentrated on reforming the remaining themes, producing a revised set as shown below and in Appendices 20-21:

Figure 6 - Revised theme 1

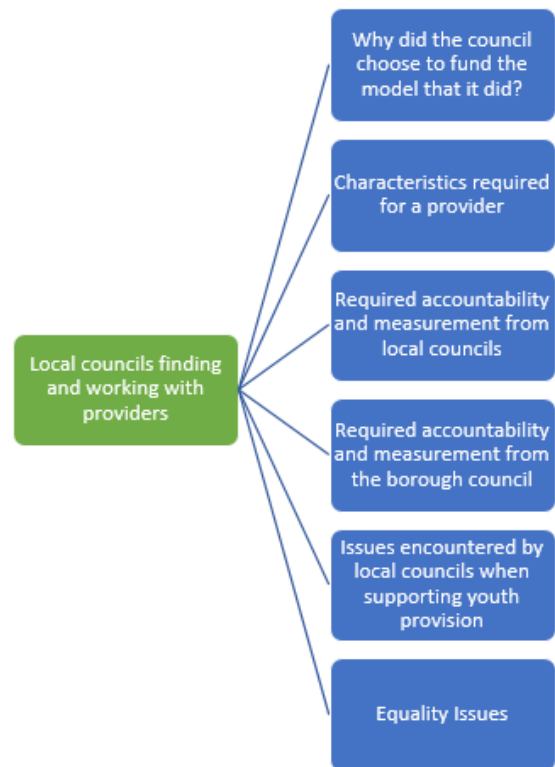
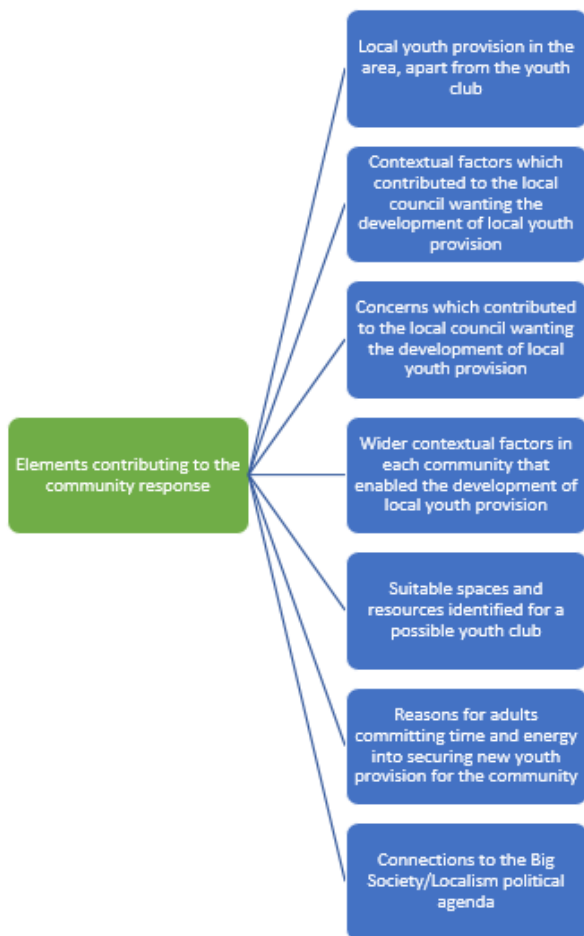


Figure 7- Revised theme 2

Figure 8 - Revised theme 3

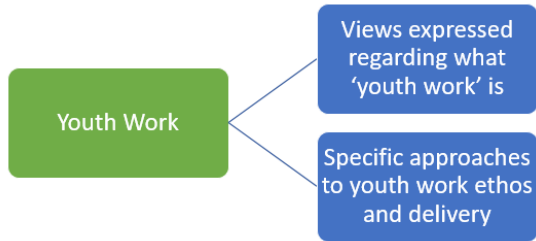


Figure 9 - Revised theme 4

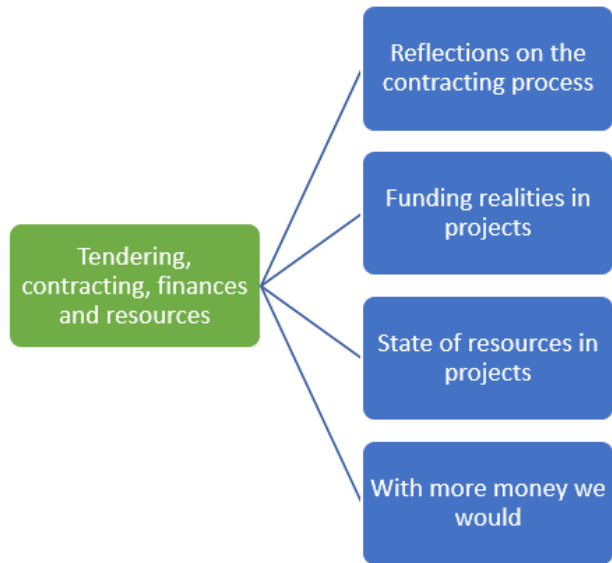
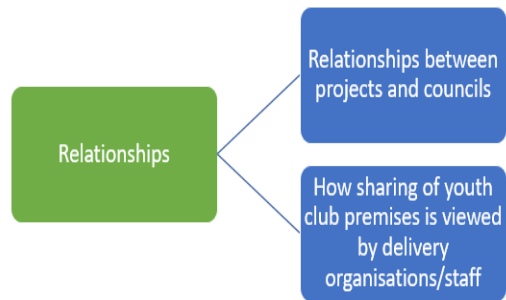


Figure 10 – Revised theme 5

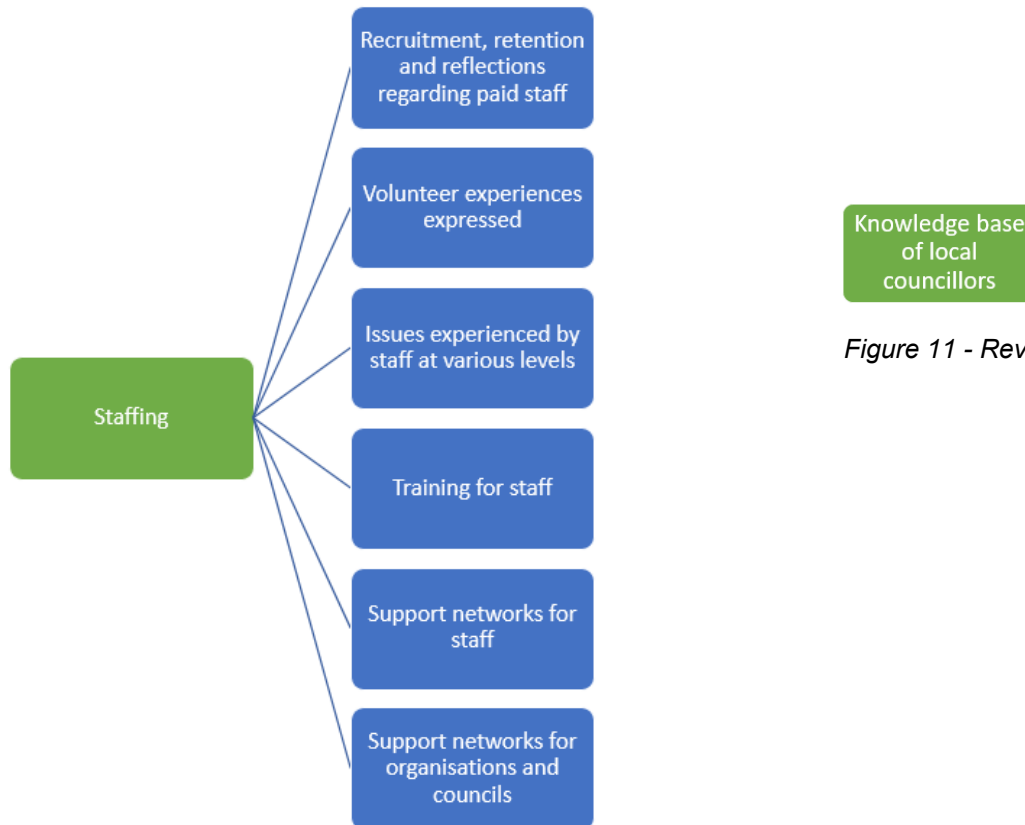


Figure 11 - Revised theme 6

Figure 12 – Revised theme 7

When comparing the first set of the themes to this second set, there have been a number of changes.

Many themes have been relabelled and by doing so, they allowed the theme to include other themes and so some could be removed. For example, ‘Leadership and management’ has been removed as a separate item and the data has now been included in wider themes such as ‘Issues experienced by staff at various levels’. Another example of this was ‘Advice and guidance’ and this was placed under a similar section in ‘Staffing’.

Other changes included splitting up themes, e.g. ‘Funding’ which subsequently became focused on the local council’s perspectives, i.e. ‘Local councils finding and working with providers’ and a youth organisations’ perspective, i.e. ‘Tendering, contracting, finances and resources’.

By reviewing the themes extensively, it was also necessary to create new ones when needed. For example, ‘Relationships’ and ‘Knowledge base of local councillors’ as

these themes were deemed to require specific attention, given the relevance of the data and because they didn't neatly fit into other themes.

According to Braun and Clarke (2008, p.91) such a revision should be expected as the themes need to “accurately reflect the meanings evident in the data set as a whole”. As a result, I feel that this revision allowed the adjusted themes to better represent the meanings and the story that the data revealed.

Phase five according to Braun and Clarke (2008) requires each theme and subtheme to be succinctly defined. The definitions for each theme and sub theme are to be found in Appendix 21. These were then used to enable the analysis to produce summarised details for each case, to be found in Appendix 22, which help to describe the story that occurred in each locality and across the whole sample. These can help to form cross-case conclusions (Gray, 2014).

4.17 Discourse and power in the data analysis

As discussed in section 4.7.3.2.2, discourse was considered throughout the data analysis process to ensure that meanings were accurately understood and represented, using consistent comparison (Brink, 1993) and triangulation (Lewis *et al.* 2014).

As discussed in section 4.7.3, with any research there is a risk of bias. Many processes have been described which sought to negate any such risk. However, Foucault (1998, p.94) discussed that power is “intentional” and “operates on the field of possibilities” (Foucault, 2000b, p.341) with power linked to knowledge (Foucault, 1980b). Such an understanding of power made me consider my motivations for this research, as my intentions for the outcomes of the research might interfere with how I processed or understood the data, especially if there could be any unwholesome directedness, subconsciously present. Through reflection and reflexivity (Korstjens and Moser, 2018) I ensured that I aligned myself with the University's research ethics (UoG, 2018), noting especially the requirement of integrity and honesty throughout the research process. Through adopting all previously mentioned processes and making myself accountable to my supervisors, it ensured that any power I had (Foucault, 1991) was directed at producing the best research study possible.

4.18 Conceptual lenses

As a result of the thematic analysis (Appendix 22) I decided to move into a conceptual phase (Lichtman (2014)). This I did by using and applying the conceptual lenses (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013) of Michel Foucault and Zygmunt Bauman to the data, as they both wrote a great deal regarding the contemporary social condition. I thought their ideas would help me to understand what had happened in each case/across the cases, in relation to my research questions.

4.19 Analysis of youth providers

In order to understand the models of youth work which were developed by the youth providers in each of the cases studied, I undertook two further forms of data analysis. I firstly undertook a Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) analysis for each youth provider, based on my observations of their practice and the responses from interviews (see Appendix 23). I also compared and rated each youth provider's practice to many different youth work understandings developed over the years (as discussed in chapter 2) in order to help me understand the type of practice that was being offered in each case (see Appendix 24).

4.20 Summary

This chapter has described my approach to this research study and the steps that I undertook to design and undertake the study. It has also discussed how the data was processed and analysed subsequently, in order that it can be viewed as trustworthy in its entirety (Bryman, 2012).

According to Braun and Clarke (2008) there is one further phase which they described, that should occur when undertaking thematic analysis and that is phase six, reporting, where the researcher, presents their findings. Therefore, I will now discuss the results of this study but will present the results using the conceptual lenses which have been applied to the data.

Chapter 5 – Analysis 1: Governmentality

As a result of the decision taken by Treescape county council to change how it would deliver services for young people, local communities who previously benefitted from local authority funded youth services were faced with a decision to either find a replacement solution for local young people or not. In the four cases studied the local parish/town council responded to these changes by raising their local precept and thus raising extra local resources to fund a replacement service. Michel Foucault developed the term 'governmentality' to describe the process of conducting others through acting on the possible actions that were open to them (Foucault, 2000b) and then used the term to describe how individuals may act upon themselves to achieve a greater sense of wellbeing (Foucault *et al.* 1988). As such, this chapter will explore the data to find some of the possible reasons why these local councils and local community members reacted in the way that they did. It will also consider how these responses demonstrated various forms of governmentality in action across various Governmental levels. However, it will leave the consideration of neo-liberal governmentality till the next chapter.

The chapter therefore will firstly discuss the active nature of community members who had strong links to the previous local authority youth service activities, which when combined with a fear of anti-social behaviour and concern for young people's wellbeing, contributed to various forms of governmentality being used.

The data revealed that there were various other reasons which influenced local responses. These included examples of counter conduct (Foucault 2007a), critical attitude (Foucault, 2007b) and individuals governing the self (Foucault *et al.*, 1988). These were demonstrations of resistance to the changes and helped shape the final community solutions for young people.

Finally, the chapter will explore local responses to the Governments' Big Society agenda (Cabinet Office, 2010b) as local responses can be understood through a national governmentality perspective, as through the use of environmental factors, i.e., changes in funding, local communities did exactly what the national Government agenda envisioned, despite interviewees refuting their actions were in response to such a national initiative.

5.1. Active local citizens/councillors

In the four communities studied it was clear that there were local councillors who wanted to find a local solution for local young people in their community.

For example, Sara, a local councillor in Maple Hill, was one of the people who worked hard to develop youth provision in the community. She had strong networks and was part of a longstanding local fund-raising group which had supported various youth initiatives over the years. In her councillor role she had ensured a building for a new youth centre had been identified, funded, redeveloped, and subsequently staffed. She had put so much time and effort into this and realised that there were not many others who would have done what she had. When she was interviewed, the sense of responsibility that she felt towards the local youth provision was clear:

Sara: So we just don't know how the future is going to work out ... The youth project is only funded year-on-year and now we've lost Steve (a volunteer) who is doing a lot of the fund-raising work. I don't know who's going to be doing things.

Interviewer: So there's quite a lot of pressure on local volunteers?

Sara: A lot of pressure on me actually, 'cause it could all just go...

In Birchwood, the local church leader called Maureen identified that the local community member and councillor who had worked hard for the community and young people was Eddie. Eddie was chair of the local neighbourhood project who had taken over the running of the old youth centre building to make it available for all the community, including young people. Maureen stated:

Eddie's efforts ... made the Community Centre what it is. He has the community at heart and he's really worked hard for the young people here ... He's a key member of the community.

Active citizens made an impact in Oakland, they formed a working group to discuss the way forward. Meg, the local councillor with a young people's remit, explained:

The parish/town council got interested parties together. The meeting was called Youbrary. The youth and library working group... I did all the minutes and the agendas. Key local people were on board including Rory (the chair of

a local neighbourhood project) and John (the previous local authority youth worker). The group also included the local county councillor and Eunice, who worked for the project.

In Elmbrook, there was a group of three parish/town councillors who drove the youth agenda forward in their community. They were in no doubt that, if it wasn't for them, nothing would have happened as Joyce, one of the three councillors stated:

Joyce: No, no question, nothing would have happened without us. I mean the other councillors are very supportive, but it's been this group which has put forward the proposals, has been proactive and has acted.

In all the communities studied, proactive community members, who were parish/town councillors in many cases, were the active ingredients which ensured that young people were catered for locally. They upheld a vision that their local community should take responsibility for young people which would in turn benefit all community members. Foucault (2007a, p.96) discussed that the government of men and things, i.e. their relationships with each other and how they affect wealth and wellbeing, are important concerns for Government. By being proactive such local councillors were making the case that by overseeing provision for young people, positive community outcomes were possible for all, rather than negative outcomes if young people were ignored.

As these local councillors were known locally, they were able to gain support for their ideas and plans, but such support was also due to historical links with the previous local authority youth service. For example, in Birchwood, Debra, the local parish/town clerk, discussed the previous link between the parish/town council and the local youth centre and worker:

There was a good link because there was a management committee and there was a parish/town councillor on that management committee and each year at our annual parish/town council meeting that rep was reappointed ... Various people over the years held the position and that worked very well, and that rep would report back... We also gave a grant to the junior club because the funding that they got from the county council didn't cover work with 8-11s ... so the parish/town council were always very good about funding the junior club.

Similar links between the previous local authority youth worker and the local parish/town council also occurred in Maple Hill, which resulted in a variety of outreach and summer activities being paid for, including funds from the local parish/town council.

In Oakland, the parish/town council was heavily involved with the local authority youth service as the local authority leased the youth club space from the local council, as it was attached to the local council buildings.

A shared history also occurred in Elmbrook between the county council youth worker and the local parish/town councillors. However this history was not positive. It was the councillor's unhappiness with the relationship they had with the previous local authority youth worker, that contributed towards their determination to have something better in place in their community.

In Birchwood, the parish/town council had also found that the previous local authority youth worker had undertaken outreach work in outdoor provision that they had funded, as Debra, the parish/town clerk explained:

The MUGA [Multi Use Games Area] was done first in 2010 and then the skatepark was finished in 2011. The county council youth worker did do outreach work here, so would come up to the facilities here as this became a bit of an outdoor hub. We certainly had a lot of activity here, in terms of young people, in the evenings.

This shared history in Birchwood, meant that when decisions were being taken as to what the community should fund, councillors considered the importance of youth work, along with the views from local community members, as Debra, the parish/town clerk explained:

Although the public themselves didn't respond to our consultation by putting the youth club first on their priority list for funding, to its credit, the parish/town council chose to fund youth provision because they had the experience of funding the junior club for many years. They did understand that something had to be done for young people and so ... essentially what we ended up with was ... a huge increase in our precept ... It leapt up from about 170k a year, to 220k. We put the precept up by 50k, just like that really. That is the

advantage of parish and town councils that they have that flexibility to be able to respond, when needed.

In Foucault's 1976 lecture series (Foucault, 2004) Foucault discussed how he understood that power flowed through local networks and that the role of the individual played an important part as a relay, as part of a chain, who submitted to and exercised power (Foucault, 1980b). He also understood that both power and knowledge were connected, stating that "it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" (Foucault, 1980a, p.52). Therefore, through a Foucauldian perspective, what happened was that local community members used their knowledge of youth work and their communities, networks and positions in order to make a case for their own local community youth provision. By subsequently agreeing to fund local replacements, each council were not only thinking about their local young people but also about the wellbeing of the wider community. They therefore were choosing 'to govern' in a similar way to that Foucault (2007a) discussed, i.e. to ensure the safety and security of those in their charge.

5.2. Conducting behaviour

However, it was discovered that the fear of, or actual known, antisocial behaviour was an identified issue that motivated local parish/town councillors to act and commit funding towards local youth provision. For example, Sara, a local councillor in Maple Hill, discussed the behaviour of some local young people (who she deemed to be 'antisocial'), who congregated in some disused garages:

They [the young people], congregate together until two in the morning and they make a noise and play music. It's a little hidey hole and so that's the ongoing problem we've got ... We do have underage drinking as well ... and cannabis use. We've had one or two people being pulled in [arrested] for it.

Such behaviours were also identified by Ellie, a local youth worker in Maple Hill, who stated:

There is some antisocial behaviour ... Our worry, at the moment, is there is an older lad who has been in trouble with the police and he is hanging around with our oldest lot and influencing them ... so it's trying to talk to the young

people about why they're hanging out with him ... The only antisocial behaviour really is the kids drinking and there's a lot of weed.

In Elmbrook, Becca, one of the parish/town councillors also discussed anti-social behaviour:

The young people felt completely let down because they had lost their youth club and the youth workers ... and this is a place with a lot of ... opportunities and difficulties in it ... it is a very mix bag of people living here. Not providing anything for youth was obviously going to lead to problems, so we were driven by that really - the necessity that there should be something for them.

In Oakland, John, the previous local authority youth worker, said:

The youth club takes place in a building owned by the parish/town council and they know if the youth centre ever shut they'd have a real problem on their hands because the building would be terrorised, it would be smashed up and vandalised and that's what keeps the money running towards youth work.

Reducing perceived anti-social behaviour by young people was also important to Eddie in Birchwood, who was a local councillor and the chair of a charity who took over the previous youth centre. I asked him why he invested so much time and effort into the project:

To me it's involvement, it is community involvement ... it's about being passionate about where you live and what's going on within the community ... I know anti-social behaviour is down, in and around Birchwood 12-13%. I'd like to think I'm making a contribution to that and I'd like to think the parish/town council is making a contribution to it.

Antisocial behaviour was clearly being attributed to young people in these communities either as a result of direct experience or a sense of anticipation that antisocial behaviour would increase if nothing was done. Perhaps such a negative outlook is unsurprising given that young people are often depicted negatively in the media (Hodgkinson and Tilley, 2011; Crawford, 2008; Millie *et al.* 2005; Thomas *et al.* 2004, p.xiii). Perhaps such a negative portrayal was also linked to the national discourse regarding antisocial behaviour, started by Labour and continued as a

priority by the Coalition Government through the implementation of the Anti-Social Crime and Policing Act in 2014 (Home Office, 2017).

However, perhaps local councillors did know their communities well, as when young people were interviewed and asked if antisocial behaviour would rise if there was no youth provision for them, many did think this would be the case. For example, in Oakland, Grace stated:

A lot of young people would probably be at the park, having a drink, maybe ... a smoke ... a gamble ... If I thought about it, they'd be on the streets, having a drink, having a smoke maybe causing a bit of trouble.

In Maple Hill, Oscar & Freddie discussed that young people would:

Oscar: Hang around on the streets ... play football against people's walls and just sit around basically in the way

Freddie: There would be big groups of people everywhere as well

Oscar: Which people would find intimidating, wouldn't they? Most people ... like older people.

In Elmbrook, Isabella stated:

People would be on the streets on a Friday night causing trouble ... because there is stuff here which keeps people entertained and keeps people off the streets, it stops that, where as if this wasn't here, they would have to find their own things to do and a lot of young people aren't mature enough to do the right things.

Foucault (2007a) discussed that Government arranges things in order to achieve an end and to reach certain goals. Locally, one of the goals which appears to be held by all communities was to reduce anti-social behaviour, specifically by young people who potentially could not be counted on to govern themselves (Miller and Rose, 2008). As a result, local councils adopted an array of approaches/technologies to seek to alleviate the issue and thus exercise their governing role in order to “shape, normalise and instrumentalise the conduct, thought, decisions and aspirations of others in order to achieve the objectives they consider desirable” (Miller and Rose,

2008, p.32). Some of the local approaches adopted by the local councils exercising their governance over young people will now be discussed.

5.2.1 Investing in outdoor equipment

In all four communities studied, local parish/town councils had decided to invest in outdoor youth provision as a way of preventing antisocial behaviour and keeping young people out of trouble as the provision helped contain young people and distract them/keep them busy. Such provision differed in each community but tended to include a Multi-Use Games Area (MUGA) and skatepark. Birchwood council was one of the first, out of the four communities, to invest in such provision as Debra, the council clerk of Birchwood stated:

Back in 1999, kids would come out into the parks and there would be all manner of stuff going on in terms of anti-social behaviour, including vandalism which proved quite difficult to combat, but as a result of neighbourhood policing and the council installing the first half pipe things started to improve. Eventually new facilities were installed in 2010. Although we do get the odd bit of silliness now, it's nothing like it used to be ... all the money that we used to spend on dealing with vandalism and antisocial behaviour, that isn't going out anymore, so investing in such provision has paid off.

By investing in outdoor youth provision Birchwood council had clearly reaped the benefits but finding the right location for such youth provision was as important as the provision itself, as the location could also be used to affect behaviour. Such a governing strategy was understood by Foucault as he wrote about how space could be used to exercise power (Foucault, 2000c) and was a concept that the Elmbrook parish/town council became aware of when deciding on a suitable location for work with young people. This was because, some of the local councillors initially thought that having young people gather in an unused shop on the high street would be ideal; but when they tried this, they had negative feedback, as Joyce a local councillor explained:

There were concerns about young people collecting and being together and people not liking them gathering in the high street. We were very aware the high street, although in one sense it was ideal, was deemed not appropriate as it could aggravate a lot of people.

The result was that they chose to locate their youth provision (a skate park and youth centre) outside the main business and residential areas, on the periphery of a local park. By taking into account such feedback demonstrates how the local parish/town council understood the complex nature of government; as Foucault (2007a) discussed, where the link between young people and businesses needed to be reconsidered and the needs of all were taken into account. The result was that the move had similar positive effects to the Birchwood experience. Joyce discussed the change:

A year or two before the skate park was built, there had been some people who had complained that they had been knocked down by young people on bikes in the high street and there was a little bit of antisocial behaviour beginning to surface ... that might have got worse, it seems to have got better now.

By thinking about the location of their youth provision, the local council changed the behaviour of the adults towards young people, as they could no longer see them gathering in the high street. They also affected the behaviour of the young people by giving them space away from any buildings and people, thus avoiding any nuisance complaints. By subsequently locating the youth centre by the skatepark, this provided an element of adult support, as Tom, one of the youth workers stated:

I guess the youth centre was placed very centrally [by the skate park] to create more of a youth friendly area, to kind of create more space for young people so it could tackle some of the issues that young people were having ... I think specifically it was street drinking.

Therefore, Elmbrook parish/town council used space as a technology of government (Foucault, 2000c), as they used it strategically to contain young people away from adult dominated areas to where young people could be themselves, and not be either tempted to be involved in antisocial behaviour or were accused of such actions.

However, in communities such as Oakland and Maple Hill, locating the youth provision away from built up areas, was not possible and as a result, adults did complain, as Sara, a local councillor in Maple Hill stated: "there has been an increase in litter and the children sitting outside and kicking a ball around the car

park and climbing on the walls.” As a result, the council installed Close Circuit Television (CCTV) to monitor behaviour.

Surveillance was also a tactic used at the Oakland youth centre which was adjoined to the parish/town council premises with a MUGA next to it. Whilst CCTV was present both inside and outside the youth centre to monitor behaviour, the fact the provision was at the centre of the community meant that all activities and behaviour could be seen by adults and reported.

Foucault discussed the power that surveillance could have on an individual, when they knew they could be watched at any given moment, which he called panopticism (Foucault, 1991). Panopticism is explored further in Chapter 7 but was used in the communities studied, as a mechanism to encourage and discourage certain behaviours by those who were seeking to conduct the behaviour of others (De St Croix, 2016).

Therefore, various technologies of governmentality were evident in the communities through the planning and implementation of outdoor youth facilities to ensure that the conduct of young people (Foucault, 2000b) was being governed in efficient and effective ways.

5.2.2 Investing in indoor provision

Whilst outdoor youth provision was invested in, all communities also wanted to develop indoor provision via youth clubs as a way to govern the behaviour of local young people. As such they commissioned youth organisations to work in the youth centres and thus provide a place young people could attend. For some, this commitment to indoor youth provision was also motivated by the need to deal with anti-social behaviour. For example, John, the previous local authority funded youth worker from Oakland, felt that the reason local councillors supported the youth project was “as a diversion and something to do ... so if they can get 30 young people off the street in 2 hours then they are happy.”

Similar views were shared in Maple Hill and Elmbrook by local councillors and community members, regarding the purposes of their youth centres. Tom, a youth worker who worked out of Elmbrook youth centre, for example, summed up the underlying motivation found across all four communities:

The motivation behind the youth work was to tackle antisocial behaviour and a need to provide something for young people. They do realise that there is antisocial behaviour, but they chose to address it by giving them somewhere to go.

Jeffs and Smith (1999) discussed how young people are often viewed in a negative way in society and how measures of control have been developed as a result. Youth work, whilst not envisioned as a means of control, has often marketed itself as a way of dealing with antisocial and destructive behaviour as this function has attracted funding. Such discourse from the youth work community may explain why the four local councils decided to fund localised youth provision where young people were given their own space and youth workers.

However the understanding of local councillors, relating to the role, purpose and potential that professional youth work had, varied. It appeared that some may have viewed the youth centres as nothing more than safe spaces, where youth workers were authorised adults to be 'young people sitters', i.e., make sure nothing harmful happened and keep them entertained. Such an attitude was present in Oakland, as explained by Elisha, the Oakland council clerk.

I think the youth centre is seen by many of the councillors as somewhere for the kids to go in an evening that's safe and in which they can play games. I don't think they've got any expectations of content, e.g., information on drugs, alcohol or sexual health or whether those things have to take place or not. I think it's just about having somewhere safe in the evenings and somewhere for them to go and give them something to do.

This will further be explored in Chapter 8.

This approach could be viewed in different ways. From a Foucauldian perspective, the practice of separating, isolating and excluding people is associated with the treatment of those which were perceived to be mad (Foucault, 1988b) as well as those understood to be criminals (Foucault, 1991). The use of confinement was an act of discipline in order to shape behaviour and create a docile body (Foucault, 1991). Therefore, from this perspective, the establishment of such youth provision could be interpreted as a way of social control and community discipline.

However, from another perspective, argued by Fisher and Guescu (2011) communities should take responsibility for their children and young people in an effort to keep them safe using appropriate networks/social capital. In so doing children and young people could draw on support to further their own development. Perhaps the provision of such a safe space was what the Oakland councillors envisioned.

Whilst achieving reductions in anti-social behaviour could be used by local councillors for their own political causes, Emma, a youth worker in Maple Hill, realised that such political manoeuvres were not a feature in her local understanding:

Regardless of whether the youth club was formed because the parish/town council wanted to lessen antisocial behaviour or whether it was that they were fearful of young people rioting, I know they were doing it from the right place. I can't stand here and say that they have used young people to make themselves look good because I do genuinely think that it was done for all the right reasons.

Traditionally, youth work does not seek to be a technology of social control keeping young people off the streets and out of trouble (Ministry for Education, 1958), nor does it seek to be a mechanism to restrict movement of young people in order to keep them safe (Jeffs and Smith, 1998). Instead, trained youth workers seek to work with young people, through informal education, in order for young people to develop, manage risk, be empowered and be able to participate in society in a meaningful way as active citizens (LSIA, 2012), rather than being shut away and isolated from contact with the community. Such a positive hope for youth work was held by the councillors in Elmbrook. Becca, one of the councillors shared her excitement:

We've had our first case of young people taking up a really positive initiative ... the young people came up with this idea that they wanted to open a tuck shop from the youth club to support young people in their town. I think this is something we are keen to see more of happen, where they feel empowered in various ways. We also hope that some of the young people will decide and be guided to become leaders themselves ... so this is what we hope, home grown leadership that will have a huge impact on the community.

How therefore, should these positions be reconciled, i.e., funding youth provision as a form of social control versus the development and wellbeing of young people?

One possible solution is by understanding the drive and commitment of the active councillors as a form of pastoral power governmentality, which is concerned for the welfare of those under its care. Whilst Foucault (Foucault, 2000b) recognised that pastoral power was initiated by the church to guide members, helping them shape and develop their own conduct, he understood that this form of power had been adopted in other areas. Such forms had built on the earlier characteristics of pastoral power which were salvation orientated, sacrificial, individual and truth seeking.

The new practices of pastoral power had developed new meanings for salvation like health, wellbeing and security, e.g., protection against accidents (Foucault, 2000b). In the examples discussed above, the base line of provision expected was safety; not only was each centre to be safe but offer a safe haven where either young people could not get into trouble or others trouble young people. However, in many of the centres, the commissioned providers oversaw an individual's personal wellbeing through educational interventions or through sexual health schemes, which both involved individuals discussing their individual situations and deciding next steps based on understandings of best practice and truth. All of this was achieved as a result of the sacrifice made by local councillors in terms of time and energy, in developing local youth provision. Pastoral Power therefore links the various approaches to governing together, as the local councils commissioned youth providers to be more than just a 'youth sitting' service, in most cases striving to support the educational development of local young people.

5.3. Resistance

According to Foucault (1998), resistance was often associated with the enactment of power. In the cases studied, resistance for some individuals was a motivating factor which affected the final shape of the localised response. From a governmentality perspective, such individuals were concerned with how they were being governed and decided to make a stand and demonstrate how they wanted to be governed instead.

For example, in Oakland, objections and expressions of resistance were shown by young people and members of the local community in public meetings, as John, who was the local authority youth worker at the time, described:

We had community meetings which happened across the county ... we had 200 people turn up ... they just wanted the youth centre kept open. It included 100 teenagers, which was really good from my point of view ... The Treescape council sent a lot of their senior staff/commissioners over and they got roasted, completely roasted. We also got involved in their consultation event and we went to Ridgewell and 2 of my young people completely took the county councillor involved, completely to the cleaners, to the extent I felt sorry for him ... That persuaded the parish/town council that they needed to look after youth work. There was such an outcry in the locality.

These demonstrations helped to stress to the local parish/town councillors that there was support for the local youth centre across the members of the local community.

The type of resistance that the young people from Oakland displayed, was a form of counter conduct. Foucault (2007a) discussed this as a form of resistance where people wanted to be governed differently (Lorenzini, 2016). Therefore, through a Foucauldian perspective, the local young people were standing up to the proposed changes, asking not to be governed in the way that Treescape county council wanted, i.e. through the technologies of the self (in the prospect of no youth centre/provision) but were showing their contentment for how they currently were being governed, i.e. through funded youth provision with trained staff.

In Birchwood, there appeared to be little resistance to the changes in funding, until after the changes had taken place. The previous local authority dedicated youth centre was 'given over' to the local neighbourhood project and became a generic community centre, which included some forms of youth provision. However, when the Birchwood neighbourhood project began to run sessions for young people, local young people, who felt that the community centre's space was theirs, also returned and started to behave badly. Elizabeth, the volunteer treasurer, shared her experience:

They came in; stood on the chairs; they just wanted to wreck the place... I think it was against the cuts. They used to have this place for four/five days a

week. They used to come in; they used to what they wanted to do. I think the previous youth worker did lots of things with them and when they went, it was a complete change and it appeared we were to blame for her going ... They thought that we'd got her the sack and we'd chucked her out and it was all Eddies' fault and my fault for chucking her out and getting her the sack and they were very much against us and I think this is why they were a little bit unruly.

As a result, Eddie, the new manager of the community centre, chose to close down open access youth sessions and focus instead on a project-based approach.

Such resistance by young people could be interpreted in different ways. From the perspective of deviance, young people were expressing their feelings regarding the social structures that were impacting on them (Raby, 2005) and were responding against adult regulation and adult decisions (Wood, 2012). However, according to Foucault, resistances "are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised" (Foucault; 1980d, p.142). For young people in this community centre, they were experiencing the impact of the county council decisions, which they were not happy about. Firstly, the space they had understood as their own since it was built, they had lost. Secondly, their youth worker, which they had formed strong attachments towards, had also left. As such, their behaviour can be viewed as a form of counter-conduct (Foucault, 2007a) as they didn't want the enforced change and be governed by new people, with new ideas. Yet, by showing their disapproval, the young people themselves exerted power, which, in turn, was resisted by the centre new manager, who subsequently made the decision to move away from open access youth provision to project work, demonstrating an element of struggle between the various parties involved.

Lorenzini (2016) argued that Foucault (2007b) developed his thinking about counter-conduct further, to take into account the will of individuals and called it 'critical attitude'. Such a 'critical attitude' was evident in Elmbrook, when the three active local councillors committed to seeing youth provision happen in their community, decided to act. Joyce, one of the councillors explained how she responded to the changes to local authority youth service funding: "The young people are the future

and I just thought I had to ... I couldn't sit back and honestly let it happen.” Becca, another councillor stated:

I've been involved with Guides for 20 years, you can see just how great young people are how actually they need to be supported and they need to have opportunities to do stuff, so yeah I wanted to give young people options ... but also anger ... anger at cuts, we can't let this happen to us and our community.

The strength of their feelings drove them to find a local solution, resulting in the development of both a skate park and a new youth centre in their community. This form of resistance was a ‘critical attitude’ (Foucault, 2007b) response because they disagreed with the way in which they were being governed from the county council, above them. Therefore they took the attitude ‘look what we can do’, in order to demonstrate to those with more decision-making power in the county council, that they were capable of self-conducting (Foucault *et al*, 1988) their own affairs and produce community resources which were much better than had been provided previously from the local authority.

Foucault (1998) recognised that resistance would bring change in individuals and groups, remoulding individuals and creating new groups. Whilst it is clear how individuals and groups were affected by the changes in the above experiences, what is notable is that because of their resistance, change did occur through a process of regrouping and moving forward. In Oakland a local organisation was formed and took over the running of the youth provision. In Elmbrook and Maple Hill the drive of the local councillors developed new youth provision, whilst in Birchwood the young people decided to leave their old provision leaving the new organisation to try and start a new approach from scratch.

5.4. What Big Society?

The County Council changes to youth services happened just after the new Coalition Conservative and Liberal Democrat Government was formed and new austerity policies were announced. Along with the discourse of austerity, the importance of local community action via the Big Society agenda (Blond, 2010) was stressed, as discussed in Chapter 1. This agenda sought to shift the focus of communities from what Government could provide, to what they could achieve (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011). However, when interviewees were

asked if they saw a link between their actions and the Big Society agenda, the majority of interviewees responded that there was no such connection. Instead, they perceived the local community response as being characteristic of the local community culture because local people cared about their locality. This view was summed up by Terry, a youth worker who had worked in Birchwood, who speaking about his experience of working in the locality stated: "So, there have always been individuals here that have had that kind of mindset which says - we need to be doing something for the community, we need to be in the community and part of the community."

This sense of ownership and commitment to the local community was present before the Big Society agenda was launched, as Sophie, a trustee for the 'Faith Matter's organisation who worked in Elmbrook, stated: "The Big Society I think was just David Cameron's con. The Big Society was operating. In a place like Elmbrook, it's all the stuff that we were already doing."

This scepticism was also shared by Rory, the chair of the 'Oakland Project', who said:

I think the Big Society has been going on quietly, quiet merrily for years and years. I think it is what you would call the British way of life actually and I think that is why most people who work in the voluntary sector gave it a big raspberry when David Cameron announced it, 'cause everyone said, 'We're already doing that mate'. You know ... you think about scout groups, football clubs, rugby clubs ... all of that stuff is already going on. I think probably rightly most people just thought it was a kind of way of doing stuff on the cheap really ... I have a lot of sympathy with that view.

There were many who shared Rory's perceptive that the Big Society agenda was just a way to save money, such as Phoebe a local youth worker in Maple Hill who said: "I don't think the Big Society has legs to it, I think the Big Society is a big cop out ... I think this whole Big Society is a scam, we're saving money because we can all look after each other."

Despite, local citizens being quite sure that their response was not prompted by the political rhetoric or discourses surrounding the Big Society, in terms of governmentality local citizens in the communities studied, were doing exactly what

national Government wanted to see happen, i.e. taking responsibility for local services. This was as a result of funding changes made from national Government to local authorities and local authorities prioritizing their responsibilities. The changes which resulted prompted individuals to use their own freedom to deal with the changes. Therefore, governmentality was not only being implemented via change in the environment but also through regulated freedom, where individuals were both subject of power and the means through which power was exercised (Foucault, 2000b). The resulting projects achieved, were a success for the local active citizens and their communities but also a success for the county and national tiers of Government, as the demand on their services had now ceased.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the way four local communities in Treescape county, reacted to the changes to local authority youth service provision and has discussed some of their responses and reasons for their actions.

Informed by their previous experience of local authority youth work, active citizens, including local councillors decided that they needed to act and take responsibility for local services. In so doing, local councils took over the government of local young people as they feared the rise in anti-social behaviour would harm the wellbeing of individuals and their community as a whole. Therefore, various strategies of governmentality were demonstrated in order to keep young people off the streets through using outdoor and indoor provision for young people. Pastoral power (Foucault, 2000b) was suggested as the underpinning concept to such action.

Various reasons and motivations were explored regarding the responses of individuals and groups and it was discovered that various forms of resistance were present which energised them to take action, which included forms of counter conduct (Foucault, 2007a) and 'critical attitude' (Lorenzini, 2016; Foucault 2007b).

Many locals believed that they became active because they believed in a local community culture/spirit. However, it appeared that there may have been a wider governmentality strategy at work, given the context of national Government discourses wanting local communities to take more responsibility for local services. This is because it seemed that national Government agendas were achieved through the strategies of environmental and contextual changes (Foucault, 2007a; Foucault,

2000b) which prompted locals to use their freedom to enact changes that were desired nationally.

However, the local response to county and national agendas were within the context of advancing neoliberal governmentalities and technologies. The next chapter will explore the presence of such neoliberal concepts and practices at the local level and discuss how these had mixed with locally important held values which then developed into localised practices. These subsequently impacted on contracted youth providers and helped shape the nature of localised youth provision.

Chapter 6 – Analysis 2: Neoliberal Governmentality

The previous chapter explored how local active community members, including parish/town councillors, became motivated to ensure that their local community established youth provision for young people in their area. By local parish/town councils choosing to fund provision, they took over the governing of the young people in their community in order that their communities would benefit from the various strategies of governmentality which they adopted. By doing so these local communities helped achieve national Government objectives, and so were part of larger strategies of governmentality employed at this time.

Yet such local developments were also in the context of neoliberal rationalities of government (Kelly, Campbell and Harrison, 2013; Rose, 1996) which have been embedding themselves in society (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018; Dean 2014) as regimes of truth (Foucault, 1980c). They are associated with neoliberal concepts such as competition, enterprise, marketisation, homo-economicus as well as practices associated with securing and monitoring potential youth providers in the cases studied. Many of which were discussed by Foucault (2010) in his 1978-1979 lectures and contemporary examples were found in the data sample.

This chapter therefore explores the impact that such neoliberal governmentalities, understandings and practices had in the cases studied. The chapter will firstly discuss how a new market for youth providers was stimulated from local councils choosing to fund local youth provision from their ability to raise funds via their precept. However, money wasn't the only important element required for the communities to act because, as the last chapter highlighted, there were many examples of active local community members. Many of these active locals, demonstrated qualities of homo-economicus, revealing that neoliberalisation (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018; Dean 2014; Hall, 2011; Peck and Ticknall, 2002) was occurring at a local level. Yet there appeared to have been a mix of approaches linked to how the local councils found, contracted with and monitored youth providers; as it was discovered that such processes were also influenced not only by embedded neoliberal understandings but also by local values and local understandings. This mix of local values, embedded neoliberal understandings and associated practices used created a unique situation, which I call 'the loconomy.'

This local hybrid mix of ideas proved to be challenging to youth providers who had been, or who were interested to be, contracted to deliver youth provision. This was because they had to adapt their ways of working to each different local parish/town council requirements, as relationship was seen to be of great importance to the local communities. The chapter ends by discussing reporting mechanisms in 'the loconomy', which did not resemble the requirements which existed in the wider sector (McGimpsey, 2017; De St Croix, 2018) due to a mix of local understandings and approaches.

6.1 Marketisation

In Chapter 2 I discussed how neoliberal ideology was being used as a basis for the rationality of government (Kelly, Campbell and Harrison, 2013; Rose, 1996) which impacted the decisions and processes that various ruling parties in Government adopted. When the Coalition Government was formed in 2010, neoliberal governmentality was repeatedly demonstrated. For example, the central Government choosing not to ringfence funding for local universal youth services was an instance of a 'roll back' approach and a disassembling of services (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015; Peck and Ticknall, 2002;). This approach is a contemporary characteristic of neoliberal governmentality, which has sought to remove the responsibility from the Government providing services, such as any related welfare (Dean, 2014), wanting others instead to take responsibility for them. Yet, this could also be perceived as a 'roll out' neoliberal approach (Peck and Ticknall 2002), where the Government sought to build on the previous Labour administration's marketisation of youth services. This was clearly stated in October 2010 by the Government at the House of Commons Education Select Committee, as they stated:

We want to stimulate a fundamental shift in the role of local authorities in services for young people to enable a radical re-engineering of provision so more is delivered by voluntary and community organisations, greater private sector involvement leads to greater leverage for public funding, and local authorities themselves become strategic commissioners rather than default providers of services with a greater emphasis on value for money and the effectiveness and impact of funded services. (The House of Commons, 2011, p.36).

Such a rationality was further set out in PfY (DfE 2011b) which also sought to develop and support the sector to develop an evidence base, so that further technocratic rationality could be established.

Within Treescapely county, before the Coalition Government introduced austerity measures, there were limited opportunities for a marketised youth sector due to the dominant place that the county youth service had taken, as explored in Chapter 8. However, by choosing to modify local authority funding, the effect in Treescapely county was a significant change, which provided the opportunity for a new marketised youth sector to be created. This was achieved through local parish/town councils using their precept to fund local services. The fact that national, county and lower tiers of government were involved in creating the conditions for such a market was a direct outcome of neoliberal rationality being implemented and the process of neoliberalisation occurring (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018; Dean 2014; Hall, 2011; Peck and Ticknall, 2002). As such, this process was as Foucault (2010) described, where competition was stimulated and made possible through Governmental action in an area which previously was not affected.

In all communities studied, the local parish/town councils raised the funds to pay for a local youth provision to be provided and as a result, chose a solution which they felt was right for their community. In Birchwood, as the local council wanted to see young people catered for at 'The Birchwood Community Centre', they chose to support the neighbourhood project, via a grant to ensure young people used the building. In Oakland, the council wanted to keep the team behind the existing local youth provision and so supported their own local community project, in order to keep stability in the youth provision. However, in Elmbrook and Maple Hill, as new youth centres had been developed, they needed to find suitable organisations to run the youth provision. Therefore, they undertook a competitive process in order to find a suitable youth organisation. However, according to Anne, the parish clerk from Elmbrook, they "found very little choice of organisations because the marketplace was quite limited. We only had two providers who we could look at." What this experience demonstrated is that the implementation of neoliberal concepts and associated processes and practices can be slow and uneven (Dean 2014) with a hybrid mix (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018) of practices possible, e.g. competitive tendering and grant giving. Localised neoliberal understandings and

variations in practices are therefore possible (Peck, 2013; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Lerner, 2000) as there will be specific contextual issues that will have an effect on the implementation.

6.2 The entrepreneurial self

As discussed in Chapter 3, Foucault (2010) in his 1978-1979 lectures explored the development of homo-economicus, i.e., economic man, who had the potential through their own entrepreneurial skills to read the environment and respond accordingly, providing for themselves and their family, rather than relying on the state. As such, economic man, pursues his/her own interests, investing in themselves. However, as they do so and respond to changes in the environment, they become governable (Foucault, 2010).

There were many examples of individuals in the communities studied who displayed characteristics of homo-economicus. These people responded to the environment and as responsible active citizens used their free will to achieve beneficial outcomes for themselves and their community. Such examples will now be discussed.

In Oakland, the community found that both their library and their youth club were under threat due to the changes in local authority funding. John, the local youth worker who was employed by the county council at the time, had perceived the direction of travel so had brought people together to find a local solution. What transpired, was that the local neighbourhood project was completely overhauled with the hope that it could be used to run both community assets with support of the local parish/town council. During this process, Rory, a local community member, volunteered his support and subsequently became the chair of the 'Oakland Project'.

Essentially, I joined as a member of the management committee and then soon afterwards got voted on as a trustee. I was the one who did most of the work on the business plan because of my background in that professional capacity... It was actually quite exciting if I'm honest, I think we felt that there was a huge opportunity here, especially John in terms of youth work as there were lots of opportunities that you could exploit, once you were away from county council control, such as being commissioned for work in other communities. Therefore, I felt that through this project there was an opportunity to create something really interesting. My other big motivation

was that I'm passionate about social mobility. I've been quite lucky, I've come from quite humble roots, but I've been to University. A lot of my peers didn't get the same opportunities and you see how people get trapped in circumstances. To try and create opportunities for people was also a strong motivator for my involvement.

Rory appears to epitomise the entrepreneurial self in various ways. Firstly, he invested in himself by going to University and then developed a good level of knowledge and skills in his place of work. However, as homo-economicus he was receptive to possible opportunities that presented themselves as a result of the sector becoming marketised, as he could see possible ways in which the youth work undertaken by the 'Oakland project' could benefit others in return for payment. Through his commitment to this project, whilst he was making a difference in this community and the lives of others, he was also helping himself develop further through new experiences thus maximising his long-term career prospects by the use of the choices he made (Foucault, 2010; Kelly, 2006; Rose, 1996).

Whilst Rory showed characteristics of homo-economicus, there were examples in Maple Hill and Elmbrook of local councillors using their own freedom as local citizens to achieve community orientated goals, whilst demonstrating innovative skills in the context of an enterprise society. For example, Sara, a parish/town councillor in Maple Hill was not only at the forefront of finding, securing and refitting a local building to be a new youth centre, she was also at the heart of developing an imaginative idea of four local parish/town councils sharing the costs for youth work delivery across a number of communities.

Sara: I went to a county forum meeting and met the chair who is also the leader of the county council. I stood up and said what we were doing, and he suddenly cottoned onto the idea that we were planning to join together with three other localities so the money that was coming from county i.e., the £50,000 could be shared ... He thought that this was a wonderful idea to do this ... The idea came from me, telling the chief executive of district council, we need to get the four local communities together, and it was an embryonic thing and it's grown.

What started off as sharing a simple idea, quickly grew into the 'Youth Collective' showcase project which achieved the aim of securing youth provision in four separate communities, one of which was Maple Hill.

In Elmbrook, the councillors used their freedom and demonstrated their enterprising and entrepreneurial abilities by seizing an opportunity that would provide the solution to their need of a youth club building Joyce, a local councillor explained:

There was a chance conversation at a parish/town council meeting that the company who make student accommodation blocks locally, was about to close, so we looked at each other and said - we need to get some don't we ... someone needs to phone ... so I gave them a phone, to who, I don't know ... through various conversations I found out that they had donated a block before and they would do so again ... The consequence was six weeks later we had a phone call - would we go down there ... we looked at the blocks and decided they would be great. Someone said we needed four, someone else said six and we ended up with six. They had to be removed instantly so we had to hire a crane and they were put on a carpark ... They were there for about fifteen months. Then we persuaded the town council to make these six units into a youth centre.

In Birchwood, Eddie, a local councillor who was also chair of the local neighbourhood project, took over the running of the old youth centre building changing the name and form to 'Birchwood Community Centre.' He did this to demonstrate to others, especially the county council, how a community building should be run and become sustainable. He was really proud of the income he had generated. Eddie recounted the following story:

The caretaker, who looked over the building when the county council had it, said to me recently "why couldn't the County Council have done with this building then, what you've done with it now?" I said, "I don't know because had they have done ... they'd have been a damn more sustainable than what they were." It would be interesting to see whether anybody picks this up on their radar in years to come.

As entrepreneurs of the self, the persons discussed above had a return on their investment which was the continuation of youth provision in buildings that they

helped to secure as long-term local assets. These could be perceived as a local legacy for their efforts. As local community members, they also benefitted from young people being 'occupied' in their community but most importantly, given local elections, they could also point towards such successes, to support a rationale for re-election.

These examples demonstrate that within a contemporary context where enterprise, entrepreneurialism and individual responsibility were being encouraged, these local citizens used their individual freedom to achieve what was needed in the local community (Kelly, 2006; Rose, 1996). Whilst each individual was displaying a sense of responsibility for their community, in the context of neoliberal governmentality their actions were shaped by the created environment (Foucault, 2010; McNay, 2009; Miller and Rose, 2008) even though their specific actions were outside of any formal control (Rose, 1996). This created environment was not only down to the changes to funding of youth services but perhaps also to continued 'neoliberalisation' (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018; Dean 2014; Hall, 2011; Peck and Ticknall, 2002), i.e. the embedding and rolling out of neoliberal ideals and forms of self-government (Foucault, 2010; Clarke *et al.* 2007; Foucault *et al.* 1988). Individuals certainly took responsibility for themselves, showed entrepreneurial spirit and enterprise but mixed these with a concern for those in their civil society community (Foucault, 2010) which they considered as 'normal' (Foucault, 1980c).

This unique mongrel blend (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018; Dean, 2014; Peck, 2013) of neoliberal understandings and practices, mixed with locally held values, gave rise to localised processes and practices which affected those undertaking the provision of youth services. This unique blend and mix will be referred to as the 'loconomy'. This will be discussed further, alongside the concept of 'enactment', in section 10.2.

6.3 The loconomy - contracting

According to McGimpsey (2017) the youth sector has been subject to a late neoliberal regime which as a result of austerity has redistributed capital, developed a market trading in future outcomes, whilst attaching a monetary value on returns on investments through the measurement and economic calculation of impacts. Whilst the redistribution of capital was the reason for local parish/town council having to

source their own youth provision for the first time, what was not evident in the communities studied was the associated technocratic rationality, which McGimpsey (2017) identified was evident in the wider youth sector. Instead, local parish/town councils appeared to be focused on getting the right youth provider to deliver appropriate local services in a way that met local needs in terms of delivery and management. There seemed not to be the knowledge of or the motivation around understanding the wider developments that were happening in the youth sector at the time. Local people wanted a local solution for their young people on their terms.

As a result, each local community had some very specific characteristics that they were after when looking for a youth provider. These specific communities understood that youth work needed to be undertaken in a professional way and they wanted to find youth providers who would take responsibility for staffing the provision and oversee all safeguarding.

In regards staffing, Anne, the parish/town clerk in Elmbrook summed up their requirements:

We knew we had to have people who were properly DBS checked, had the correct training and processes that were going to keep people safe. We also wanted an organisation that was set up properly ... We did consider whether it was worthwhile employing youth workers direct, but I think it's better to have an outsourced organisation because they can always replace staff at the last minute if somebody can't make a session. It's then down to them to find someone else who can stand in.

Natasha, who was a youth worker in Elmbrook for the contracted organisation, 'Youth Aid', also thought they were contracted because:

It means that they don't have to provide line management or professional support. We get all that as standard, plus we can draw on the resources of 'Youth Aid' and those organisations we are networked with to support the work.

Such points were confirmed by the Elmbrook councillors responsible for overseeing the youth provision.

We chose our current provider as workers have all the backup, the support and the training. They support their workers ... we are not youth workers, we're not trained, we're not experts and we need that professional support network.

Diane worked for an infrastructure organisation called 'County Wide Support' and stated:

The parish/town councils wanted to say, "do it for us", in the same way that the county council had done it previously. There are many pressures on communities running this, organising that. We looked at different models and we went through the pros and cons of different kinds of community led solutions and they just said – "we do not want to be the one who is rung up at five to seven saying that there is no staff there and there are thirty youngsters waiting, we want to pass on the responsibility for this to a provider" and that is what they did, they are paying to pass on the responsibility.

In such responses, the priority was on the capacity of youth providers to deliver a level and standard of service, rather than focussing on predetermined measurable outcomes and impacts.

Safeguarding was another concern they also wanted youth providers to take responsibility for. However, it was through this issue that an interesting dynamic was identified, as youth providers seemed to exploit their expertise and the limited knowledge of the parish/town councils, as John, a youth worker, from Oakland explained:

The parish/town council occasionally consider managing the youth work directly but the clerk of course, would be the person responsible for it. When they make those noises, and they did make those noises a few times, I said, "well that's fine but who's going to be your safeguarding person?" and "who is going to be on call every night till 9 o'clock?" They do not fancy that. I then point out that's what I'm doing, on duty with my phone on every night till nine to respond, if there is a safeguarding issue.

Bob, the development manager from 'Youth Aid', when he offered advice and support to local councils who considered developing local youth work, stated:

To all communities, I scare mongered. I said “what happens if your community are running a club and at five to nine a young person discloses something to one of your team, do you know what to do? Do you have those safeguards in place?” That's what made lots of communities think that they needed an organisation who knows what they're doing and could support or undertake their delivery.

According to Bob, marketisation of youth services was happening across Treescape county and local communities were not considering a joined-up model like Maple Hill, they were seeking to follow their own agenda. Such individualistic thinking is a characteristic of neoliberalism (Carpenter, 2017), but this made them quite vulnerable to the promises and claims of the youth providers who were looking for work, as they were demonstrating an awareness of a neoliberal competitive marketplace, as described by Foucault (2010), and were doing what they could to secure a contract.

However, whilst capacity, expertise and cost were factors that were considered by councillors in the process of choosing a youth provider to run their youth provision, a significant factor which was taken into account when choosing a provider was the potential relationship which was to form between the local council and the youth provider. In some cases, due to local history, such a relationship was already in place.

It is important to note that what is not being said, i.e. that anyone acted incorrectly or that any competitive processes were invalid. Rather, what was valued was relational connection, as well as objective delivery, as relational contact was the basis for trustful partnerships

Becca a parish/town councillor from Elmbrook explained, the importance of relationship for them:

We had already connected well with Bob from ‘Youth Aid’, he was very helpful to us in the beginning stages of the process and would do things. He built a relationship with us which was helpful, where we could just ring him up and he would sort things out for us. This continued when we chose them to be our provider.

Bob himself recognised the importance that relationships were having across the wider area that he supported. As a result of building relationships with local communities, his organisation was perhaps the only one being approached to tender for a contract:

If a community wants youth work, then it becomes a good thing when you've got three to four providers that can offer something who then can tender for the contract. There is no bad thing in that ... but I think, at the moment it's more relational.

Relationship was certainly behind the reason Oakwood parish/town council chose to fund its local provider, i.e., the 'Oakland Project'. John, the previous local authority employed youth worker from Oakland discussed the strength of his relationship with the local parish/town council and stated: "I didn't give the local parish/town council an option to look at another provider. They wanted me because we had such a successful track record."

It was the relationship that Eddie had with the local parish/town council which supported his request for funds as he was a known entity. He was subsequently successful in securing money from the local council to provide for young people at the 'Birchwood Community Centre'. He used some of this money to contract another youth provider to supply sports activities for him. In this case, it was also relationships that helped to secure an organisation to do this, as one of his employees, Alyson, already had strong links with 'Dynamic sports'.

We decided to approach 'Dynamic sports' to see if they would be interested in undertaking outreach work. I knew what the vision was of the CEO of 'Dynamic sports.' I said to him "You're keen to pilot quality outreach work, we're keen to have quality sports instruction, how about a partnership?" That was duly arranged and started in January 2013.

However, relationships with youth providers were also the reason why certain organisations were not given the opportunity to explore possible service contracts. For example, Eddie from Birchwood, held a view about a local youth provider, as Martin, a youth worker, who had worked with Eddie explained:

Eddie didn't speak very highly of them [the youth organisation], along with some other workers at the centre, which actually negated any work that they could have done. It was almost like it was personal like "I've had a bad experience, so I don't want others to experience it" ... So, for that reason they weren't invited to get involved.

The influence of relationships affecting decisions was epitomised by the example of Maple Hill. This community wanted to increase the amount of youth sessions available in their youth club, on top of what they were getting from the youth provider within 'The youth collective' initiative. Organisations were asked to submit bids and one was selected. However, instead of 'Youth Aid' who was delivering 'The Youth Collective' project, they chose 'Enterprise for Youth'. It appeared that their experience of 'Youth Aid' was not favourable in this instance and so they chose another provider.

Given that relationships were valued by local parish/town councils, trying to build individual relationships with each local council was problematic for the various youth providers in the marketplace. This was noted by Imogen, the CEO of 'Youth Aid':

I think that people probably miss out because they don't know about the tenders because they don't have the resource to be going to all the meetings and involved in multiple communities, so you won't necessarily know about potential new work.

This same point, was mentioned by Alex, the CEO of 'Enterprise for Youth':

An important challenge, for you as a social educator, is that relationships and the demands/requirements are different in each community. Therefore, keeping a track on these different dynamics and meeting all those different expectations can be tricky.

It was not only keeping in touch with local developments and on top of local relationships which were important for youth providers but also the processes adopted by local communities which needed to be considered. This is because such localised processes were perceived not to be as fair as they could have been. This point was made by Imogen, the CEO of 'Youth Aid':

I don't think that competition is a bad thing, as long as the playing field's clear so that people can openly compete. I guess what I've seen time and time again, is that because parish/town councillors are community minded people, they get to know a provider and then it becomes about individuals, rather than about proper process, so it's who you know, rather than what is best. I think that's confusing for the people/organisations who are competing because you don't know whether you're competing on an open playing field. Linked to this, is that we also keep finding delivery popping up and being delivered that we didn't even know had been available to bid for. Therefore, as a provider of services, it is important to have a clear level playing field, with a proper process in place, so that a good decision can be made as to whether something is right or wrong for you to bid for/deliver. I think that by giving local communities their own control means that the playing field is not always clear, or you can't quite work out what people's motives are.

What Imogen was emphasising is that whilst a local market had developed in the local area, not all opportunities for tendering were made known as there was no centralised data base for low costing contracts. Also, she knew that relationships played an important role in such a localised market which made it hard for any organisation, who didn't have local knowledge and relationships, to potentially be successful. She hints that there may have been issues with some local processes. Alex, the CEO of 'Enterprise for Youth' found that local knowledge on the process for finding and choosing a youth provider, was not strong:

Some communities don't know what they're talking about when it comes to the tendering process. I said to those involved, "we ought to have a bidding tender document which is the specification of what you're looking for...You can't get me to develop that because of I'm going to be bidding against it." So, they said, "we don't know where to start," so I linked them up with a group based elsewhere, got their tender document and showed them. What they did, was ignore that and just said, "can you do something better than the other provider we are currently talking to? I said "No, because I am not going to bid against that provider, I want to compete against your tender documents and there is a difference."

In this situation, Alex, tried to help a local parish/council understand best practice and chose to take an ethical good practice stance, which potentially lost him the work.

However, Alex was not the only youth provider to discover that the understanding of local parish/town councils and their councillors was not strong in relation to overseeing processes linked to youth provision. For example, Rory, the chair of the 'Oakland Project' described:

I recently attended a local council meeting as we had put in a request for some further funding for one of our projects, but some of the questioning which took place was outrageous. It went into the realms of the bizarre, as we got questioned about where all the money they had given had gone going back two - four years ago. I told them that it was predominantly spent on staff salaries and running costs as detailed in the accounts. They seemed to expect that the money was still in the bank, but the work had been done. It was one of those arguments where you couldn't really rationalise it because it didn't make any sense.

In Foucault's discussion of Ordo-liberalism (Foucault, 2010) he explained how competition does not happen naturally, instead it needed Government to ensure that the conditions were right for it to flourish. Whilst contemporary neoliberal characteristics are expected to take on a variety of localised forms (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018; Peck and Ticknall, 2002), it appears that in some of the communities studied, that the localised processes which developed, were down to a lack of knowledge in best practice. When this lack of knowledge was combined with an importance placed on relationship, local hybrid approaches to choosing and contracting youth providers developed. These processes could be justified for auditing purposes but often youth providers felt such localised contracts were not undertaken on a fair level playing field. Perhaps such a situation arose due to the small amount of support for local councils available and due to the time that local councillors had to give to understanding best practice, as a result of the voluntary nature of their role. In Foucault's discussion he states, "Government must accompany the market economy from start to finish" (Foucault, 2010, p.121) and the consequences of no oversight or resources from upper tiers of Government for

localised processes, was the reason this local marketplace took on these characteristics.

6.4 The loconomy - reporting

As part of Foucault's discussion on America neoliberalism he discussed how economic analysis started to be used in social/domestic domains such as the household. This built upon the work of the Ordo-liberals who understood that economic processes could have a regulatory role at "at every moment and every point in society" (Foucault, 2010, p.145). Such a focus of applying accountancy, economic and management technologies to more previously untouched domains has continued in contemporary neoliberalism (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015; Lingard, Martino and Rezai-Rashti, 2013; Rose, 1996) in order to ascertain and analyse the worth of a product, service or process. This has been the case for youth work as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, where the sector as a whole has seen the rise of tools to measure the impact of youth work (De St Croix, 2018; McGimpsey, 2017) despite concerns raised from youth workers (Taylor, 2017; De St Croix, 2016; Davies, 2015; Spence, 2004).

However, despite a rise in the use of such impact measurement processes being required and used within the youth work sector (De St Croix, McGimpsey and Owens, 2019; De St Croix, 2018), such as theory of change and logic models (Duffy, 2017), it was notable that the local parish/town councils did not require the youth providers, who they had contracted, to use such tools. Instead, local youth providers were only required to focus on outputs and general outcomes. Such requirements were set out in the contracts and service level agreements, described by Dean (2010) as technologies of agency.

For example, in Oakland, their agreement asked the 'Oakland Project' to run four youth club sessions in return for the use of the facilities and a contribution towards costs. In Elmbrook and Maple Hill similar agreements were put in place which asked youth providers 'Youth Aid' and 'Enterprise for Youth' to provide an agreed amount of sessions per week in their youth clubs. The exception was Birchwood, where the parish/town council just gave a grant to the community centre to provide services for young people. By having such agreements, the parish/town councils were stipulating their expectations and requirements.

According to Debra and Anne, the parish/town clerks for Birchwood and Elmbrook, the most important piece of data that councillors were interested in were numbers of young people attending the youth provision as this was used to answer, “What are they [the councillors and the local people paying the precept] getting for their money? It's in the nature of any revenue funding, they may well ask, can they get away with less?”

This was similar to what the councillors in Oakland wanted to know, as Meg, the local parish/town councillor explained, “They [the councillors] like to know where their money is going. They look at how many youth sessions have happened in the month and ask, is this value for money?”

In terms of capturing such information all the parish/town councils expected from the funded youth organisations were regular reports, which were either monthly (Oakland), or quarterly (Birchwood, Elmbrook and Maple Hill), which detailed the sessions and activities undertaken along with the numbers of young people who attended. Each local council also wanted an element of specific information such as issues encountered (Oakland and Elmbrook) and examples of young people achieving good outcomes (Birchwood).

This reporting was a form of management performance but even then, no specific minimum attendance target numbers were required to be achieved. All councillors wanted to know was that sessions were being delivered that they had paid for and that young people were attending. If youth providers wished to collect other data which would help to demonstrate what they were doing, that was up to them. Youth providers such as ‘Enterprise for Youth’ collected case studies and it was observed that ‘Youth Aid’ sought to capture data linked to the Young Foundations’ Outcome Framework (McNeil, Reeder and Rich, 2012) via their evaluation sheets at the end of each of their sessions.

There were few reasons given by the interviewees relating to why they did not ask for more feedback. At Birchwood, according to Debra, the parish/town clerk, it was a reaction against too much scrutiny that was behind their approach:

There's a balance between giving someone too much free reign and hemming them in too much. Before the situation all changed, it struck me that those in the youth club were being tied down by targets so much. They were told from

on high to work with a specific age group and then when a young person came through the door, he's no longer Johnny who liked to come and play pool and chat to his friends, instead he had to be treated as though he had a sexual health problem ... I think there is a definite balance to have with monitoring.

What Debra was describing here is the concept of performativity, as described by Ball (2016; 2010) where external measures and monitoring systems had an impact on how youth work was being undertaken and understood by the workers involved. According to De St Croix (2018) such approaches are technologies of governmentality which can be used to shape the conduct of workers. In Debra's case, she was keen not to exercise such technologies as she perceived them to be negative, changing the role of the worker from what it should be (Taylor, 2017).

However, the most response as to why councils only wanted limited information in their requested reports, was because they weren't aware of the wider impact agenda that was occurring in the national youth sector, as Joyce one of the local councillors in Elmbrook admitted:

We are relying on the organisations to run themselves and monitor themselves. I suppose we would hope the district council would tell us that this isn't actually running according to youth models across the country ... I've no idea whether we are monitoring correctly but the town seem to be behind it, along with the young people ... we were never given any opportunity to monitor what the county council were doing, we knew it happened.

Such gaps in knowledge were accepted as part of the parish/town council experience, as Debra, the parish/town clerk for Birchwood, stated:

One feature of parish/town council life is that we do a lot of activities, we do a fair amount of good works in various ways ... but you wouldn't necessarily have the right expertise on a parish/town council, it is very haphazard so it is only if you have a parish/town councillor who was an experienced youth worker, would you have them asking the right kind of questions, otherwise those questions won't be asked.

Meg, a parish/town councillor in Oakland, summed up what this local approach meant in practice for them:

We perhaps have done things here out of trust and also a little bit of naivety. The parish/town council is not used to giving large sums of money and probably we ought to have better reporting mechanisms, what we expect to see, things that we can measure, whether we are getting value for money or not, so we can evaluate that the local project is using the money in the way that's expected.

In this response, Meg demonstrates that she knew what should be in place and recognises that there is a lack of expertise but that there is another important factor in play, that of trust. Trust appeared to be an important value in this community which is being held above managerial processes as such processes can undermine trust (Bunyan and Ord, 2012).

Therefore, in the implementation of monitoring how their contracted youth providers were performing, local communities did not use more complex forms of performance management because they were unaware of such wider developments in the youth sector. They also sought to build up trust, between themselves and the youth providers and this meant that such providers just used the tools that they were confident in using.

Bevir (1999) discussed whether Foucault's focus on the power of social contexts actually prevented subjects from acting in different ways. He strongly argued that agency as a concept should be considered as people do respond and act differently despite being influenced by the same social structures. He suggests that there is a space for such individual responses in the social context where individual subjects choose their actions based on their own rationality.

This understanding enables insight into the communities studied as there appears similar but different responses being undertaken by individuals and the parish/town councils despite the same contextual influences. What appears to be happening in such cases, is where individual values and expertise align with the wider neoliberal discourse, then they adopt relevant neoliberal behaviours, e.g. Rory, from the 'Oakland Project.' However, when individuals or parish/town councils lacked the knowledge, experience or expertise or were not in favour of neoliberal practices

linked to monitoring and evaluation, then local agency took priority which meant that locally understood practices were implemented instead. These practices varied from community to community but appeared to be based on relationship, trust or other locally acceptable methods of monitoring, which will be explored in the next chapter.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has drawn on Foucault's lectures between 1978-1979 to contextualise neoliberal governmentalities, rationalities, understandings and practices that were present in the cases studied. The fact that a local market had been created for youth providers by local parish/town councils was a direct result of decisions made in upper tiers of Government.

Yet, whilst local money became available for local councils to find suitable youth providers, this was not the only factor which enabled local youth provision to become established, as just as important were the many examples of economic man (homo-economicus) who were involved in the communities. These active individuals invested in themselves and demonstrated a flair for enterprise and many entrepreneurial skills, hoping their investment would have long-term impacts, not only for themselves but also for others.

However, whilst the presence of homo-economicus revealed that neoliberalisation was occurring at local level, the data showed that such neoliberal concepts and associated management processes were mixing with locally held values and understandings, which I call the 'loconomy'. In the 'loconomy' relationships were of great importance to the local councils/councillors and as such needed to be prioritised by local youth providers. Yet, such relationships enabled the reporting mechanisms that were required, to be minimal, compared to those required in the wider youth sector.

When the data was examined and the youth projects were visited, it became clear that a possible reason why only minimal reporting mechanisms were necessary was because of other methods of oversight being present. These included the presence of localised technologies of power, disciplinary and surveillance approaches, as well as internal approaches within the youth providers, all being used to ensure that the local parish/town councils were receiving a service that they were happy with. Such forms of oversight demonstrated the power that some individuals and local councils

sought to exert on the contracted youth providers, which they may not have been aware of when they sought to win the local contract. Such technologies will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 – Analysis 3: Discipline

Within the communities studied, it has been discussed that young people became a target of concern and intervention due to the closures of local youth centres. The result was that some local parish/town councils proactively took steps to govern local young people through establishing local youth provision by sourcing and developing venues and through seeking, finding and contracting with relevant youth providers to provide the expertise and resource required. Within such a context a unique mix of local values, embedded neoliberal understandings and associated practices used created ‘the loconomy’. This placed importance on relationships, with minimal reporting requirements.

This chapter explores further possible reasons minimal reporting was possible, as the data revealed that both parish/town councils and councillors as well as youth providers, undertook a number of measures to assure themselves that the contracts were being delivered satisfactorily. The chapter will therefore explore these measures beginning with the use of technologies of power through the use of money and then discusses a variety of disciplinary mechanisms. These were put in place to ensure that the work undertaken by the youth providers was productive and useful for the young people, the funders and the local community. In turn the youth providers favoured and encouraged staff to develop technologies of the self (Bevir, 1999), but in one instance it was found that tight managerial oversight of part time staff was not allowing this. This demonstrated that through all relations power was present and at work, favouring different participants in each situation (Jo and Park, 2016).

7.1 Technologies of power

Foucault continued to work on his understandings of power throughout his oeuvre, as previously discussed in Chapter 3. To him, power circulated and was present and evident in and through relationships (Foucault, 2004; 1998). Power was often linked to knowledge and vice versa (Foucault, 1980a) and was to be found in relationships (Purdy, 2015; Abel, 2005; Foucault, 1988a).

In the cases studied, relationships appeared to be used as an important means to enable individuals and organisations to seek out important information and apply it

for their own purposes. For example, through youth providers developing conversations with local councillors they would be able to determine how to write their tender documents to meet the required needs and aspirations of the local council. Likewise, through councillors having conversations, exploring a youth provider's experience and 'fit', as well as them analysing submitted documentation interested in delivering services, they accrued a bank of knowledge which could be used by the council to further develop their vision. They could also devise a suitable strategy to manage the successful youth provider in a way which could give the local council the 'upper hand.'

One consistent issue that was mentioned by the youth providers was the amount of money which they received for their services from the local council that was funding them, which often paid for delivery costs and little else. For example, Bob, the development manager of 'Youth Aid' stated:

The biggest challenge encountered was that local community youth work was never a financially viable model. We always subsidised the delivery as an organisation and communities didn't understand that. They thought it was expensive, particularly those projects further away from Woodend ... My reflection is that those pieces of work which were worth between two – four thousand pounds took a lot more management time than the bigger ones, because people were investing in their community. You would get phone calls and emails pretty much weekly from a lot of places with little things, like a chair wasn't where it should've been or there was a bit of graffiti on a wall or something like that.

Alex the CEO of 'Enterprise for Youth' shared a similar view:

We only get money for delivery, there is no explicit money for management, so I have to factor that in. I do more hours than I get paid for but that's as much as I can do.

Imogen the CEO of 'Youth Aid' also stated:

When we became aware that the youth service was going to withdraw from communities, we started having lots of conversations with both the youth service and the communities to look at whether we could pick up some of the

delivery. We were really conscious as a charity that we couldn't pick up the cost of running all of those youth clubs, and so we came up with a business model which laid out our service and how much it cost ... the biggest issue is that what it really cost is probably more than the communities wanted to pay and so we've ended up subsidising it quite heavily. Communities feel like we're expensive, even at our subsidised rate, but it's become another drain financially because it doesn't cover its costs. It covers its delivery costs but the transport costs, the management costs and the resource costs are not covered.

This meant that there was little or no money for youth workers to be paid for networking and building up strong links in the community, as Toni a youth worker delivering youth sessions in Maple Hill stated:

Interviewer: Apart from delivering the youth club do you have any other links with members of the community?

Toni: No, not that I know of. The council just funds us to run the club and they fund the other clubs with the other provider.

Interviewer: Does that matter to you that there's no potentially other linkages being made?

Toni: I always think that if there's more link with the community then you can do more, you can provide more, you can get more people on board with your work.

In Oakland, Rory the chair of the project noted that those wider links which used to be present when there was a full-time county funded youth worker present, were just not happening:

When the county council employed youth worker was here, they had a very proactive local network and were very good at tapping into that. We've never been able to replicate that, and we virtually have no links with important partners like the local secondary school. It is one thing that we have definitely missed.

Whilst there can be a practical explanation for such an approach to funding by the local councils, i.e., they allocated an amount to local youth provision which they thought was reasonable, but there is another possible perspective. Through a Foucauldian lens, where there are power related connections between people (Foucault, 1980b) and possible mechanisms at work to create 'docile bodies', i.e. malleable productive entities (Foucault, 1991), then such a dynamic could be seen as being a strategic technology of power through which the youth providers' behaviour and provision could be shaped. For example, by keeping funding to the minimum, it meant that the youth providers needed to be attentive and focused on what they provided to ensure money was not wasted and that the resulting provision quickly achieved what was outlined in the funding proposal. However, by also funding the youth work organisations just enough to deliver sessional youth work, it meant that any 'bought in' youth provider from outside of the community would have found it hard to develop local ties, as there was no funds allocated for this. This strategy meant that a youth provider which was not locally located could have been prevented from developing a base of local support who might have influenced the results of any future contracting. As such, this strategy maintained the balance of power in favour of the funding council. Of course, youth providers could have engaged in developing local relationships and did, but this was at their own time and expense, which was an extra hurdle for them. However, such examples of technologies were hidden and if they did feature, were even justified by the local councillors via the discourses (Foucault, 2002) of 'value for money' and 'making good use of public finances' which in themselves are examples of a powerful 'regime of truth' (Foucault, 1980c) associated with neoliberalism.

7.2 Discipline approaches

As discussed in Chapter 3, within his oeuvre, Foucault discussed the use and role of disciplinary forms and technologies which were apparent within the social body. In the communities studied, there were examples of different disciplinary practices and technologies employed by the councils and the youth providers in order to ensure that the funding council's expectations were met. According to Burrell (1998) and Graham, Treharne and Nairn (2017), this should be expected, as disciplinary power is thoroughly ingrained in and worked through all human interaction in every

moment, it is at the heart of society affecting everyone at the lowest level possible. Disciplinary forms were particularly evident in the following examples:

Due to the nature of competing youth providers in the marketplace, the reputation that these youth providers could create for themselves was very important, as a strong endorsement might create further opportunities for them, and likewise any negative feedback could hinder their work in the future. Alex, the CEO of 'Enterprise for Youth', mentioned how he was witnessing his reputation developing:

Some communities have started to take ownership for their young people and so we are beginning to pick up enquiries as they are wanting a community approach taken. They are coming to us because we're beginning to get a reputation. The more we deliver; our reputation will increase, and we will grow. I've never worked so hard in twenty-five years of youth work; I've never worked so hard running the organisation to get it to where it is now.

As local councillors placed importance on relationships and used their networks to gather information on providers, their impressions on which providers were better than others, became very important for youth providers looking to expand. I witnessed this when I visited a management group for the 'Youth Collective Project' when the joint project was being reviewed and local parish/town councils were considering future options. Within this meeting the performance of their provider was reviewed, and my field notes state:

There were various discussions regarding different providers and a sense of surprise that the provider under question had not raised their game in the twilight period of the contract, in order to give a good impression and build a strong case for future bids.

In making such comparisons, stakeholders on this group communicated various opinions on the youth providers of services and started to form rankings depending on experience and the views of others. It appeared in the two examples cited above, one youth provider was doing all they could to make a good impression and so their behaviour was shaped by this, whilst the other youth provider may have had a different agenda and so had a different strategy (see below).

One tactic that Foucault (1991) discussed that affected the response of individuals was through implementing a competitive ranking process; where individuals competed against each other, their performance noted and then compared, thus being ranked and rewarded accordingly (Hopper and Macintosh, 1998). This appeared to be evident in the developing youth sector in Treescap county. The reward was further work being picked up, the punishment was that negative impressions became another barrier for youth providers to overcome and their role to persuade future funders became harder. Ultimately, the final punishment which could be threatened or actually actioned, was that a youth provider was not given the opportunity to be re-contracted for the same piece of work they had invested time and effort in.

The fact that the time period for each contract was short was another disciplinary mechanism at work, as that meant that each delivery youth provider had to be vigilant and not complacent regarding their delivery. It perhaps re-emphasised that in such a competitive marketplace there was always a possible other youth provider willing to deliver services.

Whilst, such practices appeared to be part of the developing marketplace, one youth provider 'Youth Aid', was actively seeking to withdraw from the local marketplace and thus was undertaking a different strategy (as noted above), as Imogen the CEO discussed:

Part of our plan was never for community-based youth projects to be a long-term model. We got involved to provide emergency provision until the community could get themselves together, because from a funding point of view it is not sustainable and is a big financial drain ... We have in the last year changed our tactics slightly, and we've started looking at the big stuff like the lottery and some other areas as we need to survive ... We are therefore, asking what does the future look like, what does the county need, where are the gaps and what's our role and responsibility in this?

Whilst this could be viewed plainly as a financial decision, from a Foucauldian perspective it could be viewed as an exertion of freedom and the will, which Foucault (2000b) discussed accompanies power relationships. However, such a freedom was only really possible for youth providers who were the size of 'Youth Aid' and as such

had the resources to allow them to take this decision. Smaller youth providers were not able to take such a decision as they needed such contracts to ensure their survival. However, by signing a contract with a local council, a youth provider was consenting to be subject to the individual managerial approaches taken by the council (Townley, 1998), which had distinct disciplinary characteristics.

One such technology of discipline adopted by all councils explored was that of scrutiny by the local councillors, which was similar to hierarchical surveillance, where those in the position of authority watched and held to account those who were working for them (Hopper and Macintosh, 1998; Foucault, 1991). Examples of these approaches were observed at youth club centre meetings and management meetings.

In Elmbrook, the parish/town councillors held meetings with all the youth providers who used the youth club building. There was an expectation held by the local councillors that a representative of all youth providers should be present, and therefore was a technology of discipline (Hopper and Macintosh, 1998; Foucault, 1991). I attended one such meeting where various issues were discussed, such as a broken chair, general cleanliness, and various repairs which were required. The youth providers also suggested areas of improvement for the space such as the provision of curtains and a potential new audio system. However, the meeting was also used by the parish/town councillors to understand what the youth providers had been doing, their current activities and their future plans.

At the particular meeting that I visited, there was a period of tension when one youth provider present was not forthcoming with their future plans. In my field notes, I wrote:

The local councillors were clear guardians of their youth centre and appeared to be gate keepers of what happened with young people in the community as a whole. They had key expectations of regular communication and being kept informed of current and future activity so that they could keep an eye on it.

They were not impressed when one youth provider was not forthcoming about their plans and decided not to respond the way that they expected them to.

For one youth provider who used the centre, they felt supported by such a proactive position taken by the local councillors:

They know how much effort it took to get the youth club, it's a great facility and I think they're really interested in what's going on and how it's being looked after; you know you heard them bang on about cleaning the other day, wanting to know issues because they care about it and they want it to be nice ... What they also ask for is our termly plans so they and everyone else, knows what is planned.

I think having such meetings is very encouraging and very supportive because you're seeing local councillors wanting to do things for local people, they're very loyal to their community. In my opinion, they are very encouraging in what we do and what the youth work altogether does. The fact that they run these hub meetings, constantly badgering us about cleaning and thinking how the building can be further developed is all very supportive for all involved.

However, when the provider who was at the centre of tension, was interviewed about it, they explained that:

There is a big challenge in communication. My staff have got to learn it and I've got to learn it as we've got to involve every stakeholder that we can possibly think of, but sometimes that's hard as every stakeholder wants of little bit of me and there is only one of me! Another challenge is not only to abide by what their expectations are regarding specific pieces of work but also help to educate them also so that they understand why we're doing certain things in certain ways.

Foucault (1991) discussed that normalisation is a simple instrument used for disciplinary processes which seeks to encourage a standard of performance between different people (Hopper and Macintosh, 1998). In this situation, whilst there was an expectation of attendance there was also the requirement to produce the relevant information. It is notable that those who had an interest in keeping the councillors happy were those who chose to comply, as they were either commissioned by the local council or relied on the good will of the councillors for the use of the youth centre. The youth provider who chose not to comply, had no reason to subject themselves to the demands of the local councillors, as they were employed by another organisation. In fact, as the above demonstrates, they understood that they had an educative role to play towards the councillors, to help

them understand a different view to the one they held. However, by making such a stand, the youth provider concerned probably lost out overall, given the ranking discussion above, with potential negative feedback being passed to other councillors in other communities, which may have inhibited future work opportunities.

Another form of scrutiny which existed was where local councillors were given places on the management committees of the delivery youth providers. I was fortunate to attend the management committee of the 'Youth Collective' model. My field notes summarised the meeting in the following way:

The meeting was comprised of at least two councillors from the four different communities who were contributing funding to the project, as well as Natalie the local manager for 'Youth Aid' who was the delivery organisation for the project. The meeting comprised of Natalie, discussing her quarterly report and being questioned by the various councillors, after which Natalie left. Once she had left, the councillors discussed funding, the project objectives, the long-term future of the project and the performance of the current provider. There was no doubt that all the members of the management group were watching with interest the performance of Natalie at the meeting and 'Youth Aid' as an organisation. 'Youth Aid' had many expectations to try and meet.

In Birchwood, Debra, the parish/town clerk explained that the link between the council and the 'Birchwood Community Centre' was good because:

there was a parish councillor on the management committee and each year at our annual parish council meeting that rep was reappointed ... That rep would give reports back to the council and it was all quite systematic. In an ideal situation we would have someone who could get more involved and serve as a critical friend and report back to the parish/town council, who would work towards improving outcomes and ensure best value for money. At present, this isn't working as it is a lot to ask of a voluntary local councillor.

In Oakland, a similar arrangement existed, with Meg, a local councillor on the board of the youth provider. She stated:

Every parish/town council meeting, I give a verbal update from the project and they should submit their report. Through this mechanism the councillors can see where their money is going. If there are any specific questions, I take them back to the management committee or the parish/town clerk will email the project and ask them for a specific response.

These meetings all consisted of the representative of the youth provider producing a report, speaking to it, and having their work being examined, scrutinised and questioned. 'The Youth Collective' meeting was a specific example of different interested parties collecting together and putting the youth providers' representative under close examination. Foucault (1991) discussed various examples of disciplinary processes where people and their performance were scrutinised and examined and this is what was happening in these examples, as the worker clearly knew they were being scrutinised and being both "an effect and object of power [as well as] as effect and object of knowledge" (Foucault, 1991, p.192).

7.3 Surveillance

Foucault (1991) discussed how the technology of discipline was further refined and developed as a result of the innovation of Bentham's panopticon (see Chapter 3). This was a machine which subjected an individual to a range of disciplinary processes in order to encourage self-surveillant behaviour, which subsequently was developed and integrated across society with the aim of placing the burden of behaviour management from the state to the individual citizen (Bart, 2005; Dove, 2010; Perryman, 2006).

In the communities studied there were various examples of the panopticon mechanism functioning, through CCTV, reviews, and public accountability.

Bart (2005) made a clear link between panopticism and CCTV. CCTV was used in a variety of places. In Birchwood community centre, it monitored various spaces both inside and outside the community centre. Similar systems were present in the Oakwood and Elmbrook youth clubs. Sandra, a part time youth worker in Oakland, discussed the relationship between the youth workers and the local councillors. She discussed her concern of being watched:

When we had CCTV installed, one councillor was monitoring it, all the time and that was a real issue. He was in a powerful position on the council and he must have sat watching it looking for faults. One of the reasons why we have all this fencing around the youth club is he thinks it is all going to get vandalised. It feels very much like a prison, but we've got cameras now, for goodness sake. If the young people wanted to vandalise something, they will as they can climb the fence anyway.

In this situation, with CCTV being present both inside and outside the Oakland youth club, there was no doubt that all were being watched, young people as well as the youth workers. The surveillance was being used as a deterrent regarding antisocial behaviour, but it seemed to be also used to check on the quality of provision given by 'The Oakland Project' youth workers. Sandra above was commenting on its presence, demonstrated that it was having an effect on those it was observing, encouraging appropriate behaviour in young people and appropriate leadership by the youth workers in the sessions.

In order to understand the wider dynamic of the Maple Hill community, I attended a community meeting which included representatives from various youth providers and different councillors who held a variety of local responsibilities. These meetings were regular, their purpose was to discuss the work with young people in their community and ways to make it sustainable. At one point during the meeting I noted the following:

Antisocial behaviour by young people was raised. There had been a significant complaint made to the local parish/town council regarding young people in the area. Apparently, the police had been informed and they had stated that reducing antisocial behaviour was their number one priority. Alongside the police, a discussion was had regarding the positive use of CCTV. This was being used in the area outside the youth club and the group discussed funding possibilities to install further CCTV cameras where they were needed.

In this context, CCTV was seen to be a mechanism to encourage positive behaviour as it was located in a place where young people were known to gather. It was hoped that the presence of CCTV would impact on young people – dissuading them to

participate in anti-social behaviour. It also allowed the monitoring the effectiveness of the youth providers as they managed the young people when the youth club was in action. Used in this way, surveillance of young people and their youth workers were as though they formed part of a local menagerie (Foucault, 1991); observed as a naturalist might a specific animal to determine key characteristics and behaviours, then choosing to categorise them and deciding how best to intervene if necessary (Bart, 2005).

However, CCTV was not the only means by which it was possible to watch and seek to influence the behaviour of the youth providers delivering locally, as the young people and volunteers themselves could keep a constant watch on how well the youth providers were delivering their services and give their feedback to the local councillors.

This was demonstrated in the Oakland community when Meg, the local councillor, shared how in her community, everyone knew everyone else and people talked to each other. She also had a particular understanding of the local youth club as her son attended:

Meg: My son Charlie attends the Wednesday/Thursday youth club night, have you met him?

Interviewer: Yes, I have, it seems to me that this is a close-knit community?

Meg: Many of the youth workers live here and their relations, for example, Sandra [one of the youth workers] has a son who lives 2 doors down from me. It is a very tight community.

Likewise, the local parish councillors in Elmbrook had strong links to the local churches and had strong ties to the adult volunteers who supported the 'Faith Matters' sessions in the youth club. Conversations were easily had with young people about their experiences of the sessions they attended across the week by the various youth providers. I found this out on a visit to the 'Faith Matters' facilitated youth session in the Elmbrook youth club:

The first leader I chatted to was Henry, the local vicar, who had a great deal of background information about the area and how the youth club had been

developed. It appeared he knew Leon, one of the local councillors involved in the youth club, as he also is involved in church ministry.

There were a good number of young people present who were also present in the youth sessions run by 'Youth Aid' that I had attended, who I recognised and talked to about their experiences across the different groups.

In these examples, young people and volunteers become the eyes and ears of the parish/town councillors feeding back their comments as required so that, through local social capital, all required information could be obtained, and the inner workings of the youth clubs became visible. In doing so the youth providers had to be mindful of how their words and their actions could be interpreted as it was likely that their performance could be fed back to the relevant council/body and so their behaviour had to be regulated accordingly.

By ensuring there was CCTV available, which could be viewed by the local councillors as well as receiving local feedback from young people, there appeared to be present localised disciplinary mechanisms to enforce good behaviours and practice. However, by operating such mechanisms, Foucault (1991) discussed how the supervisors/managers came under scrutiny themselves as they were watched by others observing whether their efforts had been successful. This is relevant in all cases studied as the local councillors had to justify that they were spending the money raised from the local precept wisely. Evidence that the public would expect to see but which also could support a local councillor for re-election.

According to Foucault (1991), the results of discipline were trained and docile bodies with the results of panopticon mechanisms being self-surveillance (Dove, 2009).

The next section explores further examples of technologies of power and technologies of the self which were evident in the youth organisations which may have supported their cause for being contracted to deliver services.

7.4 Discipline approaches in the youth providers

In the previous sections various examples of disciplinary power have been discussed which seem to have been put in place by local councils and their councillors in order to ensure that the outcome of their investment in youth provision was productive and met their expectations but which also impacted young people and the youth

providers. However, the data also demonstrated that there were forms of disciplinary processes that were either being implemented or expected within some of the youth providers. This was in order to ensure that as youth providers they fulfilled their contractual obligations to the local parish/town councils.

Foucault (1991) discussed the potential result of the panopticon where inmates became self-surveillant. Therefore, the panopticon is a very efficient mechanism to use (Dove, 2009). In Foucault's later work he discussed technologies of the self (Foucault *et al.* 1988), in which individuals choose to govern themselves in certain ways in order to reach a state of fulfilment. This next section discusses the data in which both self-surveillance/technologies of the self characteristics were required for individual organisations and their staff, as well as traditional forms of disciplinary mechanisms.

Alex the CEO of 'Enterprise for Youth' started this organisation in 2011. He slowly picked up local community contracts as a result of undertaking some work with the local district council and becoming known:

As a result of my work with the district council it led to me being asked to bid for a piece of work for Maple Hill to provide an extra youth night for them, on top of what they were receiving from 'Youth Aid', which I successfully got. I've never worked so hard in 25 years of youth work trying to get the organisation to where it is now.

One of the reasons why Alex may have attracted work from local councils was his entrepreneurial spirit, people could perhaps see that he had the motivation to make things happen, as he had been working hard setting up the organisation that he was working for.

However, as he has just stated, he clearly felt a pressure on himself to ensure that the youth delivery that he was responsible for performed well. Yet, this was a challenge, as he discussed:

As a small organisation we haven't got an office because there isn't any funding for an office ... so everyone works from home, unless they've got a venue from which they can work from but then that has a challenge of how to manage those staff and how do you motivate those staff? I've got a particular

dilemma at the moment where a member of staff hasn't been performing as expected. I've always said it, when we've had a local authority service. The good detached youth workers, who didn't have a base, they knew where to find the young people. The bad detached workers knew exactly where to find NO young people, so they can go back and say look we've walked hours and hours, it's not our fault and then they write their reports.

As a small organisation with no premises and only with a limited time available, he had identified the challenge of ensuring his staff were performing in the way that he expected, as there were only limited options available to him to implement technologies of discipline. He therefore concluded that the answer was to be found in his recruitment of workers, ensuring that in the future his staff would have the right self-surveillance/technologies of the self-characteristics (Jackson, Gharavi and Klobas, 2006; Foucault *et al.* 1988), so that he could be satisfied that delegated roles and jobs would be done sufficiently well.

In Birchwood, Eddie, the community centre manager and local councillor, was also known for his drive, energy and ability, who oversaw the activities that were happening in the centre. Alyson, the business manager, discussed his role:

The centre is overseen by a board of trustees which Eddie is the chair and Elizabeth is the treasurer ... Having said that Eddie and Elizabeth are around 24/7, overseeing the centre ... Eddie is the person clearly in charge and drives things forward. His people skills are appalling and that's where he might not be popular ... I often open up my emails and there will be an email from him sent at 1AM, he works very hard.

In terms of managing youth work staff, Eddie appeared to adopt a similar approach to Alex, i.e., using the worker's own self-directed, self-surveillant behaviour. For example, when discussing his contribution to the centre programme, Terry, a youth worker that Eddie employed at the beginning of the community project, stated:

Eddie's attitude towards me was - you're a youth worker, you know what youth work's about, you get on and you do it and that's what I did. There were limited resources, especially in terms of finance but Eddie would have a go at sorting that. He was always 100% behind you and supporting you 100%.

However, as Alex, discovered, just because someone calls themselves a youth worker, it doesn't mean they are self-surveillant, instead there is the contribution to be made by the manager. In Terry's case, Eddie stated that he knew how to put a team together:

It has worked here because of me, I've run my own businesses all my life, I retired early enough, so I had the energy and drive to put into it ... I have the ability to pull a team around me put it together ensuring there is just the right flavour, mix and ingredients.

Therefore, Eddie was looking for workers where there was a good match between their desires, their self-surveillant behaviour and their character which meant they would do their best (Jackson, Gharavi and Klobas, 2006; Starkey and McKinlay, 1998; Rose, 1991; Foucault *et al.* 1988). When such elements were combined in a situation where Eddie, or the treasurer Elizabeth, were often present in the centre, keeping a panoptic watch on what Terry was doing, it meant that Terry performed in a way that pleased Eddie and fulfilled Terry's aspirations. In turn, this mix allowed Eddie to instil confidence to the local parish/town council regarding youth activities undertaken in the 'Birchwood Community Centre'.

The 'Youth Aid' organisation had won two contracts in the communities that were studied and so delivered youth work sessions for Elmbrook and Maple Hill parish/town councils. As a sizable organisation with a long local history, they inspired confidence in parish/town councils because of their structures and associated policies and understandings. When speaking to 'Youth Aid' sessional youth work staff they had no doubt that there was a tight management hierarchy in place which oversaw their work.

Natalie, the local manager who oversaw the delivery in Maple Hill stated:

When the management structure changed within the organisation, my managers were asking a lot more questions about what I was doing. This was a shock, as you knew that you were really being watched but as a result, they really understand the project as a whole now, since clear lines of communication have been formed.

What Natalie is describing is the sense of panopticism as a result of the management structure and the power relationships that she experienced (Foucault, 2000a). Jackson, Gharavi and Klobas (2006) discussed the importance of organisational culture and this may explain the approach that Natalie then adopted as a manager overseeing the delivery of the work in Maple Hill. Ellie, a sessional youth worker in Maple Hill felt stifled, restricted and frustrated by Natalie's managerial style. Ellie stated:

I literally turn up, deliver the session and then go home, which was fine to start with but actually I'm feeling really frustrated about it as Natalie writes the programme, tells me what I've got to deliver, I turn up, do what someone else has told me to do and go home. If I'm meant to be the lead sessional youth worker in these clubs and you want me to run them, then it would make more sense if I was actually running them ... I do feel a sense of ownership, but also I am actually quite frustrated that I don't have more control over how I run them. Another example is that we're meant to go out and do detached work from eight o'clock 'til nine, in the middle of winter in small towns in the cold and the dark. The young people aren't out on the streets, it is completely pointless ... we've said this to Natalie on numerous occasions and she replied, "that's what you've got to do."

Toni, Ellie's colleague with whom she ran youth work sessions also commented on the managerial style of Natalie, stating:

Natalie is the head, the manager, she has to deal with the paperwork and admin whereas we go out and deliver. She wants to know what's happening and wants us to stick to the session plans she has made, but if the young people don't like the session plan and don't wanna do it, then we have to try and stick to it a little bit or otherwise we might get into trouble. More often than not the session is crap and the young people don't wanna know. So that is a bit difficult.

From Ellie and Toni's perspectives they felt that they were being tightly managed by Natalie. Purdy (2015) suggested that workers such as Ellie experienced repressive power, as Ellie was kept from doing what she was able to do. Yet, she turned up each week and performed her role. The disciplinary mechanisms present appeared

to be pyramid hierarchy which Foucault (1991) discussed as a mechanism to ensure the disciplinary gaze was achieved in a workplace. However, it could be argued that self-surveillance/technology of the self was also present, as Ellie had a sense of ownership regarding her role. Yet, instead of her own desire to perform being nurtured, the weight of disciplinary effects were having a toll on her motivation. According to Bart (2005, p.14), she appeared to be showing signs of being a trapped inmate where “self-discipline begins only when the prisoner cannot imagine a means of escape. Once there is nowhere to hide, it makes more sense to conform.”

Yet, in Elmbrook, staff who also worked for ‘Youth Aid’, didn’t feel as Natalie, Ellie and Toni did, in fact they were happy with the support offered, as Tom and Natasha explained:

Tom: I find my support with ‘Youth Aid’ working with Natasha or my line manager.

Natasha: I get lots of support from ‘Youth Aid’ that's probably why local councils contract us as ‘Youth Aid’ provides line management and lots of other support. As workers we get that amount of support as standard as well as all the resources of the organisation.

The difference between the two settings is that in Elmbrook, Natasha was a degree qualified youth worker delivering with Tom who was not, whereas in Maple Hill, Natalie (a qualified youth worker) did not undertake any delivery and Ellie undertook the delivery with another worker, both of which had a basic level of youth work training. It appears therefore that ‘Youth Aid’ were putting more mechanisms in place to manage the workers which were at a basic level of training compared to where there was a qualified worker.

Jackson, Gharavi and Klobas (2006) suggested that characteristics of certain professions had certain norms which individuals then self-imposed, such as performance standards to which they hold themselves accountable. The training of professionally qualified youth workers should enable individuals to apply and integrate professional standards, so workers become self-surveillant and monitor their own performance and behaviour (QAA, 2017).

'Youth Aid' could inspire confidence in local commissioners by having a clear management structure and as such the organisation was in itself self-surveillant, looking over and watching its' own affairs. However, there was a clear difference in how two of their projects were being managed. It appeared that sessional workers were happiest when discipline wasn't being used to create 'a docile body' (Foucault, 1991), but when individuals were encouraged to develop practice which was intrinsically motivated, where individuals could create their own self and realise their own desires through appropriate technologies of the self (Starkey and McKinlay, 1998; Rose, 1991).

The youth club in Oakland had a longstanding history. TJ who previously had oversight of it, stated:

I know this community and history because when I started work in the county in 1979 it was in my team and at that point there was a horrible building on the site serving a tough little area as most of the young people who came to the youth centre came from the local council houses.

The last employed county council youth worker in Oakland was John. As a full-time youth worker, he had built a strong team of youth workers around him who were also employed part time. When 'the Oakland project' took over the running of the youth centre, John, explained that the following happened:

The part time workers either were 'TUPE'D' across to the local project or those staff who had either resigned from Treescape council or took redundancy, were employed by the project. The result was that we ended up with the same staff team, the same building and the same amount of money ... All the staff were trained to various standards but knew what they were doing.

TJ, understood that this approach ensured stability:

What they have at Oakland is continuity; it's like in Beech Hollow another town where the youth service pulled out. It continued there initially because part time youth workers had been trained up and have worked alongside youth work professionals for years and years, so they had the commitment and knowledge, not so much time, but they could keep things going.

When I went into observe Oakland youth club, I met a relatively new employed worker, Janet, who was given the task of trying to facilitate various teams which took responsibility for each session. These included all of the workers that had been with the previous youth service beforehand. Janet stated:

Currently I'm trying to encourage staff to work with the young people and to come up with a plan for next term ... In regard to session plans its dependant on the people who are working on that particular night as it is the same people who cover each session. Sandra, Elaine and Fay are working on a Thursday which is the girls' group ... On a Monday and Tuesday, it is me and Darren and so we work on those programmes. On a Wednesday it is Kevin, Pat and Elaine and they work out what they want to do. It's because we all know the young people we are working with on those nights, so we all tailor the programme to their needs.

In this youth provider it appeared that there had been various disciplinary processes at work which meant that continued delivery of youth provision had been possible. The sessional youth workers appear to have been trained up to know what their role was, their practice had been normalised and through routine have continued to practice in appropriate ways (Graham, Treharne and Nairn, 2017), all of which Foucault (1991) and Bart (2005) discussed are important disciplinary mechanisms to develop productive individuals.

This understanding of the role of youth worker which had developed from the previous youth service was discussed by Sally who worked for 'Enterprise for Youth':

If I look back to the youth service/educational authority days, it was incredibly different ... Many of those I work with have a history of county council work so it's sometimes quite nice to meet new people that don't because they give you a different take on things and you finally go "Okay, the reason I've been stuck like that is because that's what I know." It has been hard to see any other way of doing stuff because of this.

The previous local authority youth service had developed a trained workforce, some of which were still present practising and who turned up regularly to undertake the role that they understood. The context of the local authority youth service had produced self-surveillant workers, who took responsibility for their own behaviour

and practice and as such offered continuity for young people. The opportunity for such continuity, appeared to be rare in Treescap county concerned, given the significant changes in youth services but in this community the shared history between the youth workers and young people was clearly evident which meant that further work was possible with the attending young people.

7.5 Summary

This chapter has explored the various technologies of power and discipline that were being used by local councils and their contracted youth providers in order to ensure that youth provision was delivered and met expectations. These technologies of power occurred through the way the local council contracted with their preferred provider and via the amount of money given to them. Such managed amounts of finance therefore only allowed the youth provider to deliver sessional youth work, rather than undertaking wider tasks such as building strong community linkages, which meant that local councils kept the 'upper hand' in the relationship. Alongside these technologies were various disciplinary mechanisms which were present in order to ensure that the contracted youth provider was performing in a way that was productive and pleased the local council funder. Such mechanisms included the use of competitive ranking, close scrutiny in various formats, panoptic use of CCTV and feedback from young people.

Yet, in order for the contracts to be delivered, the youth providers had also employed various internal technologies to ensure that their own youth workers performed, such as tight managerial structures. However, for other providers they had learnt that the newly marketised sector suited workers who were self-surveillant, where their desires aligned with the role they were undertaking, so they actioned changes on themselves in relation to the context that they were in.

Such technologies were imposed because ultimately, parish/town councillors were accountable for the precept that was set to pay for local youth provision, and they wanted to ensure that local money was being spent well because they also were accountable and being watched by the local electorate.

However, as a result of different funders and youth providers undertaking local contracts, what developed is a local range of views and understandings about the nature and form that youth work should take. The next chapter will argue that such a

phenomenon could be linked to the changes that occurred to the local authority youth service. This is because when the youth service was present, a significant power/knowledge dynamic existed which established a level of local consistent understanding regarding the nature of youth work, which when removed allowed a variety of understandings to become established.

Chapter 8 – Analysis 4: Professional power/knowledge

The last chapter explored the various power technologies that were evident between a local council and their designated youth provider to ensure they achieved what they wanted. It also explored some examples of how youth providers sought to ensure their workers would perform in ways which would fulfil the local contracts.

Whilst all the communities studied wanted youth provision in their locality, the nature of this provision was varied. No longer could it be assumed that 'youth work' was being undertaken in the way it previously had been under the local authority youth service. This was because there was no longer a funded organisation who had a county wide remit and responsibility for undertaking and promoting professional youth work.

This chapter seeks to explore this change through the perspective of Foucault's power/knowledge conceptual understanding (Foucault, 1980c). The data suggests that before the changes were made to the local authority youth service power/knowledge (Foucault, 1980c) was exercised in, by and through the local authority youth service given their state funding, position, presence and professional informed practice. Their status was further enhanced via positive discourses from central Governmental programmatic policies up to 2010 and via local networks. However, alongside a change in national Government, more powerful discourses, i.e., austerity took effect. Such discourses linked into a neoliberal regime of truth (Foucault, 1980c) which sought to justify changes in public funding for services, which the local county council implemented. Under a new marketised sector the influence of professional youth work was weak compared to the previous youth service, leaving local councils and youth providers to proceed in developing provision they wanted, but which did not necessarily compare to the standards and availability of resources that were previously present.

This chapter begins by exploring the background, presence and impact that the previous state funded youth service had and then discusses some of the characteristics present after the changes took place.

8.1 The impact of the local authority funded youth service

8.1.1 A service with resources

Foucault (1988a) discussed how he sought to view social characteristics and activities in the context of a specific time period given the understandings relevant in that era. Therefore, in order to understand the role and power that the local authority youth service had in Treescap county, it is important to understand the historical roots of local authority funded youth services, which were explored in Chapter 2.

In terms of the size and scope of Treescap local authority youth service, a 2003 youth service review described the work and presence that the youth service had. It included:

six specialised teams including a water based outdoor education centre, an environmental education team, an outdoor education and adventure team operating from two funded centres, a development team which promoted advice, information and mentoring, a training and professional development team who train staff and an inclusion/accreditation Team which promotes various awards that are required to meet.

The service operated out of 52 facilities within the county, 28 of which are buildings owned by the County Council and the remainder being leased or let accommodation from local community centres etc. (Cambridge Education Associates, 2003, p.12)

In terms of staffing, the 2008 Ofsted report stated that the service “employs 87 full-time equivalent staff and over 400 part-time youth support staff” (Ofsted, 2008, p.2) and had a budget of £3.18 million. The outcome of the 2008 Ofsted report was that the Youth service was offering a good level of service.

This significant youth work presence had an impact on a wide variety of people and communities for many years. The contention of this chapter is that the local authority youth service effectively maintained and developed youth work practice and understanding throughout the county through the productive use of power/knowledge strategies, relationships and networks which had a powerful impact (Foucault, 1980c) which when removed could not be replicated.

8.1.2 The local presence of buildings

As noted in Chapter 3, Foucault (1980b) discussed the importance of understanding power/knowledge impacts at the lowest level. Therefore, as Birchwood and Oakland were previously local authority run youth centres, the chapter will now explore some of the characteristics and influences that were associated with the presence of such community assets.

In both Birchwood and Oakland communities, the local authority youth service was visible because in both locations there were physical buildings and advertised youth activities available for young people which were clearly identifiable and advertised. In the case of Birchwood, the youth centre was built in 1991 as a large purpose-built youth centre, as TJ an ex county youth service team leader explained:

The design of the centre was explicitly focused on providing a broad range of services for young people. It directly ran open youth work sessions, at least 3 evenings a week, there were open youth work sessions for 13-19s and services for young people with disabilities, young carers and so on ... It was buzzing with young people. We had them going abroad as well as attending many residential. It was a very vibrant facility with 20-30 plus young people on most open evenings.

In Oakland, the local parish/town council building included a purpose-built youth wing on the parish/town council central hub, which was leased by the youth service, and provided the following services, as TJ explained:

Ten years after the centre in Birchwood was built, financially there were different circumstances and going into partnership was seen as the way forward ... The resulting provision was arguably small for a place the size of Oakland but again, that ran open youth provision, at least 3 evenings a week and then it had a number of specialist groups.

The number of young people who attended the provision when John, the last local authority youth worker worked there, was about sixty.

Foucault (2002) explored how discourse developed from basic statements to discursive formations which frame and disperse various understandings. Within this work he discussed how sites and spaces feature in discourse e.g. prisons and hospitals. According to Hirst (1993) architecture/buildings can be interpreted as belonging to discursive formations. Therefore, the fact that the youth service had a good number of buildings in the county, including Birchwood and Oakland, was part of a positive discourse of the state declaring that young people in communities were important. It showed that professional youth work approaches and understanding were supported and endorsed by the state.

8.1.3 Local relationships and networks – The presence of full-time staff

In terms of the amount of provision available there were a large amount of relationships and networks built up between local youth workers and various community members. Foucault understood that power is present through the social body, interwoven throughout the many variety of relationships which exist, where they play 'both a conditioning and conditioned role' (Foucault, 1980d, p.139) in the context and influence of wider globalised strategies. Therefore, the youth service through its physical presence, provision, relationships and networks was an ideal conduit to ensure national and local agendas concerning young people were implemented and used for Governmental purposes (Rose, 1999).

Such a network of relationships was possible because the youth service's key cost, i.e., staffing, was funded by the local authority. TJ explained that:

The County Council gave a youth centre such as Birchwood a budget which paid for the full-time youth worker and a basic level of part time staff ... and then there was the expectation that you would find other support through volunteers and the training up of young leaders. Anything we bought, from a table tennis table, to subsidising a kid to go on a trip to Alton Towers, or take part in a youth exchange, we raised ourselves. Professional staff could do that as they had the time, the knowledge and the ability to make funding bids.

These points that TJ mentions are important as they reveal why the youth service could develop strong local networks.

Firstly, full time youth workers were able to facilitate and support their staff and volunteers so that continuous interlinked resourced youth sessions were undertaken

effectively. The importance of a fulltime member of staff was discussed by Sandra, a part time youth worker who had been working at Oakland youth club for years. She stated:

I used to work 4 nights. What used to happen is that for any project we did, we could get the different groups to input into them because you had a full-time worker who was the link between the different sessions, whereas now, with no full timer, each group does their own thing. The worker would be able to physically get resources, as they had time, whereas now I'm just paid for delivery and that's it. In terms of funding, I hardly get anything now for resources but when we had a worker here, he went out to get the funding in and stuff like that, as that was his job and he was paid to do that.

As the youth worker was full-time, this gave them the opportunity to develop further local links and networks, as John, the last local authority employed youth worker based in Oakwood discussed:

During my time there I chaired the 'extended schools group' which had representatives from the schools, the children centre, local and district councils. We were seen as a flagship group because we worked together ... before that, everyone was quite isolated. There was a lot of community buy in, for example at the end of one of the meetings, a policeman said "I've been coming to these meetings for two years without knowing why, whereas now I realise if I come to this meeting it makes my life for the rest of the week, easier". That's key, people knowing what they are getting out of it. The children centre also said something similar.

By developing local networks, as John was doing, he was strengthening the justification for having a full-time youth worker in the local community, as he was demonstrating the effectiveness of networking and the potential that collaborating with others had. The result is that as a youth service employee he brought kudos to the service as the project demonstrated how effective strong networks could be. This is an example of power at work productively (Foucault, 1980c), working through the various networks, producing positive outcomes for each professional represented and supporting the discourse that the youth service was relevant and useful to local communities in implementing Government agendas. Rose and Miller (2008, p.64)

understood that such actions, demonstrated by John and the youth service, are powerful as they are able to:

successfully enrol and mobilise persons, procedures, and artefacts in the pursuit of its goals. Powers are stabilised in lasting networks only to the extent that the mechanisms of enrolment are materialised in various more or less persistent forms ... 'Power' is the outcome of the affiliation of persons, spaces, communications, and inscriptions into a durable form.

8.1.4 Local relationships and networks – The mentoring and training culture

Another reason the youth service could develop strong local networks was because youth workers were involved in the recruitment and training of others. John, reflecting on his time in Oakwood, discussed how he did this:

We targeted and trained difficult young people to be young leaders ... We used the relationships we had and ended up with young people who had terrorised the community, helping as leaders. The police couldn't believe it because the crime figures declined, as the young people who were responsible for 80% of crime, weren't doing it anymore. They wanted to know why, and so we'd say well ... We then started to train such people formally in youth work.

John also trained up adults. When staff transferred from being county council employees to the new 'Oakland Project', four fully trained and locally qualified staff moved to become employees of the project in order to continue their work locally.

Alex, the CEO of 'Enterprise for Youth' who also previously worked for the youth service, felt the presence of the full-time local youth worker was an important part of the recruitment and development of this process, as he stated:

I think that the paid full-time local authority youth worker, acted as a magnet. Generally, the people that were on the ground doing the youth work, in the localities, were people that came up through the ranks or were linked to the community, but they came because the full timer was there.

Janet, the temporary leader in charge of 'The Oakland Project' summed up the approach adopted in the local authority towards mentoring and training:

Local authorities breed their own workers. So I've always had that from the first to the second job, where they grow their own workers, so they know the young people, they know the area, they know who they are working for and what the rules are, so it is very much - you work for us because you know what you are doing. We've grown you; we've nurtured you and we've trained you.

The presence of a qualified worker, to spend time developing relationships and encouraging involvement, supporting and mentoring growth was an important factor for the continuation of professional youth work. In this way, there appears to be a link between the youth worker and the term Foucault discusses, i.e. Parrhesia, which he used to describe a virtue, duty and technique, all associated with speaking the truth (Foucault, 1983). Kazi (2017) discussed Foucault's work on the care of the self and understood that when someone is seeking a standard of behaviour themselves, they could call on someone else, to speak the truth to them and inspire change. This appeared to be what happened in John's work, with both young people and adults based on the relationship that they had built up.

The work undertaken by local authority youth workers, whether linked to young people's development or training, was not meant to be undertaken without support, as centralised youth service departments were present to give such help. Sandra, a part time youth worker in Oakland, specifically discussed the youth service training department and the support she received:

The youth service made us feel that we were part of something bigger. We could go to someone and ask for help. For example, we could chat about the issues we were facing and ask for some training. They would then organise something.

Sally, who also worked for the youth service and who subsequently worked with 'Enterprise for Youth' in Maple Hill, discussed how central resources helped her:

I worked part time and enjoyed it. I liked that I could progress in the service and there were always training courses like first aid. At the time I took them for granted if I'm honest.

When the youth service went, I found myself self-employed and found that there was an awful lot more for me to deal with ... and had to do everything myself, probably in my own time which was very stressful and so that is why I was eager to join another youth organisation.

With staff feeling supported and able to access training and support for their roles, staff remained connected to the youth service for a long time. Speaking about the youth workers in Birchwood, TJ stated “the first worker was there for about 5-6 years but then the subsequent two workers stayed for the next 11-12 years between them.”

The support however wasn't just available to the staff employed by the youth service, TJ discussed how the youth service sought to support others who were in the voluntary sector working with young people:

Connecting with voluntary youth organisations was a big part of my role as a district youth worker. I visited local villages and other youth groups run by volunteers, at one time there were loads in my patch ... I would link these groups up with the youth centres/workers so if a big youth centre was organising a big event/trip I would say “let's see if we can involve kids from this little youth club as well as they don't get the opportunity”. Things changed over time, but it was very important to me.

The local authority youth service introduced, informed, trained and supported those who wanted to develop as a youth worker or wanted to know if the youth service's resources could help particular situations. This it did through the direct support of professional youth workers and central services. In the case of Sandra from Oakland, and Sally from Maple Hill, such training equipped them well for their role in the local community, which they used after the youth service changes, to inform their practice and new staff via mentoring.

8.1.5 A professional culture and understanding

However, the culture of the youth service also introduced staff to the professional nature of youth work. This professional nature, as discussed in Chapter 2, has been informed by history, a set of National Occupational Standards (LSIA, 2012), a QAA benchmark statement (QAA, 2017), a code of ethical conduct (NYA, 2004), a validating body for professional youth work courses, JNC terms and conditions (NYA, 2018), as well as academic and practitioner writing e.g. De St. Croix (2016).

The youth service provided a strong professional presence (according to TJ there were 90 local branch union members) which sought to ensure that its understanding of youth work was continually being developed in its workers and kept on the agendas of agencies and politicians. Therefore, the local authority youth service was a strong institution where the power/knowledge dynamic (Foucault, 1980c) was actively present.

Such a professional body, according to Foucault (1981) could have its own perspective of what is deemed to be true and what is false. It can therefore seek to uphold what it understands to be the truth, to the extent that even if a concept could be useful to the discipline, if it lies beyond the boundaries of what is acceptable, it will be excluded and treated as a falsehood. Therefore, according to Foucault (1998) important understandings and practices will be normalised and the professional body, will use various strategies, e.g., via discourse and categorisation, to maintain and develop its' position.

In Treescape local authority youth service, professional workers were nurtured and developed in their understanding and practice of youth work through the training offered and by being part of a body of professionals. This context enabled youth workers to seek to normalise professional youth work practice where they were situated in each community, seeking to shape potential proposals which were outside of what they considered to be professional youth work. The county youth service could be perceived as an enclosure of expert power, as discussed by Rose and Miller (2008) and Rose (1999). They believed that such enclosures were a concentration of professional understanding and application, relatively insulated against various threats but prepared to defend themselves when required. The bedrock of such a professional outlook in this local youth service, were four cornerstones of youth work i.e., education, empowerment, participation and equality of opportunity which the youth service had used to define its core aims (Treescape county council, 2005, p.5) which derived from the second national ministerial conference into youth work held in 1991 (Ord, 2016).

When youth workers who had experienced a local authority youth work context were asked to define youth work, they demonstrated how that professional culture and

training had affected them, as they could clearly describe youth work principles and practice.

For example, Dean, a previously employed local authority youth worker defined youth work:

Youth work is working/engaging with young people in their space, helping/supporting them with issues that they lead on. Youth work is/should be young person led, as it is their agenda, not mine. It is all about informal work and social education that is productive. Therefore, it can have threads of accreditation with it, it can have threads of transitions with it e.g. getting into work, but such work should always be the product of that initial engagement of building a sustainable relationship with a young person.

Alex, the CEO of 'Enterprise for Youth' and also a previous county council employed youth worker stated, "youth work is about working with the adolescent age group in order to develop their personal, social, spiritual and democratic education."

Another full answer was given by Janet, the temporary leader in charge at Oakland, she stated:

Youth work is based upon informal education. It is about teaching young people life skills and providing a safe space where they can be themselves and express themselves but then also learn in an environment which is not hostile. So, whether it is over a game of pool, through having a good debate, time on a residential, or via an ASDAN award, we are there to meet the needs of young people who we meet, on their terms.

Those who were part time workers and trained by the youth service could also describe what youth work was about, for example Sandra, a part time worker in Oakland who had been working in the youth club for years, stated that youth work:

works with all young people and sends them into life with an education, an informal education, not forced upon them. The things they learn, they can use to either protect themselves, keep other people safe, help them survive, have a happy life and help them fit into the community.

8.1.6 Young people's understandings

As a result, the young people who such trained workers interacted with also had a sense of what the role of a youth worker was.

For example, in Oakland, Olivia (a young person) stated that:

Youth workers give advice on life using their life experience, using what they've learnt and pass it down.

Harry, another young person, said:

The youth workers are here to help you not just ensuring you have a good time; they talk to you about stuff. Other clubs aren't like that because the other clubs like let you get on with it whereas these people, they talk to you and interact and ask how your day is going.

At Elmbrook, young people had a good grasp of the youth worker role also. For example, Ava stated:

It depends what kind of person you are. If you are someone who doesn't have any problems they are just people who open the club, but if you've got issues they can help you, they can give you sessions on certain things for people who need them. They won't educate you on like formal things like maths and science but like drugs and stuff, it's informative. They are there to support and help.

Mia discussed why she went to the Elmbrook youth club:

To socialise, because the youth workers are always here, you can build a relationship with them. I have a really good relationship with them. They can help you with things like – well we were just looking at finance and stuff weren't we? These people are always there for support and stuff, as well as for running activities.

At Maple Hill, young people at both youth clubs understood the role of the worker, for example Jacob stated, "youth workers support people if they are having hard times, give them information about things, supply condoms and stuff."

Freddie spoke about his experience of youth workers at the youth centre:

Youth workers have got to be somebody you trust, somebody you can get on with, it's about having that relationship where you can talk to them about anything and you trust them ... They don't judge you they just understand that you're young and sometimes that's just what young people do ... and it's not about sitting there going ... that's bad, you shouldn't do that.

Some junior leaders, Grace and Noah, at Maple Hill, who were subsequently being helped to develop their youth work leaderships skills by the experienced workers, stated:

Youth workers are here for our safety and stuff, the club gives us something to do and keeps us off the streets so that we can socialise. The youth workers help and support you and help you learn. It is good to be a junior youth worker because obviously it gives you good learning skills for future jobs.

Such examples illustrate that where youth workers had been enclosed in an environment which supported and developed youth work, they clearly practiced what they had been shown and taught, as young people could identify important characteristics of their work. However, this was not the case when the focus was on positive activities, as the case in Birchwood, which will be further explored below.

8.2 Discourses at work

As discussed in Chapter 3, Foucault considered the power of discourses (Foucault, 2002). Whilst Treescape youth service had many positive stories to share of its work, ultimately such a discourse was not strong enough to withstand the national discourse of austerity being delivered from central Government (Elliott and Wintour, 2010) and the local discourse of just funding the most vulnerable, which was quick to associate with such a national perspective. Foucault (2000b) discussed how tactics and strategies can be used to incapacitate any opposition. In this case, by Treescape council linking into powerful national discourses, their proposed changes could have been viewed as common sense and taken to be true reliable knowledge (Fitzsimons, 2007). Such a strategy worked, as consequently the public consented to the changes, resulting in the significant switch of funds away from community-based youth work.

As such a move appeared to make sense to decision makers and the public, perhaps this demonstrates a wider understanding at work which Foucault identified as a regime of truth (Foucault, 1980c) where discourses align, and decisions are made within what is deemed to be in line with the accepted truth (Rose, 1999). The truth which seems to be followed in the cases studied was that state funded universal welfarism, as embodied by the state providing universal youth services, must end (Rose 1999; Rose and Miller, 2008) and that the neoliberal free market must instead prevail.

8.3 Characteristics present in the sector after the changes

As described in the introduction, the local authority youth service was completely changed as a result of the decisions made at county council level. No longer were there the amount of buildings and youth workers previously present or the internal resources to maintain the knowledge and reach that the previous service had. The next section therefore highlights some important characteristics which were part of the new marketised sector.

8.3.1 A variety of understandings about youth work

The first section explored the contribution that the local authority youth service made to local communities and to professional youth work. However, when this service was significantly changed professional youth work understanding and practice were affected. This was because there was no longer a central body with the remit, resources, knowledge and understanding to help maintain and develop a consistent county wide understanding of youth work.

For example, Bob, the development worker from 'Youth Aid' found that when he discussed youth work with local communities, there were a wide variety of understandings present:

There were a few communities who just wanted a youth club to play pool and table tennis and just wanted something nice for their young people. There's nothing wrong with having a safe place for young people and every time we talked about education or anything like that, some people were quite willing to let us carry on with that that but there were some who had in mind another type of service, probably more like a structured uniformed group where they expected that the young people would be with you for two hours in which they

could not go anywhere. They wanted something very ordered and very regimented and that's not what we were about.

Imogen, the CEO of 'Youth Aid' also commented how the wide breath of understandings was problematic:

Our biggest challenges were when communities didn't understand what youth work is about. Some of our biggest battles were that people wanted to see young people sitting at tables, doing puzzles, doing games and we got into conflict with some of the commissioners because they were insisting that is what they wanted. We found we entered a battle between what the commissioner wanted and what young people wanted and what is good youth work practice. We would then have to advocate and try to persuade commissioners that what they think should happen may not be what young people wanted.

Bob discussed how one funders' expectation clashed with the values of the youth workers working for 'Youth Aid' which became a delicate situation to try and work through:

In one club we were doing our best to make it successful, but it came to a point where I felt we were compromising our professional ethics - around what youth work is. We were being complained at weekly because, as youth workers, we had not phoned young people's homes and let their parents know that they had been smoking. Actually, we were seeking to work with this issue with the young people but in a way which was ethical, through informal conversation and challenge.

The result of such issues meant that 'Youth Aid' started to insist that local councils who were interested in starting a new project should have to undertake some basic training, as Bob described:

We would say to local commissioners "we would like at least one of your council members to attend so that you have an understanding of our ethos. Now at that point you might decide that's not what you're looking for and that's absolutely fine, no harm done ... there are other organisations we can

signpost you to, but at least you can then understand where we're coming from and our ethos.”

When Imogen, the CEO of ‘Youth Aid’ was asked where the understanding of youth work at local level was coming from she replied:

It is different, for some it was ex teachers or retired teachers who were running them and so they had a perception how young people should behave and what they should be doing. In other cases, some leaders thought back to their experience of a youth club when they were younger. Others had no understanding of what a youth club should be but feel that they should be providing one. Although awareness now is slightly better now than it was a couple years ago, I still think that people don't quite understand what youth work is and so they commission something that they don't really know what they're after.

As a result, Imogen reemphasised:

So, as a youth organisation we have to decide - do we deliver what we perceive is what good youth work against what a commissioner actually wants, and do you deliver what young people want knowing that might mean you lose the commission? Or do you deliver what the commissioner wants and then you might lose the young people? And how do you educate the commissioners to understand what it is young people want? In some places we've managed it really well and in others we've managed it not so well.

It appeared that after the changes in the local authority youth service occurred, new power relations were being established. In the above there is the power of the local councils seeking to establish local services fulfilling their wants but in doing so battling the remaining power of professional youth work understanding and practice. Both are seeking to develop a form of relationship that works in the given situation (Foucault, 2000b). Yet the power of the collective professional youth work profession, in the new context, was not as powerful as it was, as there were very few local authority contacts left to help communities understand the nature and potential of youth work. Therefore, a new dynamic developed where money provided a new instrumental mode (Foucault, 2000b) which determined local delivery and whilst the

youth provider could advise the local funding council, ultimately, the local council would do what they wanted, as they held the finance in a newly marketised sector.

8.3.2 The lack of training

Given the closing of the previous local authority youth training department, there was little training available for youth workers. Youth workers had to rely on their own organisation or try and find a provider who was offering training across the sector, such as 'Youth Aid'. As new workers were recruited, due to the limited training available and the fact there was no longer a county wide youth work training culture, as there had been previously, many were just mentored in their roles. Therefore, professional youth work understandings for some, were not strong. This was illustrated by Ann, who was an employed manager/worker overseeing the children and youth provision, at 'Birchwood Community Project', who was recruited from a children and families sector background. When she was asked what youth work was, she stated:

I think part of it is to engage them in the community so that they are not sat on their computer games. I know a lot of them, if they're not sat in front of the computer then they are on their phones. They do it here, it's almost like they're talking to each other via phone. I think it is to give them a social outlet away from school that's not as structured as school.

In this instance, Ann's reply demonstrated that her understanding linked to the positive activities approach which was being undertaken at the 'Birchwood Community Centre' and as such had little understanding regarding the educational or developmental thrust of youth work.

However, even in a youth provider where training existed, i.e. 'Youth Aid', training wasn't compulsory, as Toni, a new sessional youth worker in Maple Hill stated:

there is a lot of training on offer like youth work training, first aid, health and safety, or risk assessment training but it's not compulsory. Unless you want to have a more senior role it's not compulsory to do it.

As such Toni, who had only received mentoring, stated that youth work:

Is providing a space and a centre for young people to come and relax in and have a good time. As a worker you are present as a friend, as someone that they can look to for support and that they can trust with their problems.

Mentoring by more experienced workers appeared to be the preferred method of training used by the youth providers. For example, when I attended the youth sessions at 'The Oakland Project', they had recruited some new staff, but I found out that the only training that they had was via mentoring with a more experienced staff member. In house training was possible but had not been available but was recognised as a real need, as Janet, the leader in charge clearly stated: "we really need staff training."

Yet, it wasn't just new workers who weren't confident on what professional youth work entailed, as some of the managers in the newly developed organisations who were providing youth work weren't youth work trained, but were more business orientated instead. For example, Rory, the chair of the 'Oakland Project', discussed his understanding of youth work and said:

There's a certain amount of role modelling involved. The bit that I hadn't appreciated was the importance of a safe social space where the youth club, for some of the kids, is the only place they can come to where they feel secure and can enjoy themselves and relax, that's something I'd not really taken on board I think. I guess it is about engaging with young people, trying to give them some positive experiences, positive role modelling and to educate. There's no doubt we try and do more than just have a club and try to make it a useful experience. We try and teach them a few life skills along the way ... I guess it gives them some good experiences of engaging with adults hopefully, which some might not get otherwise, I don't know.

Eddie, the manager of the 'Birchwood Project', who also wasn't a youth worker, gave his thoughts regarding youth work:

The aim of youth work is to give young people a better understanding and a better grounding in life so if they have situations or problems, they've got somebody more their own age that they can relate to, perhaps better than their parents who is good at listening and signposting them to where they need to be going ... if they've got an unstable family background then they

need peers to point them in the right direction and say “that's not acceptable behaviour just because your parents do that doesn't mean you've got to do it”. You also have supporting the other issues they might need like if they want to leave home, they want housing advice and a youth worker should be able to help them.

The fact senior managers were no longer youth work qualified was a distinct shift from the previous situation within the local authority youth service, but maybe not surprising as managers in the marketised sector required business skills in order to keep projects afloat and response to the requirements of the market (Nicholls, 2012).

Given this context, TJ an ex county youth service team leader reflected on his thoughts on the knowledge and skills a youth worker needed, in his view the requirements of the job required quality trained workers:

I've seen that you need good youth workers in a community to be able to make good things happen. They need the ability and the capacity to engage with young people, they need the strength and the charisma to help work with all the various interest groups in the community or you've got to be strong and stand up to the police or local councillors. You've got to have a complex series of skills and strengths to be able to cope with this and with 40 kids a night who are kicking off. There could also be a fight outside, somebody might have written "fuck off" on the toilet walls and broken into the playgroup store cupboard, all this a youth worker has to cope with. I don't think that's possible now, with a few volunteers, who are at best locally trained or locally qualified, who have other things going on in their lives who haven't got that full-time capacity or the vision.

Given the situation where training was limited, TJ's thoughts paint a bleak picture in regard to the long-term skill level of youth workers working in this sector, given that new workers were not developed and supported as they used to be.

8.3.3 Different levels of resources

When the local authority youth service was significantly changed, as the impacted on training illustrated, there was a substantial decline in resources available to undertake and support youth work in the county. In the cases studied, noticeable differences that were apparent were numerous, some of which will be discussed

here, and some in the following chapter. I will now explore the reduction in full time staff and a reduction in the overall resources available to undertake educational and developmental youth work.

As TJ and previous interviewees mentioned, there had been a large number of full-time youth work posts available within the county employed by the local authority delivering youth work. Through the implemented changes, this number was reduced dramatically. In terms of the youth providers who undertook local contracts, the number of full-time youth workers employed by the youth providers was minimal. It was only 'Youth Aid' who as a larger organisation had some full-time workers employed by them, e.g., Natalie who oversaw 'The Youth Collective Project' and Natasha who oversaw the Elmbrook 'Youth Aid' sessions. However, both their roles were split so that none of their time was exclusively dedicated to a community. Therefore, there was a noticeable change in the amount of time which youth providers committed to a community, due to funding issues, and what appeared to be the 'direction of travel' by the youth providers was the greater use of sessional workers who were not as well trained as full-time staff. Ellie, one of the sessional workers in Maple Hill, discussed how she had seen the pressures put on the full-time worker Natalie, who was responsible for her:

Youth Aid went through a restructuring, so Natalie had more other stuff to do and didn't actually have the hours available to deliver. So initially various sessional staff ran the sessions. Eventually one sessional worker left, and Natalie had to come back into delivery. I guess Youth Aid didn't want to pay for a replacement.

Whilst sessional workers were used in the local authority youth service, they used to be significantly supported by the dedicated full-time staff member based in the community. This was the case at Oakland. Sandra continued her part time sessional youth work after the changes occurred. She specifically noticed that when a full-time member of staff was not present, tasks were not undertaken and continuity across the evening sessions stopped. She stated, "I could say to John [the full-time worker] we need this doing, we need that doing, as I'm paid for 2.5/3 hours and that was it, it was done." Such support enabled the sessions to run well, as the full-time worker got the resources required together. However, since the full-

time worker was not present, there was no one to do such tasks which impacted on the educational basis of her work. Therefore, such tasks were either left undone or had to be picked up by other busy staff/volunteers as in the cases at Birchwood, Elmbrook and the session run by 'Enterprise for Youth' in Maple Hill.

As the local authority youth service changed, many of the resources that it held to support educational and developmental youth work also went with it. This meant that the youth providers had to rely on the resources that they had, as there was no central store or negotiated sharing process which had been developed. As such, there was a difference between the providers linked to such resources. For example, Toni, one of the sessional workers at the 'Youth Aid' run session at Maple Hill, discussed their resources and stated:

We have so much equipment and resources. We have the TV, the computers, the pool table and in the office, we have the drug box and the sex talk box. We have all of that stuff, so we do have a lot of stuff there but if we want to do certain activities then we have to bring it from the headquarters.

This was the experience of the workers from 'Youth Aid' also running the youth club in Elmbrook. However, it was a different situation in Oakland, who previously relied on the youth worker and their links with the youth service for many of their resources. In this case, the youth provider had very little resources for their youth sessions. So much so, that Sandra, the part time youth worker at the 'Oakland Project' stated: "I'm running a session, with no money. I'm also just paid for delivery time and no prep work, that is it. We are raising money on the tuck for activities, that's what it's come down to."

The variety of resources available was down to whether the youth provider had resources which it had built up over time but also down to finance, as discussed in Chapters 7 and 9. Overall, the amount of resource available to the youth providers was lower than had been present for the local authority youth service, which in some cases was impacting the educational and developmental role of traditional youth work.

Bob, the development worker at 'Youth Aid', summed up the situation when he reflected on the situation after the changes to the local authority youth service:

Through communities thinking about cost so much I think there is a real threat of losing professional input and the qualified worker led sessions. Instead low-cost volunteers or unqualified workers will replace them and what we're going to lose is youth work and we're going to exchange it for simply safe places.

Such a departure from the previous view of youth work, upheld by the local authority youth service, was happening at the 'Birchwood Community Centre.'

8.3.4 A variety of practices

'Birchwood Community Centre' was the place where the move away from professional youth work was most noticeable, as the manager, Eddie, had focused on providing positive activities with little wider educational developmental work taking place.

One of the previous staff members who worked at the centre when the changes first took place, was Terry, he confirmed this was the direction of travel when he left:

I think the managers got caught up in the previous Government's agenda of providing positive activities. I would argue that a lot of the centres that are running have got into that, and their positive activity for young people is only seen as physical activities, not developmental activities for young people, i.e., learning about budgeting or other educational opportunities. Therefore, the activities on offer are purely physical, running around and taking part in pool, rather than having negotiations, discussions and debates as when people see the word activity they automatically go running around, rather than consider deeper developmental options.

When I visited the sessions they were built around interests such as craft or sport. The sports sessions were for older young people and the format was purely about giving the maximum time to play. When interviewed, Ray, the leader of the session stated the aims of his group were:

To give young people of the local community a place to come and hang out, a place for them to take part in organised sport in a safe friendly environment. We work with young people from different backgrounds and it's a good opportunity for them to mix with different people that they don't normally meet

and to learn some new sports. Ultimately, we look to modify behaviour and by being role models help them to take that on board, and use sport as a way of channelling their behaviour.

He felt that by having aspects of sports coaching and role modelling, what he was doing could link into both sports' development work and youth work:

I don't think you really can define what I'm doing. I think it falls into both youth work and sport development because we're teaching different games to these children and young people and talking to them about their lives.

However, within my field notes I noted:

Despite what Ray said, the program was so filled with sport that there was little time made for meaningful relationship between young people to develop, apart from a short time at the beginning and a small break in the middle. I'm also not sure whether the aims were mirrored by other staff members who just played sport and didn't interact much with the young people outside of the formal sports time.

This was backed up also by one group of young people who were interviewed who stated:

Interviewer: What do you think the aim of the club is?

YP: To just get kids to have fun and enjoy themselves and be active

Interviewer: What do you think the role of the workers are?

YP: To help us have fun and get on and if we fall over to check we're okay and stuff and to keep us heathy and fit

Another group also stated:

Interviewer: What do you think the role of the workers are?

YP: To be referees and to watch and look after you, so you don't get hurt and stuff so they can contact your parents

So young people effectively just saw the workers as a means to provide activity and ensure their safety. Terry, a previous member of staff commented about the strategy undertaken:

For me, the strategy undertaken at the centre is where it gets problematic, because it wasn't about youth work, it was about getting people in to show that we have got young people using the facilities, almost ticking a box, so we could demonstrate to the local parish/town council young people using our facility.

Youth work was very different in Treescape when the research was undertaken, compared to when there was a state funded youth service overseeing youth work county wide. Instead of a service upholding, maintaining and developing a professional stance on youth work, youth work became whatever the funders, in negotiation with the youth providers, wanted it to be. This was compounded by limited resources which were available for training of workers, time for workers to prepare for youth work sessions, as well as scarce resources supporting the delivery of youth work sessions which encouraged educational development.

This is of interest in the light of Foucault's (1980b) understanding that it is at the local level that power and change can be understood, as it is at this level that a diluted version of youth work has started to develop and deemed to be acceptable, becoming normalised (Foucault, 1998). This has the potential of making professional youth work, as previously seen in the form represented by the county youth service, a distant memory, which may not be able to be recovered.

8.3 Summary

This chapter has explored how in the past, local authority funded youth work had a significant impact in communities and the lives of young people as a result of their physical presence in local buildings and communities, in which funded youth workers were situated and supported. Through centralised training and development, the understanding and practice of professional youth work was further consolidated and promoted which helped to develop a strong youth work focused institution exercising power/knowledge through the activities of its' staff. However, when the changes occurred as a result of powerful national and regional discourses, the understanding and practices of youth work started to change locally. This was because local council funders, in negotiation with local youth providers, decided the nature and form that locally provided youth work should have. This was dependant on the amount of funding, staff, training and resources which the individual youth provider

could justify. The result was a varied mix of provision where educational developmental work was being challenged by less costly forms, where the focus was on positive activities or the provision of safe spaces with trusted adults, who didn't need to be youth work trained.

Whilst this chapter has started to explore some of the changes that were evident in local youth work as a result of the changes that had occurred, the next chapter further focuses on some of the issues that the youth providers specifically were dealing with, which help to explain further, why youth provision was being shaped as it was. To help with this, the theoretical perspectives provided by Zygmunt Bauman will be used and applied to the data accordingly, in order to help reveal some important issues present.

Chapter 9 – Analysis 5: Liquid Times

The previous chapter discussed the impact of the local authority youth service and how, through its presence and resources, youth work was referred to in a consistent manner and practiced in a way that enabled others to develop their skills, knowledge and understanding. However, when this institution was no longer present, it was noticeable that the understanding and practice of youth work was changing.

Reasons for this included the lack of professional advice and support available across the county, the lack of training opportunities, the approach adopted by local councils and contracted youth providers, as well as the minimal availability of money and wide mix of resources.

This chapter explores various issues which were highlighted in the data faced mainly by youth providers and those working for them. Firstly, the process of fragmentation will be discussed as a result of marketisation and competition, which has left the sector with individualised youth providers who no longer worked together. This meant that many of the youth workers interviewed felt isolated and unsupported. Finance will then be explored, as this became a constant concern for managers and workers, along with recruitment and retention of youth work staff. Finally, the views of young people regarding their experience of youth provision will be discussed in order to discover what was important for them. Throughout the data, Zygmunt Bauman's ideas on individualisation, *sicherheit/unsicherheit* and consumerism will be applied given the relevance of his ideas on the changes occurring in society in a post-modern world, as highlighted in Chapter 3.

9.1 Fragmentation & individualisation

In Chapters 1 and 6, neoliberalism has been discussed as a rationality of government (Kelly, 2013; Rose, 1996) which has resulted in the advancement of market principles, processes and associated values in many previously untouched areas of society (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018). Competitiveness is one of the outcomes which has been established, which has been held up as an unquestionably good quality to nurture and as such often goes unquestioned (Bauman, 1999). However in the case of youth provision, the introduction of market principles and competitiveness seemed to have dismantled previous strongholds of collaboration and partnership between many local youth organisations, which the

local authority youth service had previously encouraged through regular infrastructure meetings and through supporting the work of the voluntary youth sector. The data demonstrated the following characteristics were present in the area after the youth service changes, these were deemed to be negative by the respondents.

The local authority youth service had provided leadership and direction for youth work in the county and so when this was no longer in existence there was no organisation designated and supported to offer such guidance. Imogen, the CEO of 'Youth Aid' explained this:

In the current situation there's no county youth strategy, which makes it really difficult to know what the key needs of young people are and what should be done. There seems to be little or no oversight ... So, one of the biggest issues is the fact that there is no joined up work and everybody's commissioning their own independent work with no strategy around what's actually happening. We've been into a situation recently, where we were asked to go into an area and when we got there, we did an initial assessment of what was available. We identified that perhaps there was no need for what we were being asked to do, but were told to do it nevertheless because we had accepted the role. I think sometimes the young people don't know whether they're coming or going because they are coming across all these different youth workers all the time who aren't necessarily talking to each other.

A similar reflection was offered by a local councillor after a 'Youth Collective' management group meeting that I attended. My field notes from the meeting read as follows:

At the end of the meeting when people had started to drift away, one councillor came up to me and shared with me that since there was no youth service, youth provision was fragmented, with no cohesive strategic plan as they were all competing with each other. She thought this was disappointing and not very productive.

This councillor had noted that the reality of the situation had changed from one where there was a sense of collaborative support, overseen by the local authority

youth service, to one where local organisations were competing against each other, in order to get local contracts and access to funds, which had resulted in fragmented uncoordinated youth providers following their own agendas and not able to work together as they once had. This change was also noted by Bob, the development manager of 'Youth Aid' who stated:

There is an element of competition between organisations competing with each other and I think there's certainly an element of divisiveness. It can be really frustrating at times because opportunities that could be shared, slip through the net.

Kirsty, a parish/town clerk for Pine Cross, who was involved in the 'Youth Collective Project' similarly commented on the unwillingness of youth providers to work together:

What we've tried to do here is to work with all the different youth work providers trying to involve as many as possible, but it's been really, really hard work to get them to work together, especially as contracts come to an end, as they're all competing with each other. There may be quite a lot of youth provision available, especially if you include organisations such as Scouts and Guides but it is really fragmented and there's kind of this unwillingness to work together.

Even, when there is an offer of support from an independent agency, the nature of competitiveness has meant that such an offer has been viewed negatively, rather than positively as Dean had discovered. Dean was an ex-local authority youth worker who had secured a new role with the local authority backed 'Targeted Youth Intervention Service' who in the course of his duties offered specific targeted support in the same vicinity as locally funded youth projects. He stated:

Some organisations are very open and are happy for me to support them with extra sessions with my mobile youth work van. However some organisations see me as a competitor ... For some reason, not all partners can see the benefit of us all working together. I think 90% of the trouble I experience from local youth work providers is based around funding, and where they are getting their money from. If they see me going into a community and providing a service, then they see it as a threat, as they can't then say there is

a need and so apply for funding to do something similar. From my perspective that is not actually the case, they should be going for that funding, as what I provide should complement the service they offer. That would allow me then to go out and work in other places where there isn't any other youth provision, instead of having to stick to specific communities where there seems to be confrontation between different youth providers.

One outcome of competition between providers was often poor communication between youth work providers. This was especially the case where two rival organisations shared the same premises, such as in Maple Hill. This was observed by Perry, a local minister in Maple Hill:

Communication between agencies is interesting and has been interesting for me to observe from the side lines. I know some staff members to speak to from both organisations but communication between the agencies hasn't always been brilliant.

Dean, the youth worker from 'The Targeted Youth Intervention Service' discussed that another outcome of competition between youth providers was friction between them:

There is fragmentation and competition across providers. It is not necessarily the case that one agency doesn't like the other agency, but rather what we get is friction between them when specific funding streams are around. For example, if two agencies have applied for the same piece of funding and one gets it and the other one doesn't, then that causes some friction and resentment.

However, not only was competitiveness between youth agencies evident, competitiveness between local parish/town councils also was observed. When 'The Youth Collective' project was first developed it was perceived to be a model way forward for local councils to work together in order to enable youth provision to happen in different locations. Different areas agreed to commit different amounts of funding in order to ensure all communities benefitted. However, as time progressed in the newly created free market, so did the desire from some of the local communities to withdraw from this model thus fragmenting the collective to individual

communities. Dean, the youth worker from 'The Targeted Youth Intervention Service', reflected:

The difficulty with 'The Youth Collective' model is the funding model. Some councils are paying for one session a week but are getting two or three sessions. Others are paying for four/five sessions a week and only getting two. So, the money doesn't balance up and this is where I know there's a parish/town council who has decided to go on their own so that they know that what they're paying for, they're getting ... What has happened is that one local provision has grown faster than some of the others and has gone down the route of replacing their old youth centre. Now they have got the centre, they have had to decide, do they want 'The Youth Collective' as a model to continue to run it, or do they want to run and manage it themselves and appoint their own people. They are going down the lines of getting their own people in, so they will become a town focused, town funded self-perpetuating provision ... and so they are withdrawing from 'The Youth Collective.'

Bob, the development worker for 'Youth Aid', discovered that such rivalry was present between various local community members even before the future of 'The Youth Collective' model was discussed. He stated:

I spent a lot of time thinking about how 'The Youth Collective' model could be done differently ... but the difficulty you've got is the relationship there may be between communities. I can think of one community in particular who would say because we are a bigger community, all of the villages from outside are coming in and using our resources. We're paying for this and they are not giving us any money, so we don't want to share with anyone else.

As discussed in Chapter 3 according to Bauman (2001b), modern society places great importance on the role that individuals are required to play, as each person becomes focused on providing for their own needs, only investing in relationships from which they can benefit from (Bauman, 2001b). This has the effect that relationships are seen to be transient and disposable (Bauman, 2007). However, I argue that such a characteristic highlighted by Bauman, is not only applicable to individual subjects but also to individual youth providers within the marketised youth sector, which developed following the changes in the local authority youth service.

This is because, as the above interviews demonstrate, as competitiveness developed between youth providers, so did the fragmentation of the sector, meaning that youth providers became individualised, primarily focused on their own interests and existence. In fact, such individualisation was seen starting to affect local parish/town councils, as demonstrated through the disintegration of 'The Youth Collective' project, where local councils chose to put their own needs before the wider needs of the collective. According to Bauman (2001b), such negative impacts should be expected, as linked to the development of individualisation is the corrosion of cooperative citizenship and a type of Darwinian ethos, i.e., the survival of the fittest, which the data demonstrates was evident across the cases studied (Bauman,1999).

9.2 Isolation

Another consequence of competing youth providers was that many of the employed youth workers felt isolated, as they only had the resources of the employing organisation for support, whereas previously there may have been shared training and networking opportunities available through the local authority youth service or funded infrastructure support for the voluntary sector. However, due to funding restrictions such support had ended and not been replaced. The individualised support for youth workers available in youth providers was varied in nature. For example, Tom a youth worker for 'Youth Aid', based in Elmbrook stated: "My support is pretty much purely from 'Youth Aid'. My managers are my main resources." Natasha, a youth worker who worked with Tom for 'Youth Aid' had realised that her support was limited, when she stated: "When I think of our work here, I feel like often the work we do is quite insular. I think we're in our bubble of Elmbrook within our bubble of 'Youth Aid'."

At least Tom and Natasha had some support and a little 'in house' training was available due to the size of the organisation. However, smaller youth providers had fewer resources and as such youth workers felt isolated and unsupported. This was the case with Janet, who was a youth worker at Oakland, who felt that the only support available to her were her fellow colleagues:

There feels like little wider support for me, who do I go to? Who do I sound off to? One of the other workers, Tony, has been brilliant, we just moan at each

other before we open the club up, so we are each other's professional sounding point. That infrastructure to support people like me, isn't there, not even amongst the board members. I think, that as none of them have a youth work background, they leave us alone to get on with it.

Janet was an experienced part time youth worker who had known the benefits of the support offered by the previous local authority youth service. However it was the parish/town clerk, called Elisha, who perceived that the changes which had occurred contributed to the sense of isolation and being unsupported amongst the youth work staff:

As there is no full-time worker, the part time workers don't cross paths with each other that often, they are like ships that pass in the night. When it was county council run they had a youth worker that was in charge of everything, and was in probably most evenings and had that consistency and who was able to support other workers. Now, you haven't necessary got that.

The sense of isolation was further exacerbated when youth workers were working in rural contexts, in small youth providers. For example, Sally, who worked for 'Enterprise for Youth' based in the rural location of Maple Hill, said:

I do still feel slightly like I'm on my own, sometimes you do want to bounce things off somebody and my contacts are based in another area and I think if I didn't have another role and the ability to discuss things there, I think I would feel out on my own.

'Youth Aid' also delivered sessions in Maple Hill as part of 'The Youth Collective Project' and created a localised hub for staff. However, this meant that the youth work staff didn't have regular contact with the main headquarters of 'Youth Aid', meaning the staff felt the effects of both institutional and geographical isolation. Ellie, one of 'Youth Aids' youth workers reflected:

If I was working with 'Youth Aid' on a different project I would go into the main headquarters regularly but on this project, it's in its own little world which is actually very unsettling because our only contact with the rest of the wider organisation is via our line manager. So, it's very, very isolating, it would be

helpful to have some kind of support network because we've only got each other.

Even Ellie's manager Natalie recognised this was an issue:

We struggled with working out in the community, as being based in a rural community was quite isolating as we felt separated from the rest of the organisation. Being local was better for the project but not necessarily for the staff.

Another factor contributing to this sense of isolation for such youth workers, was not only the resources of the youth provider but the fact that the majority of youth workers were part time often working evenings, and couldn't necessarily attend any meetings in the day. A point that Janet, a part time youth worker from Oakland was keen to point out:

There are some funding meetings where you get all sort of different areas come together but they are at two o'clock during the day and the youth centre is our second job in the evenings so if we might get paid for our time, how do we get there? Such meetings are during the day, but we work on our other jobs at that time. I'm assuming this goes back to how it was when there were full time jobs, then you could attend because that was part of the job role, but not now.

The local union that supported youth workers had realised that isolation was an issue that it needed to tackle. TJ, an ex-local authority youth service team leader and union representative stated:

We want to and are able to support youth workers because more and more people are working in an isolated way. For example, somebody in Birchwood, doing their little thing may not have any other support, they are totally vulnerable to the whims and wishes and desires of whatever power structure there is there.

However, they were struggling to let part time workers know that they were there for this purpose.

Discussing the plight of individualism, Bauman (2007, p.67-68) argued that "Once competition replaces solidarity, individuals find themselves abandoned to their own

pitifully meagre and evidently inadequate resources ...” and that the processes of individualisation take place without the consent of individuals. When applied to the cases studied, what is revealed is that individualised youth providers have only got a limited amount of support that they can offer to their workers, and in many cases local youth workers found that they were effectively left to fend for themselves and according to Bauman (2000) find ways to adapt and stretch themselves, in order to discover what they were capable of. However, such an understanding demands a level of motivation and determination of a youth worker which appeared to be decreasing, given the sense of isolation that they were experiencing and further concerns regarding their long-term future.

9.3 Finance

Funding was a consistent issue that appeared to be a concern amongst managers and workers as long-term sustainability could never be fully guaranteed. Bauman (1999) called this sense of insecurity ‘unsicherheit’, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Even with the local council funding, all youth providers had to apply for other funding sources in order to keep themselves sustainable. For example, Janet, a youth worker for the ‘Oakland Project’, stated: “Funding seems to be one of the key challenges as we are dependent on funding to pay the staff their wages. Unfortunately, everything does come to money.”

However, it was one specific area that all of the youth organisations found difficulty in obtaining, i.e. funding for ongoing staff costs. Elizabeth, the Birchwood, community centre treasurer especially commented on how hard it was to find other funding streams that would help with staff costs, she explained:

Whichever grants we go for, they don’t like to pay wages; they want things to be done for the young people and they want them to be done properly ... but one of our biggest challenges is paying the salaries of the people that we’ve got.

This experience was echoed by Sally, a youth worker for ‘Enterprise for Youth’ who stated:

Funding is a real challenge as everybody is going for the same pot of money and the vast majority of these pots don’t actually pay for running costs.

They'll pay for equipment, they'll pay for independent people to run projects, but it is so hard getting funding for a regular, continuous youth worker. So, to try and survive, you are constantly battling between ensuring you write bids well and submitting them on time. This is incredibly frustrating and stressful.

Kay, the parish/town clerk in Oakland also discussed funding for their staff:

The 'Oakland Project' is totally dependent on funding for their staff ... the youth workers who are employed are very passionate about what they do and have a good relationship with the young people that attend, but I don't know if any of them would be willing to do it for free.

Perhaps because local councils did fund staff costs, that could be a further explanation as to why competition for local community contracts was relatively high amongst providers. However, once a youth provider had secured a contract, it was only for a fixed term period. The issue with this is that there was a potential for local councillors to change, as Sara, a local district and parish/town councillor in Maple Hill stated: "Next year all the district councillors are up for re-election and then year on year, you also get the local parish/town council elections. This is quite a significant threat for sustainability and continuity for local projects."

With any new councillor, there may be new objectives and potentially other youth providers favoured, making such local contracts insecure and uncertain in the long term.

Another issue that also faced the long-term funding of youth providers was the fact that local parish/town council budgets were increasingly being stretched as a result of their own liabilities and responsibilities being pressured, often by unforeseen events or by possible added obligations pushed down to them from district/county councils. For example, Joy, the parish/town clerk in Maple Hill, described the increasing list of liabilities that the local parish/town council was taking on:

Every November we decide the budget for the next year so every November we have to look at all the priorities. At the moment we're having lots of work that we need to do on trees, people plant trees and then in 30 years you've got a huge tree that needs coppicing and pulling down, you can pay £500 for just one tree and if you have got a few hundred of them, it suddenly builds up,

over time. We've got allotments we manage, we've got the old cemetery, we've got a new burial ground, a play area and we are having to provide funding now to some local playing fields, as the organisation which looks over these has some financial problems. So, we have quite a lot.

Ultimately, if a local parish/town council was faced with financial issues, Elisha, the town clerk of Oakland stated:

We would have to make a choice, either cut the cloth and reduce the amount of youth work provision or we would need to take the money from somewhere else or we would have to consider putting the precept up which may require a referendum.

Insecurity and uncertainty were not only a worry for senior managers seeking to keep their organisation afloat but was present amongst other members of staff. For example, Janet, a youth worker from the 'Oakland Project' stated:

Funding is constantly in the back of your mind, especially have we got the money to keep going, but I suppose I trust the senior managers to let me know if we are in trouble and something's going wrong. It looks like we will not receive a grant from the local district council next year and we may lose about 10k, which is worrying but I expect we will just keep on plodding along.

Natalie, a local manager who worked for 'Youth Aid' as part of 'The Youth Collective Project' explained the insecurity and uncertainty of her situation, due to funding and not knowing whether contracts were going to be renewed:

At the moment there is a lot of uncertainty due to not knowing about the future of funding and the local contract. The issue is I've got a team of people that I have to keep motivated until at the very least the end of July, with me and them knowing that we could all potentially be out of a job. But the nature of youth work is ever changing, you know we could get a pot of money in tomorrow and we could be ok for the next five years. It is a real up and down journey, like a minefield at the moment and throughout the year - it's always really pressurised in March/April because you're always seeking funding applications for this, that and the other. And then April to June you're waiting for the results to come in, so you can set your budget. It is always like that.

Sally, a youth worker for 'Enterprise for Youth' understood that wider contextual issues also affected her and the organisation that she worked for, as she stated:

I'm not sure that the youth sector will ever be secure and change for the better as things always seem to be uncertain, you never know what is going to happen. For example, we may have a possible new Government shortly and so this may have an impact on us. Therefore, it is hard to make decisions about the future until you know what might happen for the next few years?

This data clearly demonstrates that 'unsicherheit' was being experienced by individuals at all levels in the organisations providing youth services, ensuring that all work hard and do what they can to bring funds in, so that the particular organisation can survive. Bauman (1999) discussed that the economy of insecurity and uncertainty is good for business as it can be effective in ensuring human activity is focused on keeping the economy going. Just like many of those involved in the cases studied, the result is that the vulnerability of the individual will work hard to try and make their economic existence as secure as possible (Bauman, 2001b). Such precarisation, as Lorey (2015) argued, is a form of governmentality, as it encourages people to behave as self-governing individuals reacting to the context that has been created.

9.4 Recruitment and retention of youth work staff

Another issue that contributed to managers of the youth organisations feeling of unsicherheit was the difficulty in staffing their projects, either via paid staff or volunteers.

In Birchwood when the changes happened, the community centre tried to employ youth workers directly, but they found it hard to find people, according to Alyson, who was working there at the time:

Eddie, the manager was struggling to find youth workers. He had advertised, and I don't think anyone came forward. He wasn't offering a bad rate. I don't think it was JNC professional rate, but it wasn't too bad.

This experience, early after the changes in the county youth service, was also faced by 'Youth Aid' who were one of the organisations picking up local community contracts. Bob, the development manager stated:

When the changes happened, the original model we had was the plan to recruit youth workers locally. We assumed wrongly, that with all the redundancies associated with the changes in the county youth service that there would be a cluster of youth workers who were looking for work. We learnt quite quickly that wasn't the case, so one of the challenges we came up against was having to find new workers, recruit them, train them and roll them out.

This recruitment issue seemed not to improve as time progressed as a number of years after the changes occurred when they sought to employ a youth worker to cover maternity leave, Rory, the chair of the 'Oakland Project', discussed how hard they had found recruiting a youth worker to cover their staffing gap. He stated:

When one of our youth workers went on maternity leave, we tried to find another worker to cover her hours as well as some further hours. What we found was that although we had some brilliant youth workers in the team, most of them had day jobs and we just had no luck. We found it extremely difficult to recruit a youth worker who would work 18-20 hours a week, to do all of the required sessions. That's one of the reasons why we ended up with the current state of affairs, having many different people being paid to do short sessions.

Alex, the CEO of 'Enterprise for Youth' confirmed this was still the case when interviewed, stating "In my experience there is a lack of youth workers out there."

Traditionally, volunteers have played a significant role in the youth work sector taking responsibility for sessions and providing further support to paid workers. The experience of the youth providers interviewed was that volunteers were also in short supply. For example, in 'Faith Matters' Sophie, one of the managers stated: "The opportunities for us are immense. The challenges are getting the people to take up the opportunities".

The youth workers, Natasha and Tom, who worked for 'Youth Aid' at Elmbrook also stated that one of their main challenges was finding volunteers. Natasha, said:

It is hard to find quality volunteers just at the moment, who will be here week in and week out, building relationships up with the young people. They are

out there, and we often get bits of interest here and there but currently at the moment we don't, we don't have a solid base of volunteers

In one community, they found that volunteers were present but just didn't want to work with young people, as Rory, the chair of the 'Oakland Project' stated:

We do get volunteers into the project but almost all of them are really interested in doing voluntary work in the library. We've only had one person who has ever been keen to volunteer in the youth club but that really never came to anything. I think it is because young people can be quite challenging. Those that volunteer for the library are predominately people who have retired, and they've got time on their hands. It's a nice environment, it's quiet and quite a social activity. The youth club is very different.

This situation was confirmed by Kay, the parish/town clerk who said "it is difficult to get appropriate people to volunteer for the youth club. We did think that we wouldn't get volunteers for the library, but they've got probably about 100."

Others found that even if they did find volunteers they were hard to keep, as Natalie, the local manager for 'The Youth Collective Project' stated: "in the last two or three years, we've had about ten volunteers over all, but we've never been able to keep them long enough to be able to develop them."

This experience was shared by those who worked at the 'Birchwood Community Centre'. Terry, a youth worker who worked for Eddie, the manager, said:

In terms of recruiting volunteers, it was very difficult or if you got volunteers, they'd only stay for a short time. As a community centre the unemployed, often volunteered as you need to have a job to get a job. So, a lot of them used it as a stepping point to go somewhere else.

Imogen, the CEO of 'Youth Aid', suggested the reason for the lack of volunteers was that:

When you're asking for volunteers to run a youth club you're putting them out of their comfort zone probably a little bit more, you're asking them to be doing something that is slightly alien to them and you're giving them all the fears about health and safety, risk assessment, safeguarding and so you will

probably be asking more from them as a volunteer to run a youth club than we are from other opportunities. Most of our partner clubs would say that recruiting enough volunteers is probably one of the major problems.

This is despite youth providers realising that volunteers need further support, for example, in Birchwood, Eddie the manager of the community centre believed that volunteers needed to be supported by paid staff members:

You should never get somebody to volunteer if you haven't got them supported with a paid member of staff and you certainly shouldn't just take on a load of volunteers so you're not employing people. That's the kind of mix we seek to have here.

This model was also evident at 'The Oakland Project', as Rory the chair of the project explained:

We have found it very difficult to get volunteers to run youth sessions. Given the choice, we would probably do it the other way for cost reasons [have volunteers run the youth sessions] but we are lucky that we have had some funding to support staff costs. Therefore, our model is based on having a core of employed staff around which you can create a pool of volunteers to support them.

Despite organisations wanting to support volunteers, Paul, a community development officer in the Greenacre district thought the issue was likely to be burnout:

My worry is that you've got the same people who are on the parish/town council, you've got the same people who might be volunteering in the library and you might have the same person who's running the local sports club. I can see these people saying "no actually enough is enough, I've had enough." We're gonna have that ... volunteer burnout or exasperation.

The changes made to the local authority youth service put an end to a good number of relatively secure youth work roles as well as the 'in house' mentoring, support and training that used to provide a supply of staff to fill relevant posts, so this may account for some of the difficulties in recruitment. However, Bauman (2001; 2000), Lorey (2015) and Standing (2016) discussed the characteristic of contemporary

business, to use flexible, short term contracts as a means to support primarily the business rather than the individual. Such arrangements were being used within the cases studied. Yet, with such use, Bauman (2001a; 2001b; 2000) noted that individuals were also developing a strategy to cope with this situation, i.e. deciding to undertake work, which suited their wants and needs. As a result, perhaps the lack of recruitment of volunteers and paid staff was due to the opportunities being available not aligning to the terms wanted by potential volunteers or youth workers. This could be due to insecurity and uncertainty regarding long term funding, the use of short-term flexible contracts, minimal support and training as well as the challenging nature of some young people. Therefore, perhaps it should not be a surprise that recruitment of staff is low. This is an important outcome of this research, i.e. for employers to seek to do all that they can to align the opportunities that they have with the wants and needs of their current and future staff as the youth work staff, are their key commodity.

9.5 The views of young people

Young people from all the projects studied gave their views on why they attended, what they enjoyed and how they would make them better. In Chapter 8 it was noted that relationships with youth workers were an important dimension of why young people attended. Further analysis of the data collected from young people showed that in the youth clubs situated in Oakland, Elmbrook and Maple Hill, young people also attended their particular youth club for social reasons, as it was a place where they could meet friends, new people and relax in a place of safety where they would not get into trouble. 100% of young people interviewed in Elmbrook responded with such thoughts. For example, Ivy from Elmbrook stated:

There's the youth club which is in the skate park and so this place has its own sense of community like everyone knows everyone who comes here. Most people come every day after school, and you get to know everyone here. It's a place to hang out, if you don't arrange to come with someone, you know someone's going to be here. So, this place has friends and community. It's nice because it's warm, it's homely almost.

Elsie, from Elmbrook also stated:

I come to the youth club because it gives me an opportunity to socialise. Since this club's opened, I've been able to socialise more with older people here. I talk to them a lot, which has been good.

Zack from Maple Hill had a similar view to Elsie:

There is something here for everyone, I meet those younger and older than me, we all just muck in and enjoy it. As a result, I've got a diverse range of friends. So, it is a good place to socialise and meet new friends. If I'm on my own if I come here there's going to be at least three or four of my mates, it's warm and you can do stuff.

It was no surprise that the young people at Birchwood went to their club for the activities, given that it was focused on providing positive pursuits.

However, where the young people experienced different youth providers at the same location, they had much more to say about how the different youth sessions were run, and young people attended the sessions where they felt most comfortable. For example, Tristen attended both groups at the youth club in Elmbrook but personally liked the session run by 'Faith Matter's because he "got to know everyone really well, so I find it more comfortable", whereas, Ethan liked the session run by 'Youth Aid' because he felt the session was "more social" with a chilled vibe, and "because you don't have to really read the Bible because I'm not that religious."

At Maple Hill, many young people stated they enjoyed the session they attended by 'Enterprise for Youth' because they had felt that there was a different atmosphere to that of the 'Youth Aid' session. They particularly commented on the fact that the atmosphere created by 'Enterprise for Youth' was relaxed, friendly, age appropriate with good relationships between young people and youth workers, which was different to the atmosphere they had experienced in the other session, this had resulted in greater numbers attending one more than the other.

In terms of how the youth clubs could have been improved, there were three key elements which the young people wanted to see happen across all the youth projects studied i.e. trips, further resources/activities and longer opening hours.

In Oakland, many of the young people discussed such aspects. For example, Arlo and Grayston discussed trips:

Arlo: We used to go on trips, the last time we went on a trip was...

Grayston: I've never been on a trip here

Arlo: They were stopped years ago

Both: It would be good to do something.

Others, from the other youth clubs stated that some trips had been organised but cost was an issue, as the young people had to fund these themselves.

In terms of resources/activities, there was a real mix of suggestions. For example, in Oakland suggestions included a computer console, new pool cues, sports equipment, new computers and improved WIFI. In Maple Hill a computer console was suggested and more practical sessions, e.g. cooking.

Thirdly, many of the young people across the youth projects felt that the youth clubs should have been open longer. For example, Ruby suggested for her youth club in Elmbrook that she would:

Change the hours because Tuesday and Friday's they are good days but they are only on till 9 and the majority of those who come here are 13-17+ and at that age we are out later so I think they should make it 7-10 because...when the club stops people start loitering around until late under the shelters over there because it's water proof but I would rather come here than go over there.

Chapter 4 discussed how development opportunities in the youth organisations and clubs had diminished since the changes in the youth service. It was clear that whilst the young people attended the clubs as they were safe places where they could meet their friends, investment in resources and activities was felt to be required.

The youth workers also felt this was the case, for example, Janet the youth worker 'The Oakland project' stated:

If money was no object, I would make part of the youth centre into a music studio with all the relevant music equipment. I would branch into forms of work that we can't do now, such as mentoring projects, going into schools and working there. I would also spend it on doing more activities with the young

people such as DoE stuff, weekend residentials, trips, loads of stuff, which just gets young people involved and doing, rather than just turning up.

When asked to explain further, Janet stated:

Apart from paying bills and the staff, there's not much money to fund other stuff. We are very limited in what we can do, that is why the trustees are always trying to find external sources of funding as anything on top can go towards projects, resources and stuff. We managed to get £500 a while ago, this was spent and due to the nature of youth work, most of the resources are now broken. It is hard to do anything especially when you are trying to introduce things like a cooking evening or healthy eating, and it comes out of your back pocket - you can't afford that all the time. Sandra does a brilliant job of running the tuck, any excess goes into the kitty, so we have £20 to play with, which is fabulous but other than that, it is really hard.

Meg, the local councillor, agreed more money was needed for resources:

I'm aware of what is going on in the youth club and all the young people seem happy. We don't get any complaints about it but they just need more money spent on them so give them more things to do, more exciting things. Music I think would be amazing, to have a recording studio in that little room, I've been researching it as it's just the right size. Plus, there's a potential for money to be made from renting it out.

Toni, a youth worker who worked for 'Youth Aid' in Maple Hill also stated:

Funding is tight. We don't get much funding for trips out so it's up to the young people to pay for it. So we can't ever go too far because we need to make it affordable. In the summer programme we took the young people to the nearest seaside resorts and arboretum, as well as a week-long residential. It's just that we don't have the funding to do them that often.

Imogen, the CEO from 'Youth Aid' confirmed that in her experience there was a limited amount given from local councils towards resources and running expenses as she stated:

There isn't much investment really in resources. They may buy a few things if you ask for it or the young people fundraise. In our later contracts we've probably got £10 a week resource budget which allows us then to do cooking and all sorts of miscellaneous things that start to add up.

Bauman (2000) discussed that consumers in a consumer society have been taught that they can try something for a trial period and if they are not entirely satisfied, they can get their money back. Their loyalty to brands is not certain. Bauman's (2000) understanding is that such an approach has been transferred to other elements in life and mentions may have impacted bonds in human relationships. In this discussion, youth clubs could be viewed as products to be consumed by young people, even if such an ethos is opposed to the nature of youth work practice (Batsleer, 2006). As such, given the nature of consumer culture according to Bauman (1998) youth providers do need to be mindful of the experience and environment that is on offer through the youth provision that they oversee.

However, according to these research findings, young people were primarily not drawn to the youth clubs or projects because they had outstanding facilities, resources, equipment or opportunities, but because of the relationship between themselves, other young people and the youth workers (also see Chapter 8). However, they did have expectations and preferences regarding how local youth provision was delivered. They wanted a good atmosphere, with a base of well-maintained equipment as well as possible developmental opportunities available. Yet, it seems that finance and investment in such areas was limited, despite staff realising the importance of such running costs. Therefore, each provider appears to be juggling two significant relationships. Firstly, they need to do all they can to work with the resources they have to provide a 'good enough' service to keep young people engaged and happy because they also need to keep their numbers up, so that they keep their local council funders' happy. This is important because local councils also are part of the consumer society and if they are not happy, the potential is that they will 'shop around' for another youth provider. Bauman, (1998) summed up this attitude by stating "there ought to be a proviso 'until further notice' attached to any oath of loyalty and any commitment." However, whilst this attitude may be advantageous to the local council funder, short term contracts also mean that youth providers may not want to invest in the level of resource/opportunities which may be

needed as they may not be able to sufficiently reap the rewards of such investment over a short time frame.

9.6 Summary

This chapter has explored various issues and experiences of those involved in providing localised youth services in the cases studied within the liquid nature of the post-modern society that Bauman described (2007; 2000).

Within the cases studied, it was noticeable that the collective support and collaboration which had been in existence previously when the local authority youth service was present, had fragmented due to competitiveness, as youth providers were all seeking to find funds to ensure their long term sustainability. However, with the fragmentation and individualisation of youth providers, came a sense of isolation that was experienced by many youth workers as they were left supported only within the youth provider that they were employed in.

Furthermore, youth providers and their staff faced many issues, one of which was finance, which created a sense of 'unsicherheit' (insecurity, uncertainty and vulnerability) as no one could be certain of their long-term future due to the unpredictability of finance. Another issue was the sparseness of staff and volunteers willing to undertake the youth worker role and as such youth providers may need to consider ways of further aligning their staff requirements with the needs and wants of potential and current staff members.

Given that the youth providers were practicing within a consumer society, it was important for them to be mindful of the perceptions of young people's experiences. It was discovered that young people attended their local youth provision because of social bonds and ties but had expectations in terms of how the project was delivered, along with the resources and opportunities available to them. As such youth providers needed to keep young people engaged and happy, as well as their funders as in a consumer society, consumers always have the potential of looking elsewhere for other options if they are not satisfied.

Given the many findings from the data, the next chapter will further discuss and consider the results in relation to the research objectives, in order to understand further the important areas of learning which have been revealed.

Chapter 10 – Discussion

The previous chapters have presented the findings of the research across the cases examined using the conceptual lenses of Foucault and Bauman, in order to help understand what was happening at a parish/town council level in regard to youth work and youth provision in parts of Treescape county. Such data was collected as a result of the research objectives which were:

- To investigate and critique the impact of relevant national and local government policy in relation to youth work in Treescape county, post 2010
- To investigate the forms of community and youth project response to the implementation of the relevant policy in order to identify the characteristics of resulting youth provision
- To identify what is deemed by current service users, providers and other stakeholders as suitable youth provision
- To locate emerging forms of youth provision in existing professional youth work frameworks and to develop further theoretical understandings as necessary.

This chapter seeks to draw together the various features that have been highlighted previously in order to further consider the evidence in relation to these research objectives and further insights that have been produced as a result of data synthesis. It will especially consider governmentality and neoliberalism and seek to sum up the nature of the loconomy. From this foundation, the importance of relationships and the various challenges that youth providers face when working in the loconomy will be discussed, after which, the nature of youth work will be explored in relation to measurement and shrinkflation.

10.1 Governmentality & neoliberalism

Foucault (2007a) discussed how the focus of the state moved towards the oversight and care of the population and noted especially how the conduct of others could be directed through freedom, by making decisions which structure the “possible field of action of others” (Foucault, 2000b, p.341). He later extended the term to encompass

the way individuals chose to act upon themselves in order to achieve change (Foucault *et al*, 1988).

This study has demonstrated that governmentality is multifaceted and relates to decisions that are taken and influence change over both long and short periods of time. Such decisions are made over various levels, i.e., at national, county and local, as various outcomes are sought by different groups with a variety of agendas.

Welfare reforms often involve such staggered decision making. For example, Alesina, Ardagna and Trebbi (2006) discussed that there are two types of reforms that can take place in governmental processes, structural reforms and stabilisation reforms. Structural reforms consist of changes in the financing mechanisms linked to welfare such as “deregulation, privatisation or other market related measures” (Tepe, 2008, p.142). Stabilisation reforms refer to spending adjustments that are made within the welfare system (Alesina, Ardagna and Trebbi, 2006). Tepe (2008) noted that such stabilisation reforms encompass both short term year to year changes to welfare spending, as well as long term spending objectives.

Such reforms involve the understanding of time as it manifests in human existence, often referred to as human temporality or temporalities (Hoy, 2009, p.xiii). These terms may include categories such as “sequence, speed, duration, time budgets, time limits or time horizons” (Howlett and Goetz, 2014, p.477) and are themselves social constructions (Grafe and Hilbrandt (2019, p.607).

When seeking to understand reforms in social welfare, there are many temporalities involved, such as the stabilisation discussion described above. However, an important element that must be considered, according to Pierson (2004), is the context within political decisions are made. This is because, particular moments in time are part of a sequence of events, which include all relevant people, organisations and institutions interrelating and influencing each other (Pierson, 2004). Various, models have been suggested by Howlett and Goetz (2014) to understand the relationship between the elements in temporalities, but for the purposes of this discussion, temporality involves “the timing and order of policy events” (Pillow, 2015, p.58).

As such, when welfare, understood in its widest form (Jongbloed and Pullman, 2016) including youth work, is explored, many changes have occurred across different UK

Governments, closely aligned to neoliberal aspirations from 1979 onwards (Bochel, 2016; Rubery and Grimshaw, 2012) (see Chapters 1 and 2). A significant programme of structural reforms (Alesina, Ardagna and Trebbi, 2006) occurred under the Labour Government (Clarke and Newman, 1997). During this the reconfiguration of the relationship between the state and citizens, the state and the economy as well as the state and its forms and processes (Clarke and Newman, 1997) were changed. This was achieved through an ongoing process of policy introduction, enactment and implementation, at all levels and in all sectors of society (Clarke and Newman, 1997). Therefore, when the coalition Government was elected in 2010, it could capitalise on these changes as it sought to deal with the impact of the financial crisis of 2008 (Rubery and Grimshaw, 2012). As such, further reforms in welfare were announced (Ellison, 2016) ensuring that welfare would follow the austerity objectives of the Government, who were concerned with reducing the country's deficit (Cabinet Office, 2010a).

Part of this reform during austerity, enabled the rescaling, decentralisation and passing down the responsibility for various welfare functions to devolved and local forms of government (Labao *et al.* 2018; Ward *et al.* 2015; McInroy, 2017). Local authorities had already marketised many services that previously they would have undertaken (Labao *et al.* 2018; Ward *et al.* 2015; Murray, 2014). However, given stress in local authority budgets, further reconfiguration of services occurred through the move to prioritise required services above non required services (Koch and James, 2020; Ward *et al.* 2015), a process described as retrenchment (Labao *et al.* 2018). Therefore a greater focus was placed on the local. This was done via the "responsibilisation of communities and individuals" through discourse, (Ward *et al.* 2015, p.453), where local bespoke responses were encouraged to meet specific needs. These included the development of new specific organisations in civil society who responded to a set of increased welfare needs (Koch and James, 2020; Brandsen, Trommel and Verschuere, 2017). Such needs, exposed by austerity, sought to be met by these 'new players', such as the youth work organisations in this study or those set up to meet other specific social welfare concerns such a food banks, despite funds being tight for them (Koch and James, 2020, p.5).

A specific example, that illustrates temporal decision making relates to stabilisation (Alesina, Ardagna and Trebbi, 2006) where benefit spending within welfare has been

reduced. This was specifically targeted by the coalition Government, who reduced its spending by £16.7 billion between 2010/11 and 2015/16 (Ellison, 2016). Equipped with a long-term vision to reduce such spending (Cabinet Office, 2010a), significant changes were legislated for in 2012 through the Welfare Reform Act. These changes sought to make the “benefit system fairer and more affordable, reduce poverty, worklessness and welfare dependency, [as well as] reduce levels of fraud and error” (Department for Work and Pensions, 2015). As such, these measures continued to embed into society key ideals of the neoliberal project, i.e. the moral obligations of citizenship, where citizens could expect some rights to welfare benefits as long as they were doing their part and seeking to work (Daguerre and Etherington, 2016). In practice this has meant a continued temporal timeline of specific changes and reforms that have occurred to various benefits since 2011 to the present day (Newcastle City Council, 2020) across various levels of government.

This temporal dynamic of decision making I wish to call ‘histological governmentality’, because there is a similar dynamic which occurs when tissue is being prepared to be examined in a laboratory. The first stage of this process involves placing the tissue into a fixing agent in order to preserve it and prepare it for further processing. The penetration of the fixative takes time as it diffuses into the whole tissue sample and then it also takes time for the fixative to react with the tissue in order for it to be prepared correctly for further processes. The time taken for such fixation to complete can be altered by temperature (Mescher, 2018). In this way, there appears to be a longer process of penetration and a shorter time whereby further important changes are made.

The term histological governmentality therefore seeks to describe the mix of decision making that occurs over different temporal time periods, adding to previous actions which continue to seek to have an impact on the way people live their lives and undertake their business (Foucault, 2002).

This term especially becomes relevant when it is considered that the main task of governmentality (Lazzarato, 2015) is to actively “govern for the market” (Foucault, 2010, p.121), in other words to ensure that neoliberal values and ideals such as marketisation, competition, enterprise, entrepreneurialism, self-reliance and personal responsibility (Foucault, 2010; Clarke *et al.* 2007) are embedded throughout all of

society, through changes that make room for such mechanisms to take hold (Lazzarato, 2015). Not only does this ensure businesses can develop and have access to more possible market opportunities, but also embeds enterprise at the heart of life itself, so that individuals relate to others and themselves through the perspective of the economic model as the formative truth and power of society (Gane, 2008; Foucault, 2010). In this context, 'histological governmentality' accounts for the "permanent vigilance, activity and intervention" required (Foucault, 2010, p.132) to ensure continued long-term decisions are made to set a direction of travel, in order for this to be achieved.

Likewise, 'histological governmentality' also reflects the continued decisions that allow the process of neoliberalisation or 'roll out' (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018; Peck and Ticknall, 2002) of neoliberal values and associated processes into society. When embedded, they can be seen and viewed as 'common sense' (Hall and O'Shea, 2013; Peck and Ticknall, 2002), such as the moral obligations of citizenship, as described above in the welfare sector (Daguerre and Etherington, 2016). This continued process of 'roll out' (Peck and Ticknall, 2002), or to fit my histology analogy, 'diffusion', seems to require specific on-going decisions and interventions to be made, which then allow marketisation, competition, enterprise and entrepreneurialism to further diffuse into areas that are deemed to need further attention. This process is not necessarily a smooth process, as Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012, p.8) discussed, stating "policy work is often a piecemeal process of 'fixing' problems" but over time, through the various interactions of the elements in the temporal context, reform happens, across the various levels of government and society."

Specifically, in the youth work sector such 'an art of governing' (Foucault, 2007a) can be seen operating over both long and short temporal time frames, as 'histological governmentally' allows.

In terms of temporal long-term diffusion of neoliberal ideals in the youth work sector, this can be seen through the development and normalisation of measurement and management tools (Gane, 2012; Rose, 1996) as well as associated regulatory mechanisms (Peck and Ticknall, 2002). Such performance mechanisms (De St Croix, 2016) firstly sought to quantify what youth workers did. The temporal context

(Pierson, 2004) being the Labour Government and their reforms via the REYS policy (DfES, 2002). This direction of travel was further supported through PfY (DfE, 2011b) which saw various tools and approaches developed and implemented in order for youth workers to demonstrate the impact and social value of their work (De St Croix, McGimpsey and Owens, 2019). Such a move was only made possible as a result of measurement and accountability being established as 'common sense' (Hall and O'Shea, 2013) and normalised (Foucault, 1998) within the sector.

In terms of temporal short-term decisions being made in the youth work sector that further supported the diffusion, embrace and embedding of neoliberal rationality, values and concepts (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018; Kelly, Campbell and Harrison, 2013), one example was the decision to change the funding allocation to local authorities. This was in line with a wider commitment to austerity and marketisation (Koch and James, 2020; The House of Commons, 2011) so that more youth provision was undertaken by other providers rather than the state. This was a roll back process, focussed at dismantling the status quo (Gane, 2012; Peck and Ticknall, 2002) through 'histological governmentality', which effectively dismantled the local authority youth service in Treescap county. However, this decision was also productive in that it opened up the possibilities for new forms of enterprise, where there had been limited opportunities before (Foucault, 2010).

The response from the cases studied demonstrated that on the local level there was evidence to show that those who were instrumental in developing the local solutions were individualised, active people who were content in taking responsibility in creating local solutions, just as neoliberalism encourages (Ward *et al.* 2015; Lemke, 2001; Larner, 2000). Such solutions included the development of new buildings, e.g. the Elmbrook and Maple Hill new youth clubs, as well as a willingness to make relevant organisational responses in order to meet the challenges that faced their local community (Ward, *et al.* 2015) and seek to 'fix problems' (Ball, Maguire and Braun, 2012, p.8) within their temporal context (Pierson, 2004).

In such cases, it appeared that these individuals were displaying a good level of self-governance (Larner, 2000) as well as the characteristics of entrepreneurialism, enterprise and production as homo-economicus (Foucault, 2010). This was demonstrated by many interviewees who expressed personal goals that they wished

to meet through their efforts, epitomised by Rory, the chair of the Oakland Project, who saw “an opportunity to create something really interesting.”

Yet enterprise was not only applicable to individuals. Foucault (2010) discussed how enterprise could even be demonstrated through the management of small communities, this was illustrated through the cases studied in the way parish/town councils exercised local governmentality.

Firstly, they sought to conduct and shape through their decisions where and how young people could and should gather together, through investing in outdoor and indoor youth provision. This was a consequence of supporting and benefiting from the local authority youth service and again demonstrates ‘histological governmentality’ as decisive decisions were laid upon the foundations of longstanding commitments and relationships.

Secondly, through the provision of local finance, parish/town councils created the means to develop a localised market for youth providers to be part of. Local councils then took responsibility for the management of their individual contracts.

Thirdly, in the case of Maple Hill council they chose to establish and then withdraw from the ‘Youth Collective Project’, as they were keen to focus the available funds only on their own community. This demonstrates that at local council level there was certainly a sense of competition between them. It also illustrates what Bauman (2001b) described as the nature of liquid times, i.e. the establishment of a relationship for individual gain and also the transient nature of such connections (Bauman, 2007).

These examples of the display of local histological governmentality are also indicative of micro-politics in action. Micro-politics focuses on the characteristics and processes involved in local decision making. It is “about group relations and the norms associated with them” (McAreavey, 2006, p.88). Therefore, key elements such as the context (Pierson, 2004), the actors and the dynamics between them, all affected the way such local proactive residents responded to the issues which arose, affecting their neighbourhood (McAreavey, 2006). Foucault (1998) discussed such micro-power relations as present within the whole society (Jessop, 2007), but within the cases studied the power relations were galvanised by local councillors as part of the micro-political processes present.

Therefore, the context of austerity, the outsourcing of council services, the discourse of responsabilisation of the local (Ward *et al.* 2015), the decision of the county council to cease funding nonessential services, the presence of local active citizens, plus the enterprise, organisation and funding raising possibilities of local parish/town councils, meant that the stage was set for possible local action. What was required was a common concern of local citizens (Croft and Beresford, 1992) that came in the form of young people, which united all those involved in the micro-political (McAreavey, 2006) processes of each community and the commitment to funding such work.

However, once a local youth service was developed, various technologies of power were employed (Jessop, 2007; Foucault *et al.* 1988), as discussed in Chapter 7, to alleviate micro-political concerns linked to ensuring local citizens were achieving 'value for money' from their local investments. In the case of Maple Hill further micro-power relationships (Foucault, 1998) were at work to influence the micro-political council's decision to withdraw from the 'Youth Collective' model and to ensure money was spent on local service youth delivery instead. Such a long-term commitment to localised youth work, punctuated with further localised micro-political decisions, is another example of histological governmentality in action at parish/town council level.

Yet many interviewees were adamant that their actions had nothing to do with any Government agendas, such as the Big Society, as summed up by Sophie, a trustee for the 'Faith Matters' organisation who worked in Elmbrook who stated "The Big Society I think was just David Cameron's con. The Big Society was operating. In a place like Elmbrook, it's all the stuff that we were already doing." This was because, as far as many interviewees were concerned, it was down to individual and collective action, with local micro-political support (McAreavey, 2006), that helped them achieve what they did and spurred them forward.

Whilst that appeared to be the case, they were also helping to achieve the wider agendas of the Coalition Government as Lazzarato (2009, p.111) stated: "An important aspect of the neoliberal transformation of the social is the recruitment of civil society to serve its objectives." Therefore, it appeared that the Coalition Government were counting on there being such local, active entrepreneurs who had been infused with the right mix of neoliberal thoughts and values and local concern,

to fulfil their plans. From this perspective, the Big Society and rolling back services (Peck and Ticknall, 2002) was a productive 'histological governmentality' process as it relied on the infused truth of market ideals, to mix with a range of active motivations and micro-political dynamics and infrastructure, prompted by the decision to change funding. The motivation of locals didn't matter, as in the cases studied there was a mix between resistance or concern for community and young people. What ultimately mattered was that they channelled their energies into achieving a local solution and by doing so, achieved the object of less state-run youth services.

The fact that such a response was not replicated in all places should have been expected, as in an enterprise society inequality is to be nurtured and encouraged (Foucault, 2010) as it seeks to encourage further enterprise, competition and motivation in those who desire similar outcomes (Lazzarato, 2009). Micro-politics may account practically for other communities not responding in the way that those communities studied did, as many factors needed to be locally present to move such projects forward and achieve consensus for locals to actively fund them (McAreavey, 2006). As discussed by Featherstone *et al.* (2011, p.178), 'austerity localism' is not equitable, which is problematic for areas that are disadvantaged in some way.

However, the mix of neoliberal values and local bonds produced an interesting dynamic for some providers to work with in terms of what I call the loconomy.

10.2 The loconomy

I define the loconomy as the mix of local values, local understandings, neoliberal ideas and associated management processes that are present within the communities studied, where decisions were often influenced as a result of relationships formed from time spent in and with members of the local community.

10.2.1 'Loconomy' and 'Enactment'

Within the field of education there exists a term called 'enactment'. There are similarities and difference between the 'loconomy' and 'enactment', which I will now explore.

Enactment has been identified with all schools who are required to respond to various forms of government policy (Day and Gu, 2018), where policy is linked to

texts which “seek to frame, constitute and change educational practice” (Lingard and Ozga, 2006, p.2). These policies are devised externally from local schools, yet each school is accountable for their implementation (Braun, Maguire and Ball, 2010) so that policy is realised (Maguire, Braun and Ball, 2015).

Yet such policies don’t tell a local school what they need to do (Braun *et al.* 2011). Therefore, such policy has to be interpreted and translated locally through recontextualisation by staff in local schools, given their situated realities (Ball, Maguire, and Braun, 2012). This complex process of contextualised sense making is referred to as enactment (Day and Gu, 2018; Cleland *et al.* 2014; Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer, 2002).

This process of enactment is influenced by situated, professional, material and external contextual factors (Braun *et al.* 2011) with the role of school leadership being of great importance as it is about change management (Gu, Sammons and Chen, 2018).

Loconomy is a portmanteau that combines both the words ‘local’ and ‘economy’. The ‘local’ element of the term relates to enactment in the following ways:

Firstly, local communities and youth organisations had to ‘make sense’ (Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer, 2002) of the various policies that were being ‘rolled out’ in society. Nationally, this included the ‘Big Society’ (Norman, 2010) which sought to empower citizens into social action (Cabinet Office, 2010b) within the context of austerity (Cabinet Office, 2010a; HM Treasury, 2010b). Over time, this political focus on the importance of civil society has remained, with a national Civil Society Strategy being developed (Cabinet Office, 2018).

At a county level, the decision to focus resource on the most vulnerable meant significant cuts occurred to youth services, with local parish/town councils encouraged to take the lead on localised services in their communities if they wished to. Those who chose to were faced with interpreting and translating (Ball, Maguire, and Braun, 2012) various texts. Such texts discussed the process of taking control of county council buildings (e.g., Birchwood) or how local councils might access any small district council funds available to them. However, ‘loconomy’ differs from ‘enactment’ in that there were no specific policies that had to be enacted from a local council perspective and for which they were accountable for implementing, and

many local councils chose not to provide any youth provision and were not penalised for this. At a youth organisational level, whilst there were no national or county policies they were bound to, they did have to ‘make sense’ (Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer, 2002) of each local parish/town council requirements as laid down in the localised contractual paperwork. They then had to ensure that any service that they ran enacted the standardised set of policies which were expected for the safe operation of a youth setting, such as child protection and health and safety policies.

‘Enactment’ is also a useful term to link to ‘loconomy’ as it helps to explain some of the contextual factors that influenced the development of local youth provision in each community. Such factors are noted in the following table using the same headings and understandings as devised by Braun *et al.* (2011).

Table 6 Contextual influences on decision making

Contextual dimensions	Education settings	Community settings councillors/clerks	Community settings youth organisations
Situated contexts	The school’s setting, history and intake.	The historic links in each context to the previous county youth service provision. Contextual concerns regarding the local youth population.	The links with the localised decision makers. The mission, size and experience of each youth organisation.
Professional contexts	How teachers and their values feed into policy enactments, including the influence of senior staff.	The local concern, willingness, drive, entrepreneurialism, values of local councillors working with parish/town clerks to develop youth facilities and contractual arrangements.	The understanding of youth work within the organisation proving youth services from the CEO down through management to the face to face youth worker.

Material context	Buildings, budgets, levels of staffing, technologies and infrastructure.	Budgets and youth facilities overseen by local councils. The resulting youth delivery of youth provider.	What could be offered as a result of the local contract and resources of the youth organisation.
External context	Ofsted ratings, league tables, legal requirements and responsibilities, quality of support.	Reputation of local councillors and the relevant council.	Reputation of the youth organisation.

This table illustrates that the contextual factors highlighted by Braun *et al.* (2011) in the process of enactment of education policy, and provides a useful framework to help to explain relevant factors that each community and youth organisation had to consider when they were required to ‘make sense’ (Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer, 2002) of what local youth provision would look like in each of the cases studied.

However, where my term ‘loconomy’ differs to enactment is in the ‘economy’ element of the term. This seeks to explain the specific local micro-power dynamics (Foucault, 1998) and technologies (Foucault, *et al.* 1988) which existed between local councils and the youth organisations. This is more specific than the wider concept of enactment and my term ‘loconomy’ seeks to highlight the importance of this.

This does not mean local schools would not ever be impacted by the ‘loconomy’, as if they were in a situation where they were in a contractual arrangement with their local parish/town council to deliver services, they would then be subject to the same dynamics and technologies of power (Foucault *et al.* 1988) as described in this thesis. Therefore, ‘loconomy’ is sited in the ‘situated contextual’ dimension of the work of Braun *et al.* (2011) within the wider concept of enactment but is in itself a term describing a noteworthy specific local dynamic, that is not otherwise captured by any other term.

10.2.2. Specific features of the ‘Loconomy’

When drawing all the evidence together, the nature of the loconomy is as follows:

Local community members, including many local parish/town councillors, are really proud of their community assets, e.g., buildings and any outdoor youth provision that they have developed to support young people in the community. In only one case, are these a result of a community asset transfer under the Localism Act 2011 (Birchwood), otherwise in all other cases the assets are as a result of localised work and effort, without any provision made possible via the Localism Act 2011.

Therefore, local community members, including councillors, spoke highly of these assets as they worked hard to secure them in terms of time and money. This was an achievement, given the significant financial constraints which occurred during austerity towards support for the civil society (Harris, 2017). Yet this was an example of civil society at work, under the discourse of 'The Big Society' (Cabinet office, 2010b), demonstrating local entrepreneurialism, social action and forms of self-government (Foucault, 2010; Clarke *et al.* 2007; Foucault *et al.* 1988).

As such, these assets were really valued, and effort was made to keep them in good order.

Therefore, there was often a keen interest taken in a contracted youth provider, especially the workers who had responsibility for the assets, which meant that various technologies of power (Jessop, 2007) such as panoptical systems (Foucault, 1991) were installed to ensure the assets were looked after. However, such systems were also used to ensure that the designated youth provider was undertaking their work in a way that was pleasing to the funder. Such scrutiny occurred through CCTV, visits, meetings and reports from young people and the youth workers. Knowing that there was such a level of scrutiny, youth workers would take a specific approach to their work, to retain the support of the local parish/town council (the funder). Youth organisational resources may have also been committed to developing relationship with those involved in such scrutiny in order to try and develop trust and understanding (see section 10.3).

Each local community had particular micro-political (McAreevey, 2006) reasons why they wanted local youth provision. These reasons included intrinsically positive ones, e.g., for the wellbeing of local young people, or more negative reasons, e.g., to reduce antisocial behaviour. In reality the positive reasons were often emphasised over and above any others. Ultimately, such micro-political decisions were made

locally to develop youth provision in order to benefit the wellbeing of the whole community. Therefore, such examples were forms of pastoral power (Foucault, 2000b) being displayed through governmentality, as they sought to encourage young people's use of designated community youth provision and thus prevent young people causing or getting into trouble.

Such a localised community response, which involved civil society being proactive (Taylor, 2011) can be aligned with many Government policies over several administrations. However, within the Labour Government there was a specific focus on developing active citizens within communities (Packham, 2008) who would, as part of civil society, take responsibility for their own issues (Department for Children Schools and Families, 2007). As discussed, this localised discourse continued under the Coalition Government under the banner of the Big Society (Blond, 2010). The aim was to direct citizens away from forming any dependency on the state, along with a dream for local citizens to ultimately govern themselves (Powell, 2007). However, such a governmental vision of civil society was one sided and could possibly end with local citizens under "obligation to help out, or to take over from, governmental agencies and implement their public policy agenda" (Harris, 2017, p.364). Therefore, what has been argued for instead is a reformed relationship between civil society, government and others, to ensure that more of a mutual ecosystem is established that will benefit all, rather than specific political agendas (Civil Society Futures, 2018).

Local parish/town councillors whilst responsible for local assets and services are only volunteers within civil society (Powell, 2007) and as such, community specific expertise would not be present unless there was someone with specialist knowledge regarding an area of interest. Considering the decrease in specialist infrastructure support to help such local communities, it has meant that the understanding of local councillors towards youth work has differed from professional understandings of youth work. Instead, the views of local councillors may be informed by a wide range of values, micro-political understandings (McAreavey, 2006), micro-power dynamics (Foucault, 1998), professional and personal experience, as well as what other local communities may be providing. Thus, there may be a mismatch between local expectations and those of potential youth work organisations/providers who want to work in a specific way. Such a potential for a difference in values is noted in Table 6

above, as each council and youth organisation sought to enact their understandings in the local context. Therefore, youth organisations need to consider carefully how they may want to approach any difficult discussions, which may arise as a result of a clash between funder expectations and professional youth work ethical understandings. Ultimately due to the technologies of power involved (Foucault, *et al.* 1988), potential youth work organisations will need to be happy with the form of work that is required and offer a service that they are comfortable in providing, given the limited funding and what is possible in each situation.

In terms of finding a youth provider, there was a mix of practice, depending on the local council and their experience and knowledge of such processes. In some cases, a local solution was a preferred option as the provider was a known entity and was deemed to provide all that was required. In this way it kept accountability local. If a local solution was not possible, the local councils studied, went out to tender but may have only advertised such tenders to their local contacts due to the relatively small amounts of money available. This often meant that any interested youth work providers had to invest time in local networking in order to hear about such opportunities.

This process of networking undertaken by service providers to enhance their opportunities, has been referred to as 'structural social capital' (Lee, 2009). This is a development of the initial concept of 'social capital', often applied to civil society, referring to the connections that individuals have between each other and the potential reciprocity which this can produce (Packham, 2008). Such a concept is "recognised as a driver for economic growth and as a facilitator for a variety of improvements for individual and wider community wellbeing" (Office for National Statistics, 2017).

Any tender documentation released regarding service expectations may put the responsibility onto the interested youth work provider to tell the local council what they should or could deliver in the community, rather than the other way around. In some circumstances such a process could be used to further develop the knowledge of decision makers and used to seek a better deal from other interested youth providers and thus is an example of power/knowledge discussed by Foucault (1980b). However, by placing the responsibility on youth providers to decide an

approach for the local youth provision, it gave the youth providers studied a great amount of creativity and flexibility to design provision accordingly. In this way such providers entered into the process of enactment as they chose to creatively consider their response and develop their proposals to meet the guidelines (Maguire, Ball and Ball, 2015; Braun *et al*, 2011).

Whilst interested youth work organisations did need to demonstrate they could run local provision on the finance available, with adequate staff and be apt in safeguarding; due to the local power and political dimensions (McAreavey, 2006) of those involved making decisions, the final result may be influenced by elements that a bidding youth organisation may not be able to account for. Such elements may include relational encounters that councillors have had with youth organisations' personnel, experience or reports of work undertaken by the youth organisation elsewhere and the amount of specific community engagement that might be possible from the youth work organisation. These factors may not be clear to interested youth organisations, especially those who are non-local.

A youth work organisation must be aware of what is possible from the local funding available and note that further time may be required to be committed to such projects in terms of management, local engagement and fund raising, which will not be covered in the money given by the local council.

Funded youth work organisations may be required to share premises with other community organisations which may be rival entities or organisations with very different values, e.g., faith groups, and be expected to make the relationship work between them.

Local councillors may demonstrate a lack of knowledge in regard to how organisations/businesses operate, and so local expectations/ideas which derived from the local council may need to be challenged by funded youth organisations as they may be unrealistic.

Contracts for such work are relatively short, meaning that youth organisations need to be aware that in a competitive marketplace there is always a chance they may lose a local contract to another provider, therefore youth organisations may wish to consider strategies to build strong relationships between themselves and the funder to give themselves the best chance possible of securing a future contract.

As each local community has their own history, perspectives and requirements any youth organisation wanting to serve more than one community have to invest in each community and not offer a 'one size fits all' solution as local communities want a specifically tailored offering, backed up with quality relationships with workers and managers. This is because the local communities involved were 'making sense' (Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer, 2002) of what the changes meant for them and their locality, in line with their history, context, values, resources and ambitions (Braun *et al.* 2011) and so they wanted something bespoke. Such a requirement is to be expected, given that local parish/town councils can develop their own civil society neighbourhood plans, as a result of the Localism Act 2011. Therefore, local communities can plan in terms of local development and so may wish to ensure that their local youth provision links into this (LGA, 2020).

10.3 The situational dynamic in the loconomy

The previous local authority youth service in each community provided all the specialist staff, skills and resources that were required to undertake youth work informed by professional values. As discussed in Chapter 8, workers not only undertook face to face delivery of youth sessions, but their role allowed them to create local networks, for example with local town/parish councillors. As long as the youth service was in place, local councillors had a local point of contact regarding young people, encouraging work to be undertaken as necessary but they did not have to take ultimate responsibility for young people locally as there was another funded service to do this. This changed and local town/parish councils found themselves in a role that they had not been prepared for, with little independent infrastructural support. They therefore had to use the knowledge and contacts which they had, in order to sort out a micro-political solution that all were happy with (McAreavey, 2006). It is interesting to note that in all cases every parish/town council considered adopting an 'in house' community approach first, before looking at other options. Such approaches were evident in the localised organisations/youth providers contracted with in Birchwood and Oakland (Appendix 1 and 2). Elmbrook and Maple Hill also considered an 'in house' approach initially as they explored the possibilities of the local parish/town council employing youth work staff, but they had mixed results.

For some like Eddie, the manager of 'Birchwood Community Centre' and the councillors in Elmbrook, they were confident that they could do a better job than the previous local authority run youth service and were keen to prove themselves. From a Foucauldian perspective they demonstrated foundational qualities of neoliberalism, i.e. enterprise and entrepreneurialism (Foucault, 2010). However, from a Baumanian perspective, it could be also argued that such local councils wanted to be self-sufficient and their local response was a sign of individualism and isolation that Bauman (2000) discussed as being present in the local community wide level. Therefore, they sought to fend for themselves and demonstrate that they could survive in the midst of competing communities.

When youth provision could not be provided by a hyper local (Davies, 2019a) youth organisation, a search for a suitable provider was undertaken as in Elmbrook and Maple Hill. Both these councils sought to find a good fit between their own local values and approaches and those of a youth organisation. A good working relationship appeared to be dependent on the approaches taken by the local councillors and the appointed youth work organisation in each community. For example, councillors in Elmbrook found that they connected with the youth work provider 'Youth Aid' because they had developed positive connections with them previously and felt that there were the beginnings of a positive working relationship. However, the same provider 'Youth Aid' was used to deliver the 'Youth Collective Project' in Maple Hill and the arrangements they put in place there weren't as effective as in Elmbrook, as they had to try and please four different local councils. The result was that when the Maple Hill councillors decided to fund an extra youth session, they chose to work with a different provider who they felt gave them more attention, took time to build a positive relationship with them and promised to deliver a localised approach using local youth workers, which was what the local councillors wanted.

Across the cases studied, relationships between local councillors and local youth organisations were important and there appeared to be this situational dynamic present:

Figure 13 – The situational dynamic

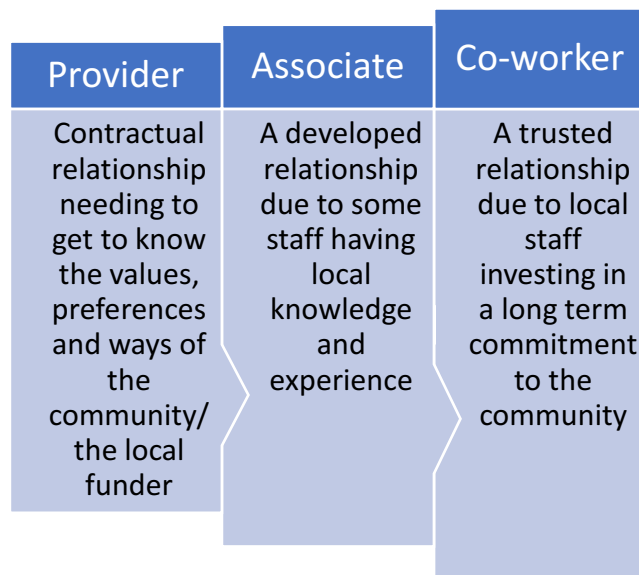


Figure 13 seeks to demonstrate the differing levels of trust that existed between the funder (the local parish/town councils and local councillors) and the youth organisations, which appeared to be in these categories.

The first category I have labelled the ‘Provider’ as this appeared to be a functional contractual relationship, as the youth provider did not allocate enough time to build local connections and therefore the relationship between the staff members and the local decision makers were not as strong as they could have been. This was much harder for larger organisations, e.g. ‘Youth Aid’ in Maple Hill, who were located outside of the community and had many different contracts to deliver.

However, if a youth provider invested time in developing local relationships, often helped through locally known workers being present in the community, then a stronger relationship seemed to be built up with the parish/town council and local councillors, this increased the chances of their local contract being renegotiated. This situational dynamic I have called an ‘Associate’, as there appeared to be a stronger and closer relationship built than those in the ‘Provider’ category. In the cases studied ‘Enterprise for Youth’ in Maple Hill as well as ‘Youth Aid’ and ‘Faith Matters’ in Elmbrook, showed strong developing productive relationships existing.

The final category I have labelled as ‘Co-worker’ as this situational dynamic appeared to consist of strong embedded connections between the local youth providers, the local council and the councillors. This was because in communities

such as Birchwood and Oakland a local solution was created at the local level with involvement of the local councillors at the start. In such examples, because all of the individual players were known, embedded in the local community, respected and had proved themselves previously, the local council didn't consider supporting any other options and supported the locally grown solution straight away.

One way of viewing such a dynamic is through the concept of communities of practice (CoP) which are everywhere and part of daily life (Wenger, 2005), where people join together to share together in learning on a regular basis (Wenger and Wenger-Trayner, 2015). In the cases studied the CoP concept is relevant as there was a focus, i.e. to develop and continue youth provision in the local community, undertaken by a group of committed local people, who were all active in the process. As part of their theory Lave and Wenger (1991) discussed legitimate peripheral participation, where newer members slowly become more and more integrated into the CoP as a result of their knowledge, skills and abilities developing and being used. Such a theory may help to explain such a situational dynamic as discussed above. The youth providers in the 'Co-workers' category were present at the beginning of the response that the communities made to the changes in youth services. As a result they helped shape and guide the local response, trusted because of their ability, experience, local knowledge, relationships and local micro-power dynamics (Foucault, 1998). The youth providers in the 'Associate' position had made substantial connections in the community and the CoP as a result of the meetings that they attended, as well as demonstrating their abilities through their youth sessions provision and through their staff. However, those in 'Provider' position were welcomed, but as they did not invest the time that was expected and contribute to the community, they were left on the periphery.

Such relationships were therefore examples of capillary forms of power (Foucault, 1980b) well rooted within the social nexus (Foucault, 2000b), where both the funders and providers sought to work with each other and, where necessary submit to as well as exercise influence and power (Foucault, 1980b) when necessary for strategic purposes and long term gain (Foucault, 2000b).

10.4 The responses of the youth providers to the loconomy

As part of the data analysis process a SWOT analysis was undertaken for each of the youth providers that I encountered, using the data that I had collected through observation and from interview content (see Appendix 23). Initially I was interested to discover if there was a practice model which had developed, which was more effective than others across the cases studied. However I quickly realised that this inquiry was dependant on the criteria by which you assessed this and that such criteria could not be applied equally. This was because the approach that was developed by each youth provider was bespoke and their response depended on many different factors, which were unique to the community and to the organisation involved. This in itself is an important finding, as it demonstrates that working in the loconomy means that a ‘one size all’ approach does not work and youth providers needed to consider a range of factors when working on such a hyperlocal scale (Davies, 2019a). The factors would include those discussed in table 6 regarding enactment. By comparing the various SWOT analyses in Appendix 23 they do provide some important elements that youth providers need to be aware of when working in the loconomy. These are set out below:

Table 7 - Collective SWOT results

Collective SWOT results	
Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) All youth providers had a strong financial understanding and awareness of their current financial situation b) Many youth providers had entrepreneurial managers with business acumen, who put a great amount of time in making a success of the organisation c) All youth providers had experience in working with young people, with the majority having expertise as a result of their workers, and knew how to deal with issues that were important to the local council, such as dealing with safeguarding issues and staffing the youth sessions d) Whilst all youth providers expressed commitment to the local communities, those that were able to commit time to developing local relationships with all stakeholders developed a good reputation for what they did e) All youth sessions were positively received by young people although some approaches seemed to be favoured more than others f) The continuity, longevity, experience and locality of youth work staff gave the youth provider credibility in the eyes of young people and favour with the funders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Many youth providers stated that the money received from local councils did not cover all costs and this needs to be factored in, including specific time to undertake local relationship building

<u>Opportunities</u>	<u>Threats</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) If the location of the head offices of the youth providers was local to the delivery, it potentially could access different funds as it was part of the community b) More opportunities arise when there are workers involved in the community apart from just the delivery of youth provision sessions c) Entrepreneurial managers exploring new developments for the youth provider 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) In many youth providers the practical aspects were heavily reliant on a few personnel. If they were not available, then the sustainability of the youth provider would be in question b) All youth providers were concerned and occupied with finding enough money for the continuation of their local service c) The main sources of funding re the local precept and any additional district funding from the county council may be time limited depending on budget pressures d) Potential competitors who could build strong local relationships and influence local decision makers could threaten a successful retendering of a local contract e) Young people and the funders being dissatisfied with the youth provision would threaten a successful retendering of a local contract. Issues could be: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited resources • Limited activities and trips • Limited time for staff to undertake essential tasks which support youth provision delivery f) Unhappy staff due to unresolved issues such as management, communication, isolation and insecurity g) All organisations would be significantly impacted if youth workers left, especially experienced ones as recruiting new youth work staff/volunteers was problematic h) Limited training opportunities for new and existing staff

The previous local authority run youth service could be viewed as belonging to the previous era of solid institutions that provided regular, secure provision for young people and local communities, as well as certain employment for staff and different opportunities for volunteers to develop (Bauman, 2000). As such, it was only a matter of time that such a stable institution was impacted by the move towards more liquid forms of being (Bauman, 2007) as a result of neoliberalisation (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018; Peck and Ticknall, 2002) and globalisation (Bauman, 2007; 1998), resulting in smaller, relatively flexible organisations developing and seeking to fill the gap in communities that the previous local authority youth service left behind.

The above compiled SWOT analysis reveals a variety of issues which needed to be faced by the local youth providers which will now be discussed. The first of these is the impact of reduced financial resources, as this was a significant issue that affected all providers and those who worked within them due to the uncertain and precarious (Standing, 2016; Lorey, 2015) nature of funding streams, as discussed by Bauman (2000; 1999).

Bauman used the term *unsicherheit* (Bauman, 2000; 1999) to name the experience of being insecure, uncertain and unsafe which seems very applicable to the experience of these youth providers who undertake work in the economy, due to the short-term nature of the local contracts, as they could only ever plan within a limited short-term time scale. There was no certainty that such contracts would be retendered and that they would be successful in securing the contract again, as there was always the possibility of a competitor courting local councillors and being seen as a more attractive option. This was demonstrated in Maple Hill when local councillors in micro-political process (McAreevey, 2006) chose to use a different provider, i.e. 'Enterprise for Youth' instead of their first provider 'Youth Aid' for an extra youth session they wished to pay for. Therefore such a situation, which was *unsicherheit* in nature, meant that at an organisational level there was a limit to the depth and commitment that could be made within a community, as by the very nature of short term contracts, all bonds were only transitory (Bauman, 2007).

This is a change that has occurred since the local authority ceased to offer open access youth work in the area. When they did then the youth workers put down strong roots in the local soil and were able to commit fully to the community that they served. However, as such relationships are only transitory (Bauman, 2007) local youth organisations and their workers are similar to plants in pots, which at short notice can be packed up and moved. Such an uncertain situation therefore effects what is possible in local communities in terms of youth provision. This means that from an organisational point of view, there is always an element of self-preservation (Bauman, 2001b) as each youth provider has to look after their own interests. In the cases studied, some did this by seeking to exert micro-power (Foucault, 1998) and influence local decision makers through their relationships, as a result of being in an 'Associate' situation. They also may have explored the possibility of taking on other contracts in other communities, so that they sought to protect themselves against the risk of not continuing to be involved in the locality in the long term.

There are perhaps two exceptions to this. Firstly, those community grounded organisations such as 'The Birchwood Project' and 'The Oakland Project' who occupied 'Co-worker' status (Appendix 1 and 2). In these situations, there was a greater level of certainty that their contracts would continue as they were so engrained in the community that not continuing with them as a provider would have

impacted the community to a large extent, given the amount of social capital which was connected with all those involved and what the project meant to the local people.

Secondly, organisations such as 'Faith Matters' were not affected by parish/town council short term contracts as they had developed alternative funding sources. This meant that they could commit to a community for as long as they wanted and so could put long term roots down into the local community. Such funding sources also had levels of insecurity related to them, but given the experience of 'Faith matters' in the Elmbrook community, they were the longest continual provider of universal youth provision in the community.

Such an unsicherheit situation for local youth providers operating within the loconomy meant that they needed to become more mindful of those they worked with and become more consumer focused (Bauman, 1998). Therefore, they needed to ensure the young people they worked with valued the sessions that were undertaken and attended in sufficient numbers, so that the youth providers were able to please their funders, putting them in a stronger position in the long run. From a local funders' perspective this was a good characteristic of the loconomy as it meant that contracted youth providers were mindful to deliver a quality service. This was relatively easy to check, through the various panoptic techniques available (Foucault, 1991), discussed previously.

However this consumer-focused approach is a threat to youth work's traditional developmental educational base, because youth providers may be tempted to choose to please their clientele rather than undertake activities that might challenge and develop the young people who attend. This wasn't such an issue when the previous local authority youth service was in place, as there was security in the local authority sponsored educational function in the community (Jefferies, 2011; Leighton, 1972). Therefore whilst numbers were important, there still was a greater freedom for youth workers to undertake different activities designed to help young people grow but which may not have been immediately liked at the time due to their challenging nature. This was because the youth worker knew that they were going to be present working with the young people over a long period, committed to their development, and so could try different approaches out without being concerned

about their long-term security. Yet instead of such an approach, contracted youth organisations may make local concerns their priority, such as keeping the building safe from damage (so the funders are kept happy) as well as undertaking activities designed to please the young people so that they keep attending.

The above SWOT analysis also highlights the importance of good quality youth work staff, who were essential for the local youth work organisations in order to take on such hyper local contracts. Many youth organisations had found recruitment of suitable staff hard because there was limited mentoring of local talent, limited training, a continual demise in professional youth work University courses and therefore a smaller number of students either on them or graduating (Pugh, 2019; Richards and Lewis, 2018). Therefore such youth organisations needed to ensure that they looked after their staff, as they could not be easily replaced, although it was unclear as to whether they understood this. This is especially important as the study discovered that different youth work staff were unhappy with various elements of their employed experience. I recommend that employers should ensure their workers are not isolated, are well supported and are listened to, so that solutions are developed to address their concerns. One way of doing this maybe to tap into the short-term objectives of each staff member, as according to Bauman (2001a) individuals invest in self-preservation as individualised entities (Bauman, 2001b) whilst being encouraged to invest in themselves as homo-economicus (Foucault, 2010). Such a focus may encourage a sense of loyalty in staff who then may wish to 'go the extra mile' in order to help the organisation succeed and thus become profitable (Lazzarato, 2009).

When analysing the relationship between contracted youth organisations and local parish/town councils, it appears that the local councils seem to have the upper hand in power relationships (Foucault, 1998), given their control of the finance. When good relationships were developed between a youth organisation and the local parish/town council, further opportunities could develop for the youth organisation demonstrating that power can be productive (Foucault, 1980c). However, such relationships were always in the context of localised technologies of power (Jessop, 2007; Foucault *et al.* 1988) as discussed in chapter seven. Likewise, if there were issues in the relationship, then short term contracts not only ensured that the local council would keep their designated provider 'in check' under threat of not continuing

with them, but through local relational mechanisms (Foucault, 1998) could tarnish their reputation by potential negative feedback. Therefore, there is an exertion of power through various technologies and relationships that youth organisations need to be aware of, which can have significant effects for them (Foucault, 2000). Yet, local councils also need to be careful how they treat local youth organisations, as with the exertion of power comes resistance (Foucault, 1998) and given the small number of youth organisations offering such local bespoke services they may choose to demonstrate their resistance by withdrawing their services, just as 'Youth Aid' was planning to do. Therefore, local councils do need to be aware of the fragile market eco system which appeared to be developing and treat youth organisations with respect in order to be able to access the services of them.

10.5 The nature of youth work in the loconomy

10.5.1 Freedom from target cultures and performativity

A feature of contemporary youth work policy and practice is a focus on measurement, so that impact and social value can be determined (Davies, 2019a; De St Croix, McGimpsey and Owens, 2019; De St Croix, 2018; McGimpsey, 2017). As a result, youth workers are often required to be involved in measurement processes so that the youth provider they work for can justify the value and cost of their work (De St Croix, 2018; 2016). For some youth workers, this had led to such processes giving them a new understanding of their role, purpose and identity, which has been labelled performativity (De St Croix, 2018). Such a situation has been the result of neoliberal practices impacting on youth work (Davies, 2019a).

Despite much academic evidence which has discussed the impact of such processes on youth work (De St Croix, 2018; 2016; Sercombe, 2015; Cooper, 2012; Davies and Merton, 2009), this study found that at the hyper local scale local parish/town councils took a relaxed approach to reporting. This was either as a specific response against previous reporting regimes, e.g., Birchwood or because those overseeing the contracts, i.e. local clerks and local councillors, were unaware of national developments in regard to measurement and accountability (De St Croix, McGimpsey and Owens, 2019). Trust in the youth provider delivering local youth services was also a factor, given the relationship that had been built up between them and the local council. Therefore, local councils just required relatively simple reports, mainly detailing the numbers of sessions run and the number of young

people in attendance plus any other additional information that the youth provider wished to submit.

Such relatively simple reporting mechanisms meant that the youth providers had a great amount of freedom to concentrate their efforts on the work that they undertook, rather than being constrained by such mechanisms (De St Croix, 2016; 2018).

However, many workers didn't appreciate this and also seemed not to know about the national debates. This is entirely consistent with the focus on the local community level, with limited contact with other workers due to the fragmentation of services and the competitive nature of them (Bauman, 2007). However, whilst such a situation may be welcomed by those who expressed concerns about the introduction of measurement (De St Croix, 2018; 2016; Sercombe, 2015; Cooper, 2012; Jeffs, 2011; Davies and Merton, 2009), it is also concerning that such youth providers were not prepared for them, as if they were subsequently required to do so, they would be at a noteworthy disadvantage. Given the reduced amount of training opportunities and time given to workers, this is a significant challenge that needs to be addressed.

10.5.2 Youth work and shrinkflation

When the youth practices of the cases studied were 'Rag rated' (Peat, 2018) and compared to various benchmarks which had appeared in various policies and academic writing over many years (Appendix 24), I found that all the youth organisations studied offered an adult supervised safe space for young people to come together and relax. This offer was either to individuals or to groups and therefore they offered a place for association (Ministry of Education, 1960) where youth workers would be able to talk with young people and provide any required advice and support that was needed. Along with association the Albermarle report recommended that training should be a focus for youth work, which sought to help young people to become "better people" (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.55). In the cases studied there was a mix of discussion with young people which took place in most settings but opportunities above that were limited. Only Birchwood through 'Dynamic Sports' and 'Faith Matters' in Elmbrook sought to actively work with young people through sport. This area therefore had seen decline compared to when the local authority youth service was in place. The Albermarle report also recommended that youth work should include challenge activities. In the cases studied these were

rare and were only offered if there was a known link to the NCS programme or a provider of summer activities, otherwise they were not considered.

Activities, whilst being present, were limited to larger equipment such as pool and table tennis, i.e., larger equipment which was present in the venues being used. Larger organisations, e.g., 'Youth Aid', tended to be able to offer more variety in activities, as they had a central store of equipment which allowed workers to provide more variation; but for smaller organisations resources for things such as craft or cooking were hard to provide. This was demonstrated by how Sandra, a youth worker at Oakland, used tuck shop profit to buy materials for various activities. Likewise, trips out were not frequently organised and only seemed to occur during the summer months when extra money became available to occupy young people during the school holidays. Therefore, due to funding/resource constraints there appeared not to be much opportunity for young people to guide the agenda of the youth provision and so consequently there was little variation of what was being offered.

In terms of education and development, various stances were noted. Birchwood, for example, just concentrated on sports skills development, the other providers all stated that their work was educationally driven. For some, this meant a specific input each week was factored in, but youth engagement was down to the skill of the workers involved. Other providers used a reactive conversational based approach, using the issues that arose to drive informal input. Most organisations therefore did not depend on a centrally devised curriculum document but on the whim of the youth worker whose turn it was organising the input. As a result, there appeared to be little opportunity for the development of wider life and vocational skills including engagement with political systems, citizenship education and expression of voice within the provided youth sessions. Such development opportunities were only available if the youth workers involved had any links to specific known projects and initiatives.

Whilst many youth workers felt that they were undertaking youth work, realistically many knew that they were constrained by the time allocated to them as many only were paid for direct delivery and so there was little or no time for preparation to be

done for their sessions. This was further compounded by scarce resources for activities and trips out.

Given the nature of relatively small organisations, there would be merit in collaborating with others, pooling resources and thus achieving more together than what was being offered individually. However given the competitive relationship between organisations, as a result of enterprise being stimulated (Foucault, 2010) and individualisation being encouraged (Bauman, 2007), fragmentation had occurred, leaving in the place of solidarity, inadequate individual resources (Bauman 2007), in effect narrowing down options and developing a type of tunnel vision, rather than wanting to work with others on something bigger.

What the analysis in Appendix 24 demonstrates is that youth work at the hyper local scale has gone through a pruning process, with managers and youth workers running youth sessions according to the resources and limitations that they have, resulting in various forms and levels of provision being offered, as set out below:

Basic level:

Session focused tasks supported by part time youth work staff

Association and relational building

Conversational engagement and process focused work based around existing activities and facilities available e.g., pool or table tennis with occasional special activities

Occasional educational discussions planned and delivered

Annual summer trips

Backed up with adequate support by a manager, i.e., regular supervisions and support for practical details

Community engagement restricted to the manager and very time limited

Standard level:

Basic level plus:

A regular diverse mix of different activities delivered

Regular educational discussions planned and delivered

Limited time given to workers for preparation and to sort out practical details

Premium level:

Standard level plus:

Regular trips and wider educational experiences available

Backed up with good support by a manager, i.e. regular supervisions

Adequate time given to workers for preparation and to sort out practical details

Adequate time given to youth workers and manager to develop wider relationships with the community

All the cases studied could be fitted into the above typology apart from Birchwood as it was an approach focused on skills development/positive activities only. Stripping this down to its component parts would leave:

A positive activities basic level

Session focused supported by part time development staff

Association and relational building

Instructional and conversational engagement undertaken to develop specific skills bases

Backed up with limited support by a manager, i.e. regular supervisions and practical details

Community engagement restricted to the manager and very time limited

When these models are compared to what was offered in the previous local authority youth service, I would suggest that the 'Premium' level would have been classed as the normalised service offered. This was described by TJ, an ex-county youth service team leader, when he compared a previous county council run youth club, to what had developed after the cuts:

At Acorn Grove, within the last 5 years under the youth service the youth worker ran a broad range of activities, there were residential, there was a youth exchange with Lapland, there was a range of possibilities and activities and trips to broaden the kids horizons and why? Because the staff had the time to do that. 18 months ago, I took young people from there to a rally, in Bridgewater and through my union activities went to the club and easily found a group of kids who wanted to come and what did I find out? It was the first time that there had been any trip out, anywhere, since it had stopped being a county council provision ... because there just wasn't that capacity anymore ... there wasn't the funding, there wasn't the staff with the time to organise it or even go on it. There appears to be no developmental work going on with the kids. There is no attempt at broadening horizons ... they are like holding pens, it's always been a busy centre, when there was professional staff there it was a vibrant place, there were lots of activities on offer, a load of weekend activities ... all of that is gone, it's all gone, and I'm ... fuming and nothing that I've heard has made me change this view ... but on the whole that is really what's on offer. It's not good enough to have a youth club once or twice a week where kids go, cause a bit of mayhem and go again, there is no sense that there's any educational development work.

TJ, described the situation where the local authority youth service had professional youth workers with expertise, time and resource to commit to young people and a community. What he had witnessed since the youth service ended was youth provision that was below that level. I would suggest that the majority of the youth organisations that I visited, were operating below such a 'premium' level, because they did not have the same level of resources that were previously available, a situation also compounded by the need that youth organisations had to not only break-even but make money in order to help them achieve their current and future objectives. Therefore there has been a move from youth work being conceived as 'an art' (Young, 2006), where youth workers appeared to have a greater sense of freedom to work with young people in creative and flexible ways to support their developmental growth (DES, 1987), to a form that has become a commodity, as the aim now is to sell youth work almost as if it were 'a piece of art'.

In terms of delivery costs, in 2004, Wylie and Smith undertook a Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) research project exploring the possible cost of a detached street-based youth work project offering a full range of services (Wylie and Smith, 2004). Within the final report, there is a breakdown of headings and budget costs expected to be incurred when running such a project.

During my research, projects were very nervous about giving me details of their costings, given the competitive nature of the sector. I was only given details of one of the projects and whilst I cannot give the figures, due to confidentiality, below I compare the budget headings between the listed items for the street-based project with the budget headings of one of the youth providers studied.

Table 8 – Budget headings compared

2004 Street based youth work cost headings (Wylie and Smith, 2004)	Centre based youth organisation delivery cost headings
Staffing and on costs including: JNC pay scaled rates NI and pensions Staff development Travel and expenses	Salaries and on costs
Operation overheads Office base Telephones Stationary and copying Computers	Administration Office equipment and stationery Marketing and advertising Telephones/broadband Volunteer expenses Misc
Resources and equipment £1000	No heading and no budget against this area
Programme fund for residentials etc £1000	No heading and no budget against this area
Management costs	No heading and no budget against this area

Transport costs	No heading and no budget against this area
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What this shows is that, for the street-based project in 2004, there were many more headings listed with a budget figure attached, compared to one of the youth organisations studied. Given the previous discussion, despite the location of the 2004 project being based on the street, such a project had a budget allocated to resources and equipment as well as to programme funds. These sections are notably missing on the centre-based youth organisation above. It is also noteworthy that staff training and development are factored in on the 2004 budget sheet. There is no way to know whether this is included in the on costs for the centre-based youth organisation. However, as discussed in Chapter 9, it would not be surprising if it were not included, as training of youth workers was limited. Therefore, such evidence does demonstrate that youth work organisations after the end of Treescape county youth service were having to budget differently, given the context and finance available to them.

When exploring the reasons behind such a financialised product based youth work, at first glance, it appeared that the form youth work took in each locality was not controlled by the local councils but the youth providers and their managers who were bidding for the contracts. For some, like Eddie in Birchwood, they were upfront and purposefully didn't sell the vision for youth work, but positive youth activity focused on sport development. The rest seemed to be selling youth work but in emaciated forms compared to the previous local authority funded versions.

Such emaciated forms could be understood in the light of austerity and the wider financial squeeze of the sector, where organisations working with children and young people faced significant financial challenges given decreasing funding sources (Lyall and Bua, 2015; National Children's Bureau, 2012). Therefore, such organisations were required to be creative in order to adapt to the austerity environment and survive (Clayton, Donovan and Merchant, 2016; NCB, 2012).

This raises the question of whether such organisations were purposefully miss-selling cheap imitations of youth work, 'taking advantage of' local councillors who may not know the difference as it may need a specialist trained eye to see.

Given the evidence that local councillors didn't have a great knowledge base regarding youth work, I do think that they were at risk of being 'taken advantage of' and there were hints of this happening as, on occasions, youth providers used scare tactics to demonstrate the need for their services (see Chapter 6). As such, this was an example of a power/knowledge technology (Foucault, 1980a) being deployed, i.e., the use of specialised knowledge by the youth organisations to highlight issues and possible solutions. Such use of specialist knowledge and information was designed to make the funder feel that they needed help and that the 'pitching' organisation was the one to choose, as they had the service that the funder required. However, in terms of whether youth providers were miss-selling youth work, I don't think this is the case. Instead, I believe 'shrinkflation' had happened.

According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS) (ONS, 2019) 'shrinkflation' is:

a term used to describe the process of a product's size being reduced while its price remains the same. If products "shrink" in size while the price stays the same, the price has inflated, as consumers will pay the same amount of money for less.

'Shrinkflation' happens to many products such as food stuffs, when economic pressures mean that savings have to be made. In youth work, I believe this has happened as it has become financialised, i.e., that "the ideas, codes, measurements, metrics, metaphors and power structures of finance ... dominate and recalibrate all manner of institutions, social processes and cultural norms" (Haiven, 2017) in different ways (De St Croix, McGimpsey and Owens, 2019). Therefore, given that there wasn't the resource in terms of the previous local authority run youth service, as table eight above serves to illustrate, local youth providers bidding for contracts had to decide on the form that could be sold as youth work. The form that the youth work being 'sold' had, by financial necessity, shrank and was understood as the 'best that could be done' by the youth organisation with the finance given. This form varied, depending on the youth organisation but was still being sold as youth work, despite core components only being available when finance and worker time, permitted them to be. Therefore, it is in good faith that youth organisations sold the form of youth work that was possible, given the resource available.

'Shrinkflation' from a local council point of view has made the form of youth work being offered affordable and thus achievable. This has meant that hyperlocal youth work has begun to develop itself in many areas of Treescapely county, meeting the needs of local communities, overseen by the local parish/town councils. However from a professional youth work perspective, this is concerning as such slimmed down versions of youth work are adopted as the norm (Foucault, 1991) by both communities and organisations and the full potential of youth work has the potential to be forgotten, despite the young people who were interviewed valuing the provision that they attended.

Dean (2010. p.42) discussed governmentality and defined the technologies of power (Foucault *et al.* 1988) linked to governing as the "mechanisms, procedures, instruments, tactics, techniques, technologies and vocabularies" used. He argued that those who govern are required to install and impose technical mechanisms through which government can achieve its aims. This view is similar to Miller and Rose (2008) who also regarded technologies of power (Foucault *et al.* 1988) as the processes put in place by ruling bodies to help them rule. However, they also discussed that technologies not only included the overt intentional direct instruments which are used but also included the indirect and unintentional ways, which develop in civil society, that help required goals to be achieved.

Throughout this thesis different direct technologies of power (Miller and Rose, 2008; Foucault *et al.* 1988) have been referred to, implemented mostly by the parish/town councils as discipline approaches (Foucault, 1991), as discussed in chapter seven. Such technologies were implemented to ensure the micro political (McAreevey, 2006) objective to achieve 'value for money' was realised and that the service being provided was fulfilling expectations. However, perhaps 'shrinkflation' was an unintended consequence (Miller and Rose, 2008) of the local councils choosing to set a specific limit on the finance that they were prepared to commit to a youth work contract, raised from localised tax payers. Given, that the context was austerity and that there were limited funds available for youth organisations to survive, this placed these local funders in a powerful position (Foucault, 2000b). They could demand as much as possible for the money available, through the technology of tendering and contracting. Organisations who were cash strapped at this time, had no other choice

but to fit a form of youth work into a constrained budget. This had the effect of shrinking the size of the product of youth work down, given the set price.

By looking at TJs Albermarle inspired discourse response, above (see section 4.6.1), the concept of shrinking youth work down to meet a cost price, was inconceivable.

The stark contrast between what he experienced during his work in the county youth service and what was being offered as youth work at the time of the study, is a further illustration of neoliberalisation (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018) and liquification (Bauman, 2007; 2000) in action. This was an example of the disassembly of a known institution and associated practices, which then were replaced with a financialised model (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015). This has resulted in a reduced youth work form being produced and practiced.

However, such a contemporary approach to youth work practice is a pragmatic form as suggested by Wylie (2013) as youth providers weigh up the managerial/financial requirements with possible practice requirements. Through this, youth work has taken on a new form at the local level (Jeffs, 2015; Wylie, 2015; Wylie, 2013; Jeffs, 2011). However such a slimmed down version of youth work may not be the innovation that Jeffs (2015) had envisioned would arise locally to inform the national picture. The local approach to measurement, may be welcomed as a way of demonstrating a radical approach which is contrary to the overwhelming neoliberal requirement for using measurement tools in youth work as discussed by De St Croix (2018; 2016).

10.6 Fitting the concepts together

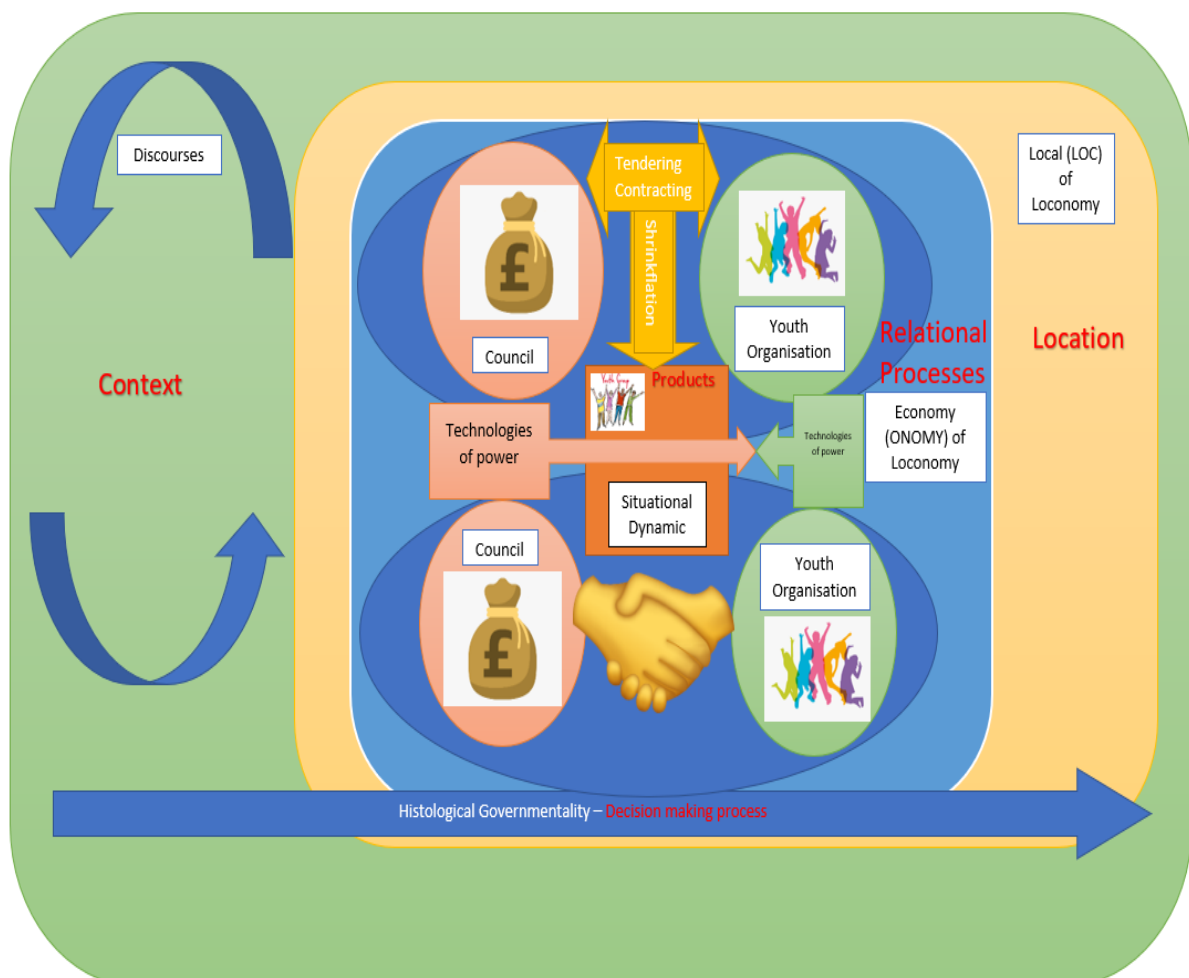
Figure 14 below demonstrates how the various elements of this discussion fit together.

Within a locality there are various relational economic processes occurring which I have used the term 'loconomy' to describe. These processes are linked to the way local parish/town councils relate and work with local youth organisations, who wish to be or who are, contracted to undertake work for the council. The first process depicted is the tendering and contracting process which results in a youth organisation being chosen as the youth delivery partner for the council. However as a result of the amount of money available from the local council, in the context of austerity, shrinkflation has occurred.

The second process pictured illustrates the ongoing relational links that are present between the local council via the councillors and the contracted youth organisation, where a situational dynamic is produced.

Throughout such processes are different forms of technologies of power (Foucault *et al.* 1988) which are present, many of which flow from those linked to the local council exerting various technologies of discipline (Foucault, 1991) to shape further the youth work product that is realised. Running through this process is histological governmentality, at national, county and local levels, given the various discourses and context such as austerity, which will affect long- and short-term decisions, to ensure the objectives of Government are achieved at these levels.

Figure 14 – The loconomy in action



10.7 The need for a ‘parrhesia’ organisation

This discussion has found that policy changes significantly impacted youth work in Treescape county, with the only investment in open access youth work being at the local parish/town council level. This developed a localised market and relationships between local councils and youth providers with an interesting set of characteristics, which I have called the loconomy. The result has been that a variety of forms of youth work have been undertaken. Whilst these have been appreciated by local parish/town councils as well as the young people they service, these forms do not compare to the previous form of youth work practice undertaken by the local authority youth service. This is because each individualised youth provider has only got a small amount of resources available to them due to the fragmentation of the sector and competition between providers. As such, what has occurred is shrinkflation, as organisations determine the youth work form to be adopted based upon financial pressures.

What has arisen from this discussion is the need for advice and guidance for those involved at the hyper local level by an independent body who can be a ‘truth teller’ and thus demonstrate the notion of Parrhesia (Foucault, 1983). Such a ‘truth teller’, I propose, should have the following role:

To support local parish/town councils to:

- Become aware of what youth work is (via training) and whether this is the form of response they want in their community and, if so, they should be made aware of the various levels at which could be offered, as they may wish to consider spending more money and further increase the form of youth work available in their community.
- Become aware of the loconomy in order to promote discussion on how to effectively manage local values and contractual relationships.
- Consider longer term contracts, in order for long term investment to be made by youth providers and youth workers in local young people, thus helping to develop more security in an uncertain sector, as well as the possibility for deeper work to be undertaken with young people.
- Develop a healthy respect for youth providers willing to offer them a service, in order to prevent the withdrawal of organisations from the market. This may

involve for example, helping local councils understand, through training, the constraints on such youth providers so that helpful processes can be developed which are mindful of how these organisations need to operate.

To support the providers of youth provision to:

- Consider the full implications of what is involved when working with local parish/town councils in the loconomy.
- Consider the form of youth work that they are and could provide.
- Raise any concerns that they may have with their local council in a way which aids understanding and minimises repercussions.

To support both funders and providers by:

- Organising training for parish/town councillors, youth providers and youth workers on a variety of suitable areas.
- Encouraging collaboration so that young people can benefit from a large range of resources.

Such a 'truth teller' would need to be completely independent and not involved in delivering such hyper local youth work so that there would be no conflicts of interest. This role would sit well with either an infrastructure organisation, a regional youth work unit, a local educational establishment e.g., University or even a local authority. In the Local Government Association's Bright Futures (LGA, 2017) vision for youth services it does argue for a similar role to be undertaken by a local authority. The report argues that their role could be to connect people together, to develop staff and to help influencing the direction of the sector. However, self-motivated, individual parish/town councils may not appreciate such a local authority driven approach, as it may be seen as another layer of governmentality (Foucault, 2000b) in an area where they have learnt to exercise their own.

Looking towards the future, youth work on a hyper local scale will continue as long as local councils can use their precept to raise money for local services. The shape of that local work will continue, develop, and change further, due to the nature of the liquid society (Bauman, 2000). The shape will also depend on the needs and wants

of the local council, the understanding of youth work by the youth provider, its youth workers and the amount of finance which is available. On a small scale, such work may remain untouched by wider policy intervention and therefore may prove a haven for those wishing to translate their understanding of traditional youth work within the confines that have been explored in this thesis.

Chapter 11 – Conclusion

Within this final section I aim to summarise the findings of this thesis in relation to the research objectives which are used as subheadings, reflect on the research design and methods, as well as consider possible future next steps for the outcomes of this study.

11.1 The summarised research findings

To investigate and critique the impact of relevant national and local government policy in relation to youth work in Treescape county post 2010

This research has discovered that as a result of 'histological governmentality' there has been a long-standing national commitment to neoliberalisation (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018; Bunyan and Ord, 2012) where the establishment of new forms of markets have been encouraged so that there is reduced costs for the state. Youth work was a clear target for change and this was achieved through amending the remit and funds available to local authorities (The House of Commons, 2011). This meant that Treescape county chose to focus its resources on the most vulnerable young people. The impact on the local authority youth service was a significant reduction in staff, buildings and youth work oversight which had provided a measure of infrastructure youth work support within the county. This left local communities to decide whether or not to provide local youth provision. All such decision making was in the context of the discourses of austerity and the Big Society. Various local people demonstrated forms of resistance (Foucault, 2007a; 2007b) to the implementations of these such policies in action and refused to believe their response had anything to do with the Big Society. However, the many examples of entrepreneurialism and enterprise (Foucault, 2010) which enabled local communities to provide for their local young people, was surely the Big Society in action (Cabinet Office, 2010b) as a technology of governmentality. This was because local examples of homo-economicus (Foucault, 2010) demonstrated active citizenship and the results of technologies of the self, by individuals responding to the prompt to act, given the need that they saw. Circumstances therefore encouraged subjects to use their own freedom (Foucault, 2000b) to take responsibility for areas which were no longer of concern to higher levels of state Government.

Through local parish/town councils raising money on their precept and accessing further monies, they demonstrated local governmentality, as they had chosen to govern for the wellbeing of their community. In order to reduce levels of anti-social behaviour and promote the wellbeing of young people and community members, local councils used various strategies of activity, containment, distraction and location in order for young people to be governed and to develop the skills of governing themselves. As such, these actions have been understood as forms of local pastoral power being exercised (Foucault, 2000b) with the result that more government is present in the lives of community members, especially young people (Bulley and Sokhi-Bulley, 2014).

To investigate the forms of community and youth project response to the implementation of the relevant policy in order to identify the characteristics of resulting youth provision

In all communities studied, the local parish/town council required youth provision to be delivered out of specific locations through a youth providing organisation who had expertise in working with young people. However, the study suggests that other factors alongside expertise influenced the choice of providers at the hyper-local level. One such important factor was the connection and commitment that such youth providers had or would have with the local community and the relationship, which was there, or had the potential to be there, with local councillors and the council. Several other expectations and processes were found to be unique to each community, these were influenced by their local values, understandings and ideas, which each youth provider had to navigate and learn for each community. This localised mix of unique understandings and localised processes I have called the loconomy. The loconomy is a situational dynamic based on relationships in which funded youth providers had to successfully navigate in order to improve their long-term chances of achieving further contracts. This they did through investing time in the local community, attending to localised wants and needs as well as through their willingness to place themselves under the disciplinary scrutiny of local councillors.

Youth providers were only required to submit a minimal amount of paperwork to the local council and as such avoided the impact of targets on youth work sessions and youth workers (Davies, 2019a; De St Croix, McGimpsey and Owens, 2019; De St

Croix, 2018; McGimpsey, 2017). However, providers were subject to a number of wider disciplinary processes which they needed to comply with. Such methods included the use of various forms of surveillance, timetabling, normalisation, management committees and the use of short-term contracts (Foucault, 1991) which formed part of a localised ranking process where youth providers gained advantageous or disadvantageous reviews by local councillors, which had the potential to affect their current or other local contracts.

To identify what is deemed by current service users, providers and other stakeholders as suitable youth provision and locate emerging forms of youth provision in existing professional youth work frameworks and to develop further theoretical understandings as necessary

When the previous local authority youth service was in existence, they had an effect in many communities through the presence of dedicated buildings as well as full/part time workers with the time and resources to embed youth work into local communities. As a collective identity of expert power (Rose and Miller, 2008; Rose, 1999; Foucault, 1981), supported through training and managers who were youth specialists, a strong professional youth work presence made itself known through its networks (Foucault, 1980b), where power/knowledge (Foucault, 2010) were combined to continually make a case for the need of youth work practice within the county.

However when changes to the local authority youth service occurred, it was discovered that youth work understanding by those who wanted to see youth provision in their local communities was often quite weak. In the past the local authority funded youth service would have sought to correct and educate others, so that a similar youth work understanding was adopted by such interested parties; now that they were not present the form that youth work took was passed to the unspecialised funders and the potential youth providers. The result was a mix of practice which developed, some of which had clear roots in professional youth work and other forms which, in the cases studied, focused on positive activities, i.e. sports skills development.

Yet for those forms of youth work which developed, they demonstrated a 'pruned' form of youth work compared to that which was previously in existence via the local

authority youth service. This research has discovered that, due to financial constrictions, youth workers were primarily employed to deliver youth work sessions and not engage with the wider community. They often feel constrained in their educational development of young people due to the restricted resource that they had for educational activities and trips out, as well as an absence of training and support for existing staff and any potential new recruits. Due to marketisation, competitive relationships between youth providers had developed, as discussed by Foucault (2010). This meant that fragmentation of collegiate relationships between youth providers had occurred meaning that there was little opportunity for wider collective approaches to deal with such resource issues (Bauman, 2007). As a result, what I discovered is that due to the financialisation of youth work (De St Croix, McGimpsey and Owens, 2019; Haiven, 2017; Lazzarato, 2015) the impact of restricted financial resources has meant that shrinkflation has occurred (ONS, 2019) in youth work practice limiting providers to the certain level of service which was possible. Youth work therefore has moved away from 'an art' (Young, 2006) form to become a commodity to be sold at a suitable price.

Young people however enjoyed their experience of attending the youth provision that had been developed, as it provided a safe place to meet friends and new people, socialise and not get into trouble, but wanted to see more trips, further resources/activities and longer opening hours. According to Bauman (1998) society is now a consumer society and, as such, youth providers needed to be aware of these wants, in order to maintain high young people's attendance and thus develop a strong case for a contract extension. Youth providers therefore have had to become more mindful of this consumer satisfaction. But I have questioned whether such a focus has inhibited educational development, as youth providers may focus more on keeping young people happy rather than enabling them to experience challenge in order for young people to develop.

Throughout this time of change, youth workers were hard to recruit, and many had a variety of issues that they had to contend with. Isolation was one such issue. As youth work staff were often paid only for the delivery of their sessions and limited other time, there was little contact with other staff members within the same organisation, unless they wished to do this in their own time. Likewise, unless staff lived locally, there was little contact with local people as they were only located in the

community for the delivery session. Therefore, such individualised staff (Bauman, 2007) appeared to be quite unhappy. This was compounded due to communication and managerial approaches which workers encountered, along with a sense of insecurity or *unsicherheit* (Bauman, 1999) not knowing if they would have their role in the long term, due to the short-term nature of local contracts and financial sustainability. Youth workers who seemed to be able to cope in such a context were those who demonstrated a governmentality of the self and were able to work as independent individualised subjects (Foucault, 2010; Bauman, 2007), who were able to deal with the issues that they encountered in the context of the youth provider that they worked for.

Given such findings I recommended that there is place for a 'truth teller' to enable local parish/town councils and youth providers to receive the independent support, help and resource that they need to ensure such work remains sustainable in the future.

11.2 Contribution to knowledge

I believe that I have made a clear and original contribution to knowledge as I am unaware of any previous research on such parish/town funded youth work, especially in Treescapely county, which use the perspectives of Foucault and Bauman to enhance understanding. By using different concepts that Foucault and Bauman constructed, I have been able to understand some of the localised micro-power dynamics (Foucault, *et al.* 1988) which were present in each community. These occurred in the context of wider society changes and governmental rationalities (Kelly, 2006) which have not previously been applied to such hyper-local examples.

I have argued that Bauman's concepts, such as individualisation, can be applied to organisations that provide youth services as well as to individuals.

I have proposed various new terms to the youth work sector. I firstly introduced the concept of 'histological governmentality' to describe decision making processes which allow for long term and short-term action. This was demonstrated to be particularly relevant to the process of neoliberalisation (Peck, Brenner and Theodore, 2018) as the processes and relevant ethos diffuse and seek to embed themselves more and more into society, seeking to change areas which may have been previously inaccessible and untouched, e.g., youth work.

I also introduced the concept of the loconomy which sought to describe the localised mix of values, understandings, neoliberal ideas and associated management processes that youth providers need to work with and within, in a constructive relational way, if they seek to influence possible successive contracts in a community. Such relationship building, I have called a 'situational dynamic', as youth providers needed to consider how much to invest in a local community in order to develop more than just 'Provider' status, so that local funders are impressed by the local commitment demonstrated and invite them to share in the community of practice of the localised youth provision. Yet, the investment in such relationships are conditional on local youth workers subjecting themselves to certain local disciplinary scrutiny practices, which some may not be happy with.

I have discussed that at the hyperlocal level youth work has become financialised (De St Croix, McGimpsey and Owens, 2019; Haiven, 2017; Lazzarato, 2015) as thoughts of finance and the impact of tighter finances appear to be present in all the different levels of interviews undertaken and, in all cases, observed. As a result, I have applied, for the first time, the term shrinkflation to youth work. This is because the form of youth work which was present in the majority of cases studied was at various levels, many of which were lower than what was previously in place by the local authority youth service. Cost was the major factor of this situation as youth work was now being sold in forms that would appeal to local council funders.

11.3 Research design and method

I felt that the research design and approach was appropriate for this study. However, I think that this study would have been improved if I had also explored communities which entertained the idea of developing their own youth provision but failed to do so, in order to find out why these were not successful. This would have also helped to further triangulate the data (Stake, 2005) and the conclusions which I have drawn from it. This is because such examples when compared with the current data, may reveal which elements are especially required for communities to respond in positive ways.

The design could have been further enhanced if the time allowed for the data collection from the cases was extended, as six months is quite a short period of time over the life span of this PHD. Factoring in regular updates from the cases studied,

would have enabled further data to be collected around the successes and challenges experienced by those within the economy, which may have further supported the development of knowledge and understanding in this thesis. However, in reality this was not possible due to the amount of data already collected and the time this took to process.

In terms of the methods used. I felt that the observational visits worked well and enabled me to see what was happening in various places. I was also pleased with the interviews that were taken across a relevant sample. The area which I think would be worth developing would be the data collection from young people. The approach I used may have been more effective if young people were co-researchers with me (Carrington, Bland and Brady, 2010). In this way, the process would be educationally developmental for the young people (Shaw, Brady and Davey, 2011). They may also have been able to collect a greater amount of data as peers, in terms of interviews, than I have done due to the established relationships they would have already had (Schafer and Yarwood, 2008). I also think that young people's views could have been tracked throughout the data collection period and as such more creative methods could be used, such as young people using their phones to capture their likes or dislikes as well as their wants and needs (Wilkinson, 2016). However, I am aware that such methods would require further ethical considerations as well as the young people needing to receive a greater amount of support from the researcher(s) and as such this would have to be factored into the time allocated for a further project.

11.4 What comes next?

There are various developments that this research could take.

I am keen that the wider academic community consider the findings of the work, as the hyperlocal youth work discussed in this study are different to that of the findings of De St Croix's (2016) study of grassroots youth workers, especially in relation to performativity (de St Croix, 2018) and my new findings, as discussed above. This local work gives a good contrast to the work undertaken by writers such as De St Croix, McGimpsey and Owens (2019) and McGimpsey (2017), as it sheds a different localised reality into the youth work sector which is different to that of larger youth providers.

However, I would like to learn from such writers as they have applied in depth, the theoretical lens of Deleuze to their work. This would be a useful exercise in order to explore if further learning can be extracted from the data as a result of the application of such a lens, when applied in more complexity than I have.

There is an exciting practical step for this research and could mean that I take on the role of the 'truth teller', following Foucault's notion of Parrhesia (Foucault, 1983). This is because the 'situational dynamic' analysis and the 'levels of youth work' that I have identified could be further developed and used in different situations as tools to apply. As such this research could pave the way for the development of infrastructure support to be developed where currently there is little, so that all engaged at the hyperlocal level can flourish and young people can get the best service that is possible in their situation.

Unlike Smith, (Muirhead, 2015) I believe that youth work is not dead but understand that at the hyper local level adaptation of youth work has occurred in order that youth providers survive the conditions of reduced funding. However, the duration of such a funding climate will determine whether such localised youth work will ever rejuvenate into a similar form to that once seen from a state funded service. This is because memories will fade (Jeffs, 2015), the current form being practiced will become normalised (Foucault, 2004) and potentially change again in the liquid society that is in existence (Bauman, 2000). Therefore, in such a post-statutory environment (Jeffs, 2011) there remains a role for a 'truth teller' (Foucault, 1983) to remind funders and youth work providers about the potential that well-funded youth work has, not to be content with the current state of affairs and to strive for more than just the minimum level of provision. There also is a role for the localised sector to reveal the truth regarding the impact that marketisation, financialisation and competitiveness has had at the hyper local level. As this thesis has demonstrated, the outcomes of neoliberal governmentality have not been entirely positive for the long-term wellbeing of young people. Whilst new youth provision has developed for young people, this has been at the expense of long-term community-rooted, realistic, educational development opportunities in a collegiate youth sector with fully trained, resourced

and supported youth work staff. We would do well to note this outcome for future reference.

11.5 Postscript

On the 13th Dec 2019 the country awoke to the fact that the Conservative party had won the general election achieving a sizable majority within the House of Commons. On this day I had my final meeting with my PhD supervisors, who encouraged me to write this postscript regarding what this may mean for community-based youth work over the next five years.

The Conservative manifesto (The Conservative and Unionist Party, 2019) contains many familiar discourses that have been present in Conservative derived documents from 2010 onwards and as such, I expect the approach taken by this Conservative Government will be broadly the same. For example, within the manifesto (The Conservative and Unionist Party, 2019) there is a familiar discourse linking young people with offending behaviour but also a continued focus on entrepreneurialism, enterprise and competition, alongside commitments to ensure that people (especially the young) are ready for employment rather than claiming benefits. The latter discourse is the continuation of neoliberalisation (Peck and Ticknall, 2002) through histological governmentality, where individuals are continually made responsible for their current situation and future prospects (Davies, 2011; Miller and Rose, 2008; Rose 1991). Through a further commitment to the devolvement of power to town and local communities, it appears the commitment to localism is still present as well as to govern through freedom (Foucault, 2000b; Rose 1999) which is deemed to be more efficient and effective (Bulley and Sokhi-Bulley, 2014). This will mean that the role of the state will continue to be one of oversight (DfE, 2011b) and supporting others, rather than increasing the size of state services significantly.

However, the difference between the time explored in this thesis and the current situation is that during the autumn of 2019 and within the recent Conservative manifesto (The Conservative and Unionist Party, 2019) various investments in youth provision were announced. The first is £500m over five years, of which half will be used to develop youth centre provision (capital expenditure) with the remainder to be put into life skill activities and the youth work profession. Alongside this investment

is a promise of the formation of “new local youth partnerships ... to coordinate and sustain local youth activities” (Gov.uk, 2019). The second investment announced was for £12m of which £7m was to provide extra youth provision and £5m to support social action projects (Gov.uk, 2019). This is on top of a commitment to continue the National Citizen Service (NCS) programme into the future.

To have any national investment in youth services is to be welcomed, yet such investment does not compensate for the £1bn pounds which has already been cut (The Labour Party, 2019a). As this thesis has argued, the loss is not just about money but about the loss of experienced practitioners, training cultures, collaborative relationships as well as shared resources which once were firmly in place. Instead, such investment is being made into a radically reshaped landscape which has become marketised and financialised (De St Croix, McGimpsey and Owens, 2019; Haiven, 2017). The likelihood therefore is that such investment will continue to be attached to competitive tender arrangements and numerous accountability measures.

In such a context of investment in youth services promised for local communities such as towns, the findings of this thesis are very relevant. Firstly, because if such investment is given to local councils a localised competitive youth sector may start or develop further along with the various issues discussed. Therefore, the contents of this thesis become valuable to both local councils and youth providers interested in supplying services so, that they can be aware of the various dynamics and constraints that providing youth services under such a neoliberal order might involve.

Secondly, the contents of this thesis serve as a ‘marker in the sand’ in that it captures the situation regarding the use of limited local performance/measure tools at the hyper local level. I imagine that as Government investment is linked with prescribed outcome measures, these will be further embedded into local practice, including those of local councils, which will impact on local providers and workers. Further research, building on the work of De St Croix (2016), will therefore be required to identify if such measures will be deemed to be helpful or not.

Finally, I am interested in the idea of the development of local youth partnerships, which are to accompany the above youth investment (Gov.uk, 2019). This thesis has suggested a critical parrhesia approach to support the work of the youth sector

as an important outcome from the findings of this study. There appears therefore a close link between this recommendation and the Government's proposal, which I am eager to feed into the formation of such partnerships.

Whilst, it is positive that the national Government appears to be starting to support the rebuilding of youth services, it will do so through the lens of its own neoliberal Conservative ideology and agendas, where knife crime has come to the fore (Davies, 2019b), as well as the need to continue encouraging individuals and communities to take responsibility for their own situations. Therefore, it remains to be seen whether youth investment is a means to keep young people busy, off the streets and out of trouble, or whether there is an appetite for well-resourced informal education (Davies, 2019b) which is broader than achieving purely preventative outcomes. To achieve this across the complexity of the marketised youth sector will be a considerable challenge.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Details about the youth models

The following information gives a brief background to youth work in the local community and what happened after the changes in local authority youth services occurred.

1.1 The Birchwood community

The history of youth provision

A brand-new youth centre was opened by the local authority youth service in Birchwood in 1991 which was a multi purposed centre, complete with sports hall and many different rooms for various youth activities. It served many young people from one local estate where there was significant deprivation. On this same estate, also in the 1990s, a local neighbourhood project ('The Birchwood Project') was established. Eddie was a local parish/town councillor, who was also a county councillor. He supported both the neighbourhood project and also served on the management group of the centre.

After the changes to the local authority youth service

The local authority ran a scheme to give organisations the opportunity to take over assets such as previous run youth centres. 'The Birchwood Project' provided a business case for taking the centre over and successfully did so, making the centre its new premises. The aim was to create a generic community centre to serve members of the local community of all ages.

Through the guidance of the manager, Eddie, 'The Birchwood Project' sought to use the building's facilities to maximize income potential. Therefore, throughout the week, many activities were run at the centre by outside organisations, such as keep fit classes and Age Concern, which provided an income. To further supplement this, a café/restaurant was built to further generate income.

'The Birchwood Project' had various volunteers, such as Elizabeth, the treasurer who spent many hours at the centre, helping Eddie. There were a number of employees over the years, including Terry a sessional youth work and Alyson a business manager. When I collected my data, Ann was employed to oversee the children's and youth activities and look over the centre. Her background was in early years education.

In terms of specific activities across the week, when the changes happened young people appeared not to be treated well, as the management wanted to show to young people that the previous 'style of engagement' undertaken by the youth service, i.e., open access work, was no longer going to be undertaken. This resulted in many young people choosing not to attend again, ending a significant relationship that young people on the local estate had with the building/facility.

Despite this some part time youth workers were employed, including Terry, but these youth workers found it difficult to get young people engaged and youth activities occurring.

When I first went into the centre a community bike session was being held which soon ended due to lack of attendees.

There was a thriving junior group aged 8-11 which occurred once a week and had ~30 attending, but little for older young people.

Eventually, Eddie contracted with 'Dynamic Sports' who ran a sports session every week and numbers slowly grew from four to twelve.

Eddie told me that his strategy was all about project work, i.e., providing activities for a known number of people who were motivated to ask for some form of activity. He would then seek to source it.

The arrangement he had with the local parish/town council appeared very flexible, as he would count all the young people who attended the centre for any reason to demonstrate the success of what he was offering the community.

1.2 The Oakland Community

The history of youth provision

The local authority youth service had a building in the locality, along with a youth worker. When the local parish/town council wanted to build a new centre, it was agreed that the youth service building would be demolished, but as part of the new development a dedicated youth wing would be added to the centre, which could be leased out to the local authority youth service. Along with the new building, an enclosed space for outdoor activities such as football was also catered for, so that young people in the community were supported.

After the changes to the local authority youth service

When it became clear that major changes were being discussed, John the youth worker employed by the local authority, started to have various discussions with members of the community and local councillors, who tried to find a way to save key community assets i.e., the youth centre and the local library.

There was a longstanding neighbourhood project – ‘the Oakland Project’ which was approached and revitalised through new community members becoming involved and old staff leaving. This became the means through which the youth centre and the library could be acquired.

The small group enabled the community to have a voice regarding their concerns about the local authority plans. Through these meetings, Rory was recruited who became the chair of the project. Locally things came to a climax when many members of the local community met with the county councillors responsible for the changes and had heated exchanges. This demonstrated to the parish council that such assets should be saved.

In terms of buildings, the parish/town council already had a dedicated youth centre wing on their community building which it rented out to the local authority youth service. They agreed this could be continued to be used.

The parish/town council significantly increased their precept and contracted with the newly reformed ‘Oakland Project’ for them to run the youth provision. They also took over and ran a community library.

Without exception, the part-time sessional workers who had supported the work of the local authority youth centre and who were trained up to qualified support youth work status (Level three), all resigned from the local authority and were transferred across to be employees of the ‘Oakland Project’. This meant that the young people knew all the staff members who largely continued working as previously, under local authority control. However, as John was reassigned to another role within a new local authority targeted service, it meant that he was no longer involved in direct delivery work.

The sessional workers paired up with each other and took control of one or more sessions. They were successful in recruiting further local workers to join the team

and were mentored by the existing staff. This allowed the 'Oakland Project' to run sessional youth activities at the youth club for at least 4 nights a week plus a mix of summer holiday activities. I interviewed Sandra, who had been working there for years, and quite a new experienced worker, who was undertaking leader in charge duties, Janet.

1.3 The Elmbrook Community

The history of youth provision

The local authority ran a youth centre out of a dedicated church hall. However, this building was closed down due to health and safety fears. Plans were drawn up by the local authority to build a brand-new youth centre in the locality, but these never materialised. There was a youth worker who was responsible for work in the community but had little contact with the local councillors. The active councillors who were concerned for young people, were frustrated with such a historic approach and wanted to see a fresh approach in their community.

After the changes to the local authority youth service

Apart from the traditional uniformed youth organisations, 'Faith Matters' was the only youth organisation which was committed to the support of young people in the whole community. They worked very closely with local councillors.

They initially ran a youth club locally and were engaged in the local high school, through which they talked to young people about what they wanted to see happen in their community. The resulting work and ongoing relationship with the councillors helped formulate the ideas and plans of the local council regarding the way forward for community youth provision.

The local council contracted with 'Youth Aid' who began delivering youth sessions in a local carpark out of a converted shipping container and a van.

Local councillors worked very hard to secure an area for young people and raise funds for a skate park. They also were able to secure some portable student accommodation from a local company who had gone into liquidation. These were subsequently formed into one building and this new youth club was built alongside the skate park.

The local council sought to find a youth provider to run sessions at the new youth centre and chose to work with 'Youth Aid' who they had used already. As a result, 'Youth Aid' undertook two youth sessions per week at the youth centre. The leader in charge was Natasha, supported by Tom and other sessional staff.

'Faith Matters' undertook one faith-based session per week at the youth centre. The main worker was Richard and was supported by interns and volunteers from local churches.

'Enterprise for Youth' undertook one session for the Meadow Bank district council as part of their youth participation project.

1.4 The Maple Hill Community

The history of youth provision

The local authority owned a building in the community which was used to provide youth work. Workers were employed by the local authority but were funded from local sources, e.g., a local trust, committed to raising money for the benefit of local young people.

After the changes to the local authority youth service

The local parish/town council tried various means to continue local based youth work, including directly employing youth work staff but this was not successful at the time.

The old local authority building which was previously used as a youth club was sold. Money from this sale was given to the local council which went towards converting an old police station into a youth club. Support was given by the local council and various local trusts, which oversaw local buildings as well as being committed to supporting young people in the locality.

Once the youth centre was converted, as the council was part of 'The Youth Collective' project (see Appendix 2), 'Youth Aid' undertook one main open access youth session per week and one other detached/junior session. I interviewed both workers Sophie and Toni and their manager, Natalie.

The local parish/town council subsequently wanted a further session to be run in their community, in their youth club. They chose not to work with 'Youth Aid' but

'Enterprise for Youth' (see Appendix 2). 'Enterprise for Youth' set up another open access session in the week based at the youth club and so young people had two nights to choose from. The weekly session was overseen by the CEO, Alex, a sessional worker, Sally, and various junior leaders who were older young people.

There were many different active youth organisations within this community such as uniformed youth organisations, local church-based youth groups and music-based projects.

Appendix 2 – Details regarding organisations and youth providers

Name	Details
The Birchwood Community Centre	The name of the community centre run by the 'Birchwood Project' providing activities for all ages including young people.
The Birchwood Project	The local neighbourhood project which successfully took over the running of an ex local authority dedicated youth centre and turned it into a community centre.
County Wide Support	This was an infrastructure agency based across Treescape county which specialised in rural based work. They supported local councils with advice, especially in regard to contracting with youth providers.
Dynamic Sports	The name of the organisation that 'Birchwood Project' had a contract with to undertake sporting activities for local young people at the 'Birchwood Community Centre'.
Enterprise for Youth	<p>This organisation was set up as a social enterprise by Alex, an ex-local authority youth worker/trainer in an effort to keep community-based youth work going. 'Enterprise for Youth' firstly worked for Meadow Bank district council supporting youth participation in various community settings. This contract brought him into contact with Maple Hill council, who subsequently gave 'Enterprise for Youth' a contract to run an extra youth work session in their community, alongside 'Youth Aid'.</p> <p>The organisation only had a few staff working for and with him.</p>
Faith Matters	This was a faith-based organisation mostly based in one district of Treescape county. They had a sports interest and were funded by local churches and external funding bodies to undertake explicitly faith-

	<p>based work with young people. The organisation employed various sports/youth workers who were supported in their role by interns and volunteers.</p> <p>'Faith Matters' supported the Elmbrook parish/town councillors after the changes to local authority youth work occurred, in order to engage with youth people and seek their opinions on what they wanted in their community. Their work enabled the council to move forward with their plans and contract with 'Youth Aid to run two sessions a week in the youth club.</p> <p>'Faith Matters' ran one session a week in the youth club.</p>
The Oakland Project	<p>The local neighbourhood project that was revitalised by active community members which took over the running of the local library and youth centre from the local authority after the changes to county wide services came into effect.</p>
The Targeted Youth Intervention Service	<p>This organisation was the replacement to the local authority youth service. It had a clear focus, i.e. working with young people who required extra support. There were a few youth workers who were employed in this role, but they were not involved in providing open access youth work, as they had previously been.</p>
The Youth Collective	<p>A group of four local councils who were located near one another decided to share the cost of employing a youth providing organisation to run youth work sessions in each of their communities. The youth provider they contracted with was 'Youth Aid'.</p> <p>'Youth Aid' set up a local office with a manager (called Natalie) who oversaw sessional staff and the delivery in each community.</p> <p>The local councils put in a different amount of funding, but this did not equate to the number of sessions which occurred in their community.</p>

	<p>Each council committed to support the project for a set number of years, after which some decided to pull out and exclusively fund their own local youth work.</p>
<p>Youth Aid</p>	<p>A county wide youth organisation who had traditionally supplied support for voluntary sector organisations alongside the local authority youth service. Over the years they had diversified into various areas of interest working with community youth work contracts as well as vulnerable young people. The organisation picked up both large and small contracts from a mixture of sources.</p> <p>'Youth Aid' responded to the changes in local authority youth services by helping local communities consider the way forward for them, through the work of a development worker (called Bob).</p> <p>'Youth Aid' were the contracted youth provider for Elmbrook parish/town council.</p> <p>'Youth Aid' were the contracted youth provider for a portion of the Maple Hill youth provision, as part of 'The Youth Collective' project (as above).</p>

Appendix 3 – National Occupational Standards – Youth Work

Youth Work Standards

YW01 Initiate, build and maintain purposeful relationships with young people

YW02 Assist young people to express and to realise their goals

YW03 Engage with communities to promote the interests and contributions of young people

YW04 Develop productive working relationships with colleagues and stakeholders to support youth work

YW05 Enable young people to use their learning to enhance their future development

YW06 Enable young people to work in groups

YW07 Encourage young people to broaden their horizons to be effective citizens

YW08 Support young people to identify and achieve aims

YW09 Support young people in their understanding of risk and challenge

YW10 Facilitate young people's empowerment through their active involvement in youth work

YW11 Plan, prepare and facilitate activities with young people

YW12 Work with young people to manage resources for youth work activities

YW13 Support young people in evaluating the impact of youth work activities

YW14 Facilitate young people's exploration of their values and beliefs

YW15 Advocate on behalf of young people and enable them to represent themselves to others

YW16 Enable young people to access information to make decisions

YW17 Work with young people in promoting their rights

YW18 Explore with young people their wellbeing

YW19 Work with young people to safeguard their own welfare

YW20 Embed organisational policy for the protection and safeguarding of young people

YW 21 Develop a culture and systems that promote inclusion and value diversity

YW22 Ensure that youth work activities comply with legal, regulatory and ethical requirements

YW23 Investigate the needs of young people and the community in relation to youth work

- YW24 Evaluate and prioritise organisational requirements for youth work activities
- YW25 Influence and develop youth work strategies
- YW26 Identify and secure funding and resources for youth work
- YW27 Facilitate and engage young people in the strategic development and delivery of youth work
- YW28 Work in partnership with agencies to improve opportunities for young people
- YW29 Monitor and evaluate the quality of youth work activities
- YW30 Work as an effective and reflective youth work practitioner
- YW31 Provide youth work support to other workers
- 32 Involve, motivate and support volunteers (Managing Volunteers UKWH B2)
- 33 Promote equality of opportunity and diversity in your area of responsibility (Management and leadership NOS B11)
- 34 Develop structures, systems and procedures to support volunteering (Managing Volunteers A3)
- 35 Manage your own resources and professional development (Management and leadership A2)
- 36 Provide leadership for your team (Management and leadership B5)
- 37 Allocate and check work in your team (Management and leadership D5)
- 38 Recruit, select and keep colleagues (Management and leadership D3)
- 39 Provide learning opportunities for colleagues (Management and leadership D7)
- 40 Make sure your own actions reduce risks to health and safety (Health and Safety HSS1)
- 41 Ensure health and safety requirements are met in your area of responsibility (Management and leadership E6)

Youth Work Values:

Participation and active involvement

- Young people choose to be involved, not least because they want to relax, meet friends, make new relationships, to have fun, and to find support,
- The work starts from where young people are in relation to their own values, views and principles, as well as their own personal and social space,
- It seeks to go beyond where young people start, to widen their horizons, promote participation and invite social commitment, in particular by encouraging them to be critical and creative in their responses to their experience and the world around them,

Equity, diversity and inclusion:

- It treats young people with respect, valuing each individual and their differences, and promoting the acceptance and understanding of others, whilst challenging oppressive behaviour and ideas,
- It respects and values individual differences by supporting and strengthening young people's belief in themselves, and their capacity to grow and to change through a supportive group environment,
- It is underpinned by the principles of equity, diversity and interdependence,

Partnership with young people and others

- It recognises, respects and is actively responsive to the wider networks of peers, communities, families and cultures which are important to young people, and through these networks seeks to help young people to achieve stronger relationships and collective identities, through the promotion of inclusivity,
- It works in partnership with young people and other agencies which contribute to young people's social, educational and personal development,
- It recognises the young person as a partner in a learning process, complementing formal education, promoting their access to learning opportunities which enable them to fulfil their potential,

Personal, social and political development:

- It is concerned with how young people feel, and not just with what they know and can do,
- It is concerned with facilitating and empowering the voice of young people, encouraging and enabling them to influence the environment in which they live
- It safeguards the welfare of young people, and provides them with a safe environment in which to explore their values, beliefs, ideas and issues

These values underpin and are to be reflected within the requirements of the relevant standards.

Learning and skills improvement agency (2012, p.14, p.5)¹.

¹ The NOS were updated in 2019 but this set was relevant throughout the research period.

Appendix 4 – Code of Ethics

The institute for Youth Work's code of ethics

All members of the institute for youth work must agree to the following statements and twelve principles when they sign up for membership.

The institute for youth work recognises the diversity of the youth work sector. It includes those that work with young people, who engage on a voluntary basis, in public, private and third sector (including faith-based) organisations.

The work may be paid or unpaid and includes face-to-face workers, youth work managers and educators.

Our members, whatever their role or setting, make judgements and conduct themselves in their work based on the following ethical principles:

1. We have a duty of care to young people. In the youth work relationship the best interests of young people have priority.
2. We do not seek to advance ourselves, our organisations, or others – personally, politically, or professionally – at the expense of young people.
3. Our relationship with young people remains within professional boundaries at all times, to protect the young person and the purpose of the work.
4. We work in a fair and inclusive way, promoting justice and equality of opportunity, challenging any discriminatory or oppressive behaviour or practice.
5. We seek to enhance young people's personal and social development by:
 - Enabling them to make informed decisions and pursue their choices;
 - Supporting their participation and active involvement in society;
 - Helping them to become independent and move on when the time is right.
6. We promote the welfare and safety of young people, while permitting them to learn through undertaking challenging educational activities. We avoid exposing young people to the likelihood of harm or injury. This includes implementing safeguarding policies and procedures.

7. When we receive or collect personal information about young people, we make them aware of with whom and for what purpose that information will be shared. We do not disclose confidential information unless this is necessary to prevent harm or is legally required.

8. In our engagement with young people, and in our resulting relationship, we strive to be honest and non-judgemental

9. We respect the contribution of others concerned with the welfare and well-being of young people and will work in partnership to secure the best outcomes for young people.

10. We encourage ethical reflection and debate with colleagues, managers, employers and young people.

11. We make sure we have the knowledge and skills necessary to work effectively with young people. We work in a reflective way to develop our abilities. We take account of the impact of work on ourselves.

12. We maintain consciousness of our own values, beliefs and interests, are aware when these conflict with those of others, and approach difference respectfully.

The Institute for Youth Work (2019).

Appendix 5 – The study timeline

	Sept 12 – Mar 13	April – June 13	July – Sept 13	Oct – Dec 13	Jan – Mar 14	April – June 14	July – Sept 14	Oct – Dec 14	Jan – Mar 15	April – June 15	July – Sept 15	Oct – Dec 15	Jan – Mar 16	April – June 16	July – Sept 16	Oct – Dec 16	Jan – Mar 17	April – June 17	July – Sept 17	Oct – Dec 17	Jan – Mar 18	April – June 18	July – Sept 18	Oct – Dec 18	Jan – Mar 19	April – June 19	July – Sept 19	
Supervisory sessions – regular monthly																												
Research plan and design																												
Ethics approval sought and obtained																												
Research settings established																												
Information displayed in clubs and parental permission requested.																												
Observations																												
Observations																												
Semi-structured interviews																												
Data transcribed																												
Data coded																												
Data analyzed																												

Appendix 6 – Clearance letter

My initial ethical clearance was approved via chairs action in May/June 2013 but the following was produced following an administrative delay.



Dr Emily Ryall
Research Ethics Committee Chair
Reader in Applied Philosophy

Oxstalls Campus,
Longlevens, Gloucester, GL2 9HW

Tel: +44 (0)1242
Email:

Steve Bullock
Wednesday 3 July 2019
Via email

Dear Steve

I am writing to confirm that ethical clearance was approved on 28 April 2014 for your research following ethical review by the University of Gloucestershire's Research Ethics Committee (REC).

Please keep a record of this letter as a confirmation of your ethical approval.

Project Title: 'Climate Change – the local development of youth provision in Gloucestershire since 2010'
Start Date: 28 April 2014
Projected Completion Date: 01 September 2019
REC Approval Code: REC.31.14

If you have any questions about ethical clearance please feel free to contact me. Please use your REC Approval Code in any future correspondence regarding this study.

Regards,

Dr Emily Ryall
Chair of Research Ethics Committee




University of Gloucestershire, The Park, Cheltenham, GL50 2RH. The University of Gloucestershire is a company limited by guarantee registered in England & Wales. Registered number: 06023243. Registered office: The Park, Cheltenham, GL50 2RH. Tel 0844 801 0001 www.gos.ac.uk




Appendix 7 – Newsletter/web brief

“Just a Minute” is a research project undertaken by Steve Bullock from the University of Gloucestershire which seeks to look at different forms of youth provision that have developed since 2010. He will be attending our project over the next term to get involved, observe what we do and wants to collect views from young people and all associated with the club in order to build a picture up of what we offer, how it is viewed and why it has developed the way it has. More information and details including parental consent forms will be available...

Appendix 8 – Poster example



Just a Minute...



Steve Bullock
University of
Gloucestershire

There has been much change in the way youth work is being provided within Gloucestershire since 2010. Your club has been selected and has agreed to take part in a research project, which seeks to find out about what people think about your club. Could you spend "just a minute" to think about what you might like to say about the club to the researcher from the University of Gloucestershire?

Appendix 9 – Information Sheet



Do I have to be involved in this?

You do not have to take part in this research, it is up to you and if you change your mind that is fine also. It will not impact in your involvement with the club.



Just a Minute...

Is the name which the researcher will use to help young people associate with the project and engage with it. Under this banner there will be regular activities within the club to remind you about the research project.

Thank you for reading my leaflet



Just a Minute...



There has been much change in how youth work is being provided within Gloucestershire since 2010. Your club has been selected and has agreed to take part in a research project, which seeks to find out about what people think about your club. Could you spend "just a minute" to think about what you might like to say about the club to the researcher from the University of Gloucestershire?

Who is undertaking this research?



My name is Steve Bullock and I am a staff member at the University of Gloucestershire undertaking a research program which is looking at how different communities and projects have responded to changes that have affected how youth work is provided.

I am a qualified youth worker with many years' experience working with young people.

I plan to work with your club for approximately 4 months before moving on to another example in order to build up a

The research outline

- Me, getting to know how the club works and getting to know the team and the young people
- Distributing a questionnaire
- Encouraging involvement in individual or group informal interviews
- Having similar conversations with those in the community who would like to share their thoughts.

Why is this research Important?

This research will help me to understand how different youth clubs are formed, the type of activities which are available and what different people associated with the club think about it. So it is an opportunity for you to have your voice heard.



What will this research involve?

- First, I will come and see what happens at the club and you will meet me and I will tell you about the research.
- Next I need to let a parent/carer know what my research involves (through this leaflet) and seek their permission for you to be involved.
- Next, I will ask you to fill out a questionnaire
- Then, I will seek to speak to you either individually or as a group to hear about your experiences and views of this club. This will take place during the normal club time.
- I will then move onto another club and start the process again, after which I will write up the research in a large report.

Who will know what you have said?

- During our conversations I will be writing down some key points and will audio record the interviews so that I don't miss anything that you may say.
- I will then like to use your contributions when I write up my research but will ensure that nobody knows it is you by changing your name. If you would like to, you can choose the fictitious name that I give you.
- I will not be feeding back anything you say to the leaders so you can be free to say anything that you would like to
- I have two advisors who are helping me with my project and they will see some of things that I write but they will not be able to
- As a professional youth worker I have to abide by safe practice rules and so the only time I will talk to another adult about what you said is if I am worried about your safety. If this is the case I will tell you who I am going to talk to and what I am going to say. We can talk to them together if you would prefer.

Appendix 10 – Parental Letter



**Faculty of Business, Education and
Professional Studies:
Institute of Education & Public Services**

Francis Close Hall Campus
Swindon Road
Cheltenham
[Glouc. Gl50 4AZ](mailto:Glouc.Gl50 4AZ)

Dear Parent

The XXXXXXXXXXXX project have agreed to work in partnership with the University of Gloucestershire regarding some research a member of staff is undertaking as part of his PHD research. The member of staff is called Steve Bullock and the research is looking at how communities have worked through the changes that have occurred in youth services since 2010.

Please see enclosed some further information.

As a result, before Easter, Steve will be asking some of the members of the youth activities to answer some questionnaires and asking if they would be happy to be interviewed about their experience at the club they attend.

This research has been cleared by the University ethics committee and will be following the guidelines set out below.

We hope that you may give permission for your son/daughter to participate in advance, however if this is not possible Steve will continue to speak to the young people to see who would like to take part and follow up any such participation up with a subsequent letter to inform you of your right to withdraw them from this study.

Many thanks

Steve Bullock

Appendix 11 – Parental consent form

Parental Consent Form
Participation in research

- I confirm that I have read/had read to me, the information leaflet about the project.
- I am happy for _____ (name of young person) to take part in a University research project being carried out by Steve Bullock. I understand the research seeks to find out the views of those who attend (name of project).
- I understand that my son/daughter's involvement in the research project is voluntary and I can withdraw my son/daughter from the project at any time without giving a reason.
- I understand that the research project will take place over 12 weeks and that information will be collected using a questionnaire and an audio-recorded interview.
- I understand that those taking part in the research will be given a different name so nobody will be able to trace back any of their answers to them.
- I understand that anything shared with the researcher, will be only used for the purposes of this research project and will not be shared with anyone else unless required by law.
- I understand that the researcher will use any contribution, even if the young person's withdraws, unless he is contacted within 2 weeks asking him to destroy any data collected.
- I understand that if I have any questions at any time about the research project I can contact the researcher, Steve Bullock at (_____) or by telephone on (01242 _____).
- I understand that if I have any concerns about the way the research project is carried out I can contact the project supervisor, Prof Andrew Parker, at (email address) or by telephone on (phone number).

Please sign this form and return to the researcher
Steve Bullock

Signature of Parent/Guardian	Signature of Researcher
Date:	Date:

Appendix 12 – Participant Consent Form

Participant Consent Form
(for “Just a Minute” research project)

- I have read and am happy with the information sheet for the “Just a minute” study. I have had a chance to think about it and had my questions answered.
- I understand that I am free to be involved in this project and I can withdraw from the project at any time without giving a reason.
- I understand that those taking part in the research will be given a different name so nobody will be able to trace back any of their answers to them.
- I am happy that the researcher can record my interview and use the things you say in his work.
- I understand that anything shared with the researcher, will be only used for this research project and will not be shared with anyone else unless required by law.
- I confirm that the researcher can record my interview and use the things you say in his work.
- I understand that if I choose to withdraw from the project, the researcher will use any of my contributions unless I contact him within 2 weeks asking him to destroy anything that he has recorded.
- I understand that if I have any questions about the research project I can contact the researcher, Steve Bullock at () or by telephone on (01242).
- I understand that if I have any concerns about the way the research project is carried out I can contact the project supervisor, Prof Andrew Parker, at (aparker@glos.ac.uk) or by telephone on (01242).

Please sign this form and return to the researcher

Steve Bullock

Participant Signature:

Date:

Researcher Signature:

Date:

Appendix 13 - Post interview form

“Just a Minute” research project parental information/response form

- During today's club (name of project) your son/daughter took part in the “Just a minute” research project being undertaken by the University of Gloucestershire, as they wanted to take part of their own accord.
- Please see the information leaflet regarding this piece of research, detailing how/why this research is being undertaken and how your son's/daughter's identity will be kept safe throughout.
- I am writing to you to ensure that you are happy for me to use the contributions made to this project by your son/daughter.
- Therefore, please let me know if you wish your son/daughter's contributions to be used or not by returning the form below to me at the project (name of project) or send me an email () or phone me (01242). If I do not hear from you, I will assume that you are happy for me to use any contributions that were made by your son/daughter.

I (do/do not)* wish my son/daughter called _____ who goes to _____ club to participate in this research and their contributions (to be/not to be)* used.

*delete as appropriate

Signature of Parent/Guardian

Date:

Acknowledgement Signature of Researcher

Date:

Appendix 14 – Example of an email

(furthering discussions regarding undertaking my research)

From: BULLOCK, Steve

Sent: 13 September 2013 13:46

To: enquiries

Subject: touching base

Dear XXXXX

I hope you had a good summer and I hope you had a good rest?

I just wanted to make contact this term re the research project that I met with you and XXXXX about before the summer as I have recently met with my PHD supervisors.

The intention is be able to work alongside the project (XXXX) between November and Easter, observing sessions and undertaking interviews with staff/young people etc. For my next supervision meeting in October, I need to produce a timetable for this, so I wondered whether it might be good to touch base to potentially draft up something that is agreeable for us both and those involved?

At present Fridays are a good day for me for meetings, should we meet sometime on the 27th September – say 9.30am?

Let me know

Yours

Steve

Steve Bullock

Course Leader - Youth Courses

University of Gloucestershire

Francis Close Hall Campus Room PH202

Swindon Road

CHELTENHAM

Gloucestershire

GL50 4AZ

Appendix 15 - Details of visits undertaken to the 'cases' viewed

Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook	Maple Hill
4-11-13 Monday bike project	8-11-13 Friday youth session	18-11-14 Tuesday youth session by Youth Aid	23-11-13 Thursday youth session by Enterprise for Youth
25-11-13 Monday bike project	22-11-13 Friday youth session	21-11-14 Friday youth session by Youth Aid	4-11-14 Tuesday youth session by Youth Aid
5-12-13 Thursday Junior club	13-12-13 Friday youth session	2-12-14 Tuesday youth session by Youth Aid	6-11-14 Thursday youth session by Enterprise for Youth
9-12-13 Monday bike project	17-1-14 Friday youth session	9-12-14 Tuesday youth session by Youth Aid	11-11-14 Tuesday youth session by Youth Aid
27-1-14 Monday bike project	31-1-14 Friday youth session	27-1-15 Tuesday youth forum meeting – Enterprise for Youth	20-1-15 Tuesday youth session by Youth Aid
30-1-14 Thursday Junior club	5-2-14 Wednesday youth session	28-1-15 Wednesday youth session by Faith Matters	5-2-15 Thursday youth session by Enterprise for Youth
10-3-14 Monday sports session - new	21-2-14 Friday youth session	3-1-15 Tuesday youth session by Youth Aid	9-2-15 Monday youth forum by Enterprise for Youth
12-5-14 Monday sports session	7-3-14 Friday youth session	10-2-15 Tuesday youth forum meeting – Enterprise for Youth	10-2-15 Tuesday youth session by Youth Aid
9-6-14	27-3-14	25-2-15	30-4-15

Monday sports session	Friday youth session	Wednesday youth session by Faith Matters	Tuesday youth session by Youth Aid
	4-4-14 Friday youth session	1-5-15 Friday youth session by Youth Aid	5-5-15 Tuesday youth session by Youth Aid
	25-4-14 Friday youth session		
	7-5-14 Wednesday youth session		
	14-5-14 Wednesday youth session		
	5-6-14 Thursday girl's group		
9 visits to observe youth sessions in total X4 visits to the bike project X1 visit to the junior club X3 visits to the sport sessions	14 visits to observe youth sessions in total X10 visits to Friday sessions X3 visits to Wednesday sessions X1 visits to Thursday session	10 visits to observe youth sessions in total X6 visits to Youth Aid sessions X2 visits to Faith matters sessions X2 visits to Youth Forum sessions	10 visits to observe youth sessions in total X5 visits to Youth Aid sessions x4 visit to Enterprise for Youth X1 visit to Youth Forum sessions
Other Observations			
	14-11-13 Trustees meeting	13-3-15 A youth club users management group	4-11-2015 Community youth fund raising committee
	3-2-14		2-3-15

	Monday youth leaders meeting		Parish Board meeting for the whole of the 'youth collective project'
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Appendix 16 – Observational data

	Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook		Maple Hill	
			Youth Aid	Faith Matters	Youth Aid	Enterprise for youth
Type of session	Focused on coaching a variety of sport skills	Open youth club	Open youth club	Open youth club	Open youth club	Open youth club
Level of structure	Highly structured, with few breaks as the focus was on coaching and playing sport	Informal drop-in with no discernible structure	Informal drop-in with specific focus provided by workers	A structured session which always had a similar format, with a start and finish time. A faith talk was included	Informal drop-in with specific focus provided by workers	Informal drop-in with no discernible structure
Base line of resources	Sports hall, sports equipment, leaders coaching knowledge.	Table tennis, Pool table, Computers, TV/radio, Relaxed seating, Kitchen, Outside MUGA.	Pool table, Computers, TV/radio, Relaxed seating, Kitchen, outside skate park and playing fields.	Pool table, Computers, TV/radio, Relaxed seating, Kitchen, outside skate park and playing fields.	Pool table, Computers, TV/radio, Relaxed seating, Kitchen.	Pool table, Computers, TV/radio, Relaxed seating, Kitchen.

Other activities witnessed	None	Art and craft Darts These were few and far between.	The kitchen was used extensively for cooking activities.	A structured sports activity was part of the session.	Pancake making	No
External activities mentioned	None	As part of specific summer holiday youth offer. Happened once a year.	As part of wider organisation opportunities in the summer. Happened once a year.	As part of wider organisation opportunities in the summer. Happened once a year.	As part of wider organisation opportunities in the summer. Happened once a year.	None
State of resources	Relied on kit left by old local authority youth service to run the sessions.	Computers were slow. Damaged pool table and cues were being used. Table tennis balls were in high demand. Some money became available to buy some new kit. However, the	Lots of different equipment was present shared by the two organisations using the building. There didn't seem to be a shortage of resources.	Lots of different equipment was present shared by the two organisations using the building. There didn't seem to be a shortage of resources.	Relied on kit present in the youth centre. Brought in any material needed for the educational development activity.	Relied on kit present in the youth centre. I didn't witness other resources being used.

		leaders relied on the profit from the tuck shop to put towards things that were needed. X1 leader thought they were just 'babysitting' as they felt they had little resources.				
Number of youth workers/ leaders present	1 leader and 2 helpers.	At least 2 youth workers (mostly level 3 qualified) at each session. Some newer workers present.	1-degree qualified worker plus x1-2 (level 2-3 qualified) youth workers at each session.	1 leader, 3 interns and 3 volunteers. Faith based training received.	2-3 relatively new youth leaders. Basic in-house training received.	1-degree qualified worker plus x1 (level 3 qualified) youth workers at most sessions supported by various junior leaders.
Educational development opportunities	Purely focused on sports. No other development	Occasional focused activities and discussions.	Weekly focused activities. Some small activities, i.e., quizzes.	Weekly focused activities with a faith dimension. Leaders	Weekly focused activities. Limited conversational	Project work had been delivered but appeared dependent on

	opportunities witnessed.	Responsive to C card requests. Leaders supported development through conversational engagement.	Leaders supported development through conversational engagement	supported development through conversational engagement	opportunities created.	others and/or funding. Otherwise, leaders supported development through conversational engagement.
Engagement of youth workers with young people	Coaching specific sports skills with limited conversations occurring in break times, with some leader-initiated conversations	Some engagement with young people through activities and conversations throughout the session. some leaders initiated engagement and 'worked the room', others were content just to be there and ensure	Lots of engagement with young people through activities and conversations throughout the session. Leaders initiated engagement and 'worked the room'.	Lots of engagement with young people through activities and conversations throughout the session. Leaders initiated engagement and 'worked the room'.	Limited engagement with young people. Mostly relied on young people to initiate engagement. Leaders mostly stayed behind the coffee bar.	Lots of engagement with young people through activities and conversations. Leaders initiated engagement and 'worked the room'.

		nothing bad happened.				
Approach	Organised, disciplined, structured, task focused, leader led. A task focused space	Informal, proactively young person centred and focused. An educational space	Informal, proactively young person centred and focused. An educational space	Semi structured with an interesting mix of activities to entertain and educate. Leader led but with a team focus. An edutainment space	Informal, responsive to young people when required. A safe space	Informal, young person centred and focused. An educational space
Culture/ Atmosphere	Focused on doing sport and encouraging skills development. The focus was 'not to kick a ball around as they could do this in a park.'	Busy, good banter between young people and youth workers with respect shown by both to each other. Young people were continually moving between the outside MUGA	Busy, with lots going on in different areas of the space. A good mix of age groups and generally the young people respected the place and the workers present.	Due to the number of leaders, every young person was warmly welcomed. They were supplied with drinks and cake and then guided through the session by the	Older young people came in and just sat around and chilled with each other. They didn't seem interested in the educational activity. They just seemed to want	Compared to the Youth Aid session, this was much busier. The youth workers were engaging easily in conversations and there was a good

		<p>and the inside space. There was a good mix between young people being active and those wanting to sit, chill and socialise. There was a good mix of age groups.</p> <p>There was a clear distinction between older v younger young people, with the younger ones careful to give the older young people space.</p> <p>A swear box was in use, which the</p>	<p>There was a good relationship between the youth worker and the young people.</p>	<p>leader. There was a respectful atmosphere created in which the young people were given plenty of opportunity to chat to adults, engage in fun activities and learn about a faith perspective. It seemed younger aged young people attended this group.</p>	<p>to be there and listen to music. The leaders found it hard to engage with those present and therefore adopted the approach of waiting for young people to talk to them.</p> <p>The leaders were surprised how young people seemed happy to speak to me.</p>	<p>atmosphere of music, chat and banter across a mix of ages. Young leaders were helping out with registration and serving tea and coffee. Young people were using all the space with a good mix of chat and activities.</p>
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		young people paid into, depending on their language.				
Practice wisdom demonstrated when intervening and dealing with potentially disruptive young people	Due to the small numbers and nature of this club, no such occasions were witnessed.	Youth workers would directly go and speak to the young person/people involved. It was clear that the youth workers were respected as they appeared to calm down situations. No voices were raised. The more experienced workers would deal with any issues that arose.	Youth workers would directly go and speak to the young person/people involved. It was clear that the youth workers were respected as they appeared to calm down situations. No voices were raised. The more experienced workers would deal with any issues that arose.	Apart from young people being a little noisy, there appeared to be no behaviour issues. Perhaps this was down to the number of leaders present.	Youth workers tended to sit behind the coffee bar and young people came in and out. On one occasion I witnessed a young youth leader taking an authoritarian approach to dealing with some young people, raising their voice.	No issues observed. The workers said the young people police themselves.

CCTV	CCTV recording inside and outside the premises	CCTV recording inside and outside the premises	CCTV recording inside and outside the premises	CCTV recording inside and outside the premises	CCTV recording inside and outside the premises	CCTV recording inside and outside the premises
Planning/evaluation	Organisational forms filled in but no collective conversation	Organisational forms filled in but no collective conversation	Organisational forms filled in	Organisational forms filled in with a collective conversation	Organisational forms filled in but no collective conversation	None witnessed
Other observations	There appeared little communication between the sessions/the teams of youth workers, across the week. They were all separated	There appeared little communication between the sessions/the teams of youth workers, across the week. They were all separated.	There appeared little communication between the sessions/the teams of youth workers, across the week. They were all separated.	There appeared little communication between the sessions/the teams of youth workers, across the week. They were all separated	There appeared little communication between the sessions/the teams of youth workers, across the week. They were all separated.	There appeared little communication between the sessions/the teams of youth workers, across the week. They were all separated.

Appendix 17 - Young person's questionnaire

Examples of the questions only.

Name	
Age & School year:	Gender:
How long have you been coming to the activities in this youth club?	
Which sessions have you attended?	
How often do you attend the Monday session?	
How long do you usually stay on the evenings that you attend?	
Do you attend alone or with friends?	
Why did you start to come along?/ Why do you attend?	
Why don't others access the clubs at the centre?	
What do you especially like about the youth club?	
Where would you go and what would you do if the club didn't exist?	
What suggestions do you have to make the youth activities at the youth club better?	
Would you be willing to take part in Steve's research more by being interviewed?	

Appendix 18 – Details of interviews undertaken

Group 1 – Young people interviews

Young People (yp) Interviews			
Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook	Maple Hill
X3 yp Sports Session 12-5-14 12m 52 sec	X2 yp 7-3-14 Friday youth session 4m 34sec	X1 yp 18-11-14 Youth Aid 3m 09 sec	X3 yp 6-11-14 Enterprise for Youth 9m 10sec
X1 yp Sports Session 9-6-14 13m 04 sec	X1 yp 25-4-14 Friday youth session 7m 38sec	X2 yp 18-11-14 Youth Aid 10m 18sec	X2 yp 6-11-14 Enterprise for Youth 5m 10sec
	X2 yp 7-5-14 Wednesday youth session 7m 59sec	X2 yp 18-11-14 Youth Aid 9m 34sec	X3 yp 6-11-14 Enterprise for Youth 18m 16sec
	X2 yp 14-5-14 Wednesday youth session 13m 01sec	X1 yp 21-11-14 Youth Aid 9m 50 sec	X2 yp 11-11-14 Youth Aid 6m 24sec
	X2 yp 14-5-14 Wednesday youth session 11m 11sec	X1 yp 21-11-14 Youth Aid 7m 35sec	X1 yp 11-11-14 Youth Aid 14m:18sec
	X1 yp 5-6-14 Thursday girl's group 12m 49sec	X1 yp 21-11-14 Youth Aid 4m 51sec	X1 yp 11-11-14 Youth Aid 3m 36sec
		X1 yp 21-11-14 Youth Aid	X1 yp 11-11-14 Youth Aid

		3m 44sec	6m 11sec
		X3 yp 21-11-14 Youth Aid 5m 52sec	
		X3 yp Faith Matters 25-2-15 5m 33sec	
		X1 yp Faith Matters 25-2-15 4m 10sec	
		X3 yp Faith Matters 25-2-15 3m 10sec	
2 interviews	6 interviews	10 interviews	7 interviews
25m 56s	57m 12s	1hr 4m 37s	1hr 3m 5s

Group 2 – Youth workers

Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook	Maple Hill
Terry Previous youth worker 3-4-14 47:03	Sandra 7-5-14 55:43	Natasha and Tom Youth Aid 3-2-15 42:09	Toni Youth Aid 12-12-14 35:37
Ray Dynamic Sports 12-5-14 4:23	Janet (leader in charge) Date 7-4-14 1:00:52	Richard Faith Matters 20-3-15 56:15	Ellie Youth Aid 20-2-15 1:18
		Becky	Sally

		Faith Matters previous youth worker 29-3-14 1:04:10	Enterprise for Youth 25-2-15 47:06
			Jackie Freelance worker 3-2-15 43m

Group 3 – Middle managers

Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook	Maple Hill
Ann Centre manager Visit 1: 27-3-14 55:43 Visit 2: 2-2-15 20:51	John Previous manager 20-11-13 52:22		Natalie Area manager 4-3-15 57:03
Alyson Previous centre manager 31-7-2013 1:30:03		Bob Youth Aid previous area development worker 26-9-14 34:41	

Group 4 – Trustees/CEOs

Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook	Maple Hill
Elizabeth Trustee of the project 15-11-13 1:15:27	Rory Trustee of the project 29-5-14 1:01:00	Sophie Trustee of Faith matters 12-1-15 36:26	Alex CEO of Enterprise for Youth 13-3-15 51:39
		Imogen CEO of Youth Aid 3-11-14	

		48 mins
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Group 5 – Parish council contacts

Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook	Maple Hill
Eddie Parish Councillor and chair of the project 4-11-13 45:17	Meg Parish councillor and on the project board 11-2-14 55:39	Amelia, Lesley, Elton Parish Councillors responsible for the youth provision Visit 1 26-9-14 58:53 Visit 2 13-3-15 34:53	Meg Parish councillor responsible for youth provision 3-10-14 1:14:25
Debra Parish Clerk 18-2-14 54:10	Kay Parish Clerk 4-3-14 29:26	Claire Parish Clerk 3-2-15 37:42	Georgi Parish Clerk 29-9-14 42:33
			Kirsty Pinecross parish clerk who was linked to Maple Hill via the project 25-2-15 55 mins

Group 6 – Other relevant perspectives

Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook	Maple Hill
Maureen Locally known community member 20-2-14 24:19	Taylor Locally known community member 24-2-15 44:07	Henry Locally known community member 11-5-15 46:02	Perry Locally known community member 26-3-15 33:35
TJ Previous local authority youth worker 25-11-13		Fred Targeted youth interventions youth worker 28-1-15	

1:04:08	40:37
Paul Borough council representative 3-10-14 35:50	Gary Borough council representative 26-9-14 53:18
Phoebe County Wide Support 24-2-15 36:36	

Appendix 19 – Interview schedule/questions

Questions Asked

Key

Group 1: Young people

Group 2: Youth workers

Group 3: Middle managers

Group 4: Trustees/CEO

Group 5: Parish/town contacts

Group 6: Other relevant perspectives

Standard Questions	Variation
<p>Tell me about you: how did you get involved? How long have you been involved? What is role/your hours etc?</p>	
<p>Tell me what you know of the history/story of youth work in the locality:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Previous local authority youth service provision • What happened when the changes came? 	
	<p>(to group 5) What was the motivation behind developing something locally?</p>
<p>Is there any other contextual information you can give which will help me understand this situation better: E.g:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The community & young people • Future aspirations • Characteristics of the local council 	
<p>Tell me about the model of youth work which has developed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facts 	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision • Approach 	
<p>What is youth work?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What educational development occurs? 	
<p>(to group 2)</p> <p>Tell me about the resourcing arrangements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do the resources you have allow you to do/or not? What are your needs? • What is the money being spent on? • Do you have any role in financial matters? 	<p>(to groups 3, 4, 5)</p> <p>Tell me about the tendering, contracting and resourcing arrangements which were put in place:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The process • The funding allocation to the project • How the funding is used
<p>Tell me about the staff and volunteers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who are they? • When do they work? • Is there time for planning/evaluation? • What level of training do they have? • How much experience do they have? • Are they local? 	
<p>Tell me about the data you collect?</p> <p>Are there specific agendas you have to work on?</p> <p>e.g.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reporting/Forms • Targets, measures 	
<p>Tell me about how you and the project are managed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure • Who's who • Practicality • Impact 	
<p>How are you feeling at present?</p> <p>What motivates/demotivates you?</p>	

<p>What links to other organisations or people in the community do you have? How does that affect things like:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training • Support as a worker • The work you do • Does being in the borough bring any benefits? 	<p>(to groups 4,5)</p> <p>What links to other organisations or people in the community do you have? How does that affect things like:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Your understanding of important processes • The work you do • Does being in the borough bring any benefits?
<p>If you share a building with another provider – how does this work in practice? E.g.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connections • Relationships • Leaders/YPs perceptions 	
<p>Tell me about the link/relationship between you and the parish/town council.</p>	
<p>What are the opportunities and challenges which are faced in your work?</p>	
<p>From your perspective, how has what has happened locally linked to the big society agenda?</p>	

Appendix 20 – Initial data codes

	Initial code	Definition
Adult codes		
1	Adults in the community	Perceived attitudes of adults to the young people/youth provision.
2	Big Society	Discussion and views given about the Big Society.
3	Challenges	Known and perceived challenges which are faced by individuals, the specific project and those concerned.
4	Changes	The changes that have been noted from local authority run services to the present situation.
5	Club characteristics	Specific details of the youth provision, i.e. numbers attending, young people attending, programme etc.
6	Community characteristics	Details about the geography and unique qualities of the community.
7	Different users & clubs	The dynamics experienced/observed when multiple youth projects share the same venue.
8	District agenda/model	Details of the wider approach adopted by the borough council in light of the changes in local authority youth work funding.
9	Funding/resources	Details of funding given and received, along with the resources available to support youth provision.

10	History	Background to the youth provision, especially in light of previous local authority run provision.
11	How it helps	Examples of individual development as a result of a project's support.
12	Individual facts	Individual details regarding their involvement in the community and related project.
13	Leadership/management	Details regarding management structures and the style of leadership experienced.
14	Measurement/accountability	Details regarding expectations and report mechanisms of providers.
15	Model	Details on the form of youth provision that has developed, i.e. values and vision.
16	Motivation	Individual and corporate motivations mentioned regarding involvement in projects and the community.
17	Parish/Town Council specifics	Qualities and characteristics of the local council towards young people in finding a solution for young people.
18	Parish/Town Council linkages	Relationship details between individuals and the projects and the local council.
19	Support/Networks	Levels of support and help known about to help with roles and decisions
20	The youth collective model challenges	Challenges highlighted regarding this form of youth provision delivery.
21	The youth collective model details	Specific details and insights given about this unique model of youth provision delivery.
22	Things would have done differently	The ideas of individuals regarding what they would have changed if they could have.

23	Union	Details of union involvement and understanding.
24	What is youth work?	Perceived understandings of what youth work is.
25	Working with others	Details of how individuals and projects are/are not work with others.
26	Youth workers	Details regarding the workforce, i.e. numbers, training etc.
27	Young people's views	Steps taken by decision makers informed by young people.
28	General Issues highlighted	Issues which have been highlighted by the interviewee
Young people codes		
1	Adults in the community	Young people's perceptions of how adults view young people
4	Changes	The changes that have been noted from local authority run services to the present situation.
5	Club characteristics	Specific details of the youth provision, i.e. numbers attending, young people attending, programme etc.
7	Different users	The dynamics experienced/observed when multiple youth projects share the same venue.
10	History	Background to the youth provision, especially in light of previous local authority run provision.
11	How has it helped	Examples of individual development as a result of a project's support.
12	Individual	Individual facts provided by young people.

16	Motivation for club	Thoughts on the motivation behind the youth provision.
24	What is youth work?	Perceived understandings of what youth work is.
29	Attendance facts	Young people detailing how often they go to the youth provision.
30	Attendance Reasons	Young people detailing why they go to the youth provision.
31	If no club then what?	Details of what the young people would do if no youth provision was provided.
32	Improvements	Ideas provided for improvement in the youth provision attended.
33	Role of youth workers	Ideas shared regarding the role of the youth workers they had experienced.
34	Perceptions of youth workers	Perceptions of the youth workers experienced.
35	Youth worker role	Ideas in terms of what the youth workers are present for.
36	Youth participation in decision making	Young people's views on being involved in decision making.

Appendix 21 – Themes & subtheme definitions

Theme	Sub theme	Definition
Theme: Historic youth work		This theme covers the data regarding all reflections on the previous local authority funded and run youth service within the county.
	A service with youth resources	The local authority youth service had various assets at its' disposal, which this theme highlights.
	A service with full time workers	The local authority youth service had many paid members of staff, including many full-time dedicate youth work staff, who were paid to do many essential face-to-face and background tasks, this theme explores the positives of such workers
	A service with an educational purpose	The local authority youth service was ultimately about education and development, this theme captures this.
	A service providing infrastructure	The local authority youth service provided support for different individuals and organisations. This theme captures such data.
	A service with issues	The local authority youth service had various issues, which are captured in this theme.
Theme: Elements contributing to the community response		This theme looks at the factors and elements which were present in each community, which contributed in the direction it took in response to the changes in local authority funded youth services.

	Local youth provision in the area, apart from the youth club	Local councils may demonstrate their community commitment by raising money for outdoor equipment for young people. This may also be in the context of the amount of other youth provision in the areas. This theme collates data around such issues.
	Contextual factors which contributed to the local council wanting the development of local youth provision	This theme seeks to capture as many factors which were mentioned which contributed to the <u>council</u> in each case choosing to fund local youth provision
	Concerns which contributed to the local council wanting the development of local youth provision	The theme highlights the various concerns and motivations that could be present which may have helped local youth provision develop.
	Wider contextual factors in each community that enabled the development of local youth provision	Apart from the local council, this theme explores the other elements which may have influenced the development of local youth work provision within the community.

	Suitable spaces and resources identified for a possible youth club	This theme looks to capture the local assets and commitments which became available to enable a local youth provision to become a reality.
	Reasons for adults committing time and energy into securing new youth provision for the community	Given that in each community adults were engaged in working towards achieving a local youth provision, this theme, explores the stated reasons why such adults got involved.
	Connections to the Big Society/Localism political agenda	In the political context of the Big Society and localism, this theme explores whether such a policy context had anything to do with local action, from the perspectives of those involved.
Theme: Local councils finding and working with providers		This theme focuses on the needs of the local council for independent youth work providers and important considerations in the outsourcing processes.
	Why did the council choose to fund the model that it did?	This theme focuses on the key reasons for outsourcing the youth provision it wanted to fund.
	Characteristics required for a provider	This theme focuses on the characteristics deemed important for a provider to be able to secure a contract

	Required accountability and measurement from local councils	This theme captures the measures put in place by the local council to ensure the youth providers are delivering what is expected.
	Required accountability and measurement from the borough council	This theme captures the measures put in place by the local borough council to ensure the youth providers are delivering what is expected.
	Issues encountered by local councils when supporting youth provision	This theme captures issues that were expressed regarding the competence and sustainability of council support.
	Equality Issues	This theme notes that there are important equality issues to be noted in this new localised context.
Theme: Youth Work		This theme specifically explores the understanding of youth work and how this is applied in practice.
Views expressed regarding what 'youth work' is		This theme captures what youth work is understood to be
Specific approaches to		This theme captures the specific approaches that were taken by the different youth providers

youth work ethos and delivery		
Theme: Knowledge base of parish/town councillors		This theme captures the reality of local councillors and what they may or may not know in relation to relevant knowledge needed to be involved in the processes explored.
Local councillor knowledge base		As above
Theme: Tendering, contracting, finances and resources.		This theme explores the experience of the youth providers in relation to funding and their resources to undertake their role.
	Reflections on the contracting process	This theme captures views of those involved in the tendering and contracting processes, mostly from a provider point of view
	Funding realities in projects	The realities of the need for funding and the opportunities/challenges this may bring to bear on the youth provider are captured in this theme.
	State of resources in projects	This theme captures the state of resources to do things with, in each case studied.

	With more money we would	This theme captures the ideas of staff if they had the money they wanted.
Theme: Staffing		This theme explores the area of staffing and the opportunities, challenges and issues that were noted from the interviews.
	Recruitment, retention and reflections regarding paid staff	This theme captures reflections regarding staffing the youth provisions and the issues that are faced by all concerned i.e., management and workers.
	Volunteer experiences	Volunteers have traditionally helped out with youth provision. This theme captures the situation that the youth organisations found themselves facing regarding volunteering.
	Issues experienced by staff at various levels	There are many different perspectives in organisations regarding people's experiences of structures, decisions, resources and other individuals. This theme allows such thoughts to be expressed.
	Training for staff	There are differing expectations and commitments from organisations and staff members regarding the upskilling and development of knowledge, skills and behaviours. This theme focuses on people's experiences of the availability of training opportunities.
	Support networks for staff	This theme seeks to capture the experience, knowledge and understanding of the availability of support networks for those involved in youth organisations and whether they are made use of.
	Support networks for organisations and councils	This theme seeks to capture the experience, knowledge and understanding of the availability of support networks for those involved in local councils i.e., clerks or councillors and whether they are made use of.

Theme: Relationships		This theme captures the extent to which different individuals and organisations work with each other and the sense of connection that they had with each other.
	Relationships between projects and councils	This theme seeks to explore the perceived relational dynamics which were happening either between managers and the local council or workers and the local councillors.
	How sharing of youth club premises is viewed by delivery organisations/staff	This theme seeks to explore the extent to which youth organisations who shared youth premises, actively worked with each other.
Theme: Young People		This theme focuses on young people and their perceptions of their local community and their local youth provision.
	Previous activities undertaken before young people attended the youth provision	As per title
	Reasons for attending the youth provision	As per title
	The purpose of the youth provision	As per title

	The role of a youth worker	As per title
	Things yp would do if the youth provision did not exist	As per title
	Young people's perceptions of adults views of them.	As per title
	Important characteristics that youth workers should have	As per title
	Characteristics that yp liked about their youth provision	As per title
	Different preferences with different youth providers in shared premises	As per title
	Suggestions to make the groups better	As per title

Appendix 22 – Data – themes and analysis

Key

ASB = anti-social behaviour

LA = local authority

YP = young people

YW = youth work

	General data re the local authority youth service	Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook	Maple Hill
Theme: Historic local authority youth work					
A service with youth resources	Local Facilities focused on specifically youth A service working with less privileged young people Special facilities with a specific role Working to develop its' provision Plans for further facilities Services resourced centrally	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A purpose-built dedicated youth and community centre. Fully equipped with sports hall, computer room, craft room, kitchen and coffee bar. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A purpose-built youth wing to the local council offices with main meeting room, kitchen and outside MUGA. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A church hall was used as a youth centre. Plans were in place to build a new centre but nothing came of them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A dedicated building was present until it was closed down due to the building's condition.
A service with full time workers	With skills and abilities Offering Continuity for young people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Serviced with a full-time youth worker and part time staff, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Serviced with a full-time youth worker and part time staff, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Serviced by a part time youth worker and staff. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Serviced by a part time youth worker

	<p>Security for workers Funding of fulltime staff Safe in the knowledge you were part of something bigger Time to fundraise Time to plan and organise Time to get involved in the community Being there for young people Being responsive to local needs Bringing agencies together for the good of local young people</p>	<p>running sessions across the week.</p>	<p>running sessions across the week.</p>		<p>and staff supported from local funds.</p>
<p>A service with an educational purpose</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and development were at the heart 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and development were at the heart 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and development were at the heart 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and development were at the heart 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education and development were at the heart
<p>A service providing infrastructure</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For wider youth organisations • Training for workers • Training young leaders • A supportive management structure • Support for specific issues • Workshops • Outreach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For wider youth organisation • Training for workers • Training young leaders • A supportive management structure • Support for specific issues • Workshops • Outreach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For wider youth organisations • Training for workers • Training young leaders • A supportive management structure • Support for specific issues • Workshops • Outreach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For wider youth organisations • Training for workers • Training young leaders • A supportive management structure • Support for specific issues • Workshops • Outreach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For wider youth organisations • Training for workers • Training young leaders • A supportive management structure • Support for specific issues • Workshops • Outreach

<p>A service with issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Buildings were deteriorating • A service with its' own perspective <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Linked to political agendas ○ Socialisation – don't see other perspectives • Misunderstanding <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Ill-informed members ○ Councillors didn't understand age group • A service with local tensions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Local workers not providing for the community ○ Variance in quality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The building was an issue 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The building was an issue • There were concerns re the service being provided 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The building was an issue
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	Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook	Maple Hill
<p>Theme: Elements contributing to the community response</p>				

<p>Local youth provision in the area, apart from the youth club</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local outdoor youth facilities developed pre 2010 by local council but not located by youth centre. Some local uniformed and church activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attached MUGA to youth centre developed pre 2010 by local council and youth service. Not much other local activity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Skate park developed by local council since 2010. New youth club was placed in the same location. The borough had a youth council and local youth forums. Lots of other youth provision via uniformed organisations and church sponsored activities etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A skate park was being developed in 2015 but not located by the youth centre. The borough had a youth council and local youth forums. Lots of other youth provision via uniformed organisations and churches etc.
<p>Contextual factors which contributed to the local council wanting the development of local youth provision</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> there was a strong LA youth work presence and link with the local council who previously paid for junior work to be undertaken interested and proactive local councillors previous investment into yp through outdoor provision effective teamwork between councillors and clerk local councillor on the management group extra funding available from the borough council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> there was a strong LA authority youth work presence and link with the local council as the LA youth service rented the facilities from the council. the LA youth work was very active in the community. the LA youth worker was actively involved to try and find a solution. local people fought a strong campaign. effective teamwork between councillors and clerk 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> LA youth work had been in the area but without strong links with the local council and no usable premises an active Christian presence working with the council interested and proactive councillors effective teamwork between councillors and clerk there was a swell of support in the community to continue something for young people i.e. for a 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> there was a strong LA youth work presence and link with the local council who had supported the cost of the LA youth work session. interested and proactive councillors there was a swell of support in the community to continue something for young people effective teamwork between councillors and clerk local councillors on the management group & manage the building

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • borough services available to give support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • there was a swell of support in the community to continue something for young people. • local councillor on the management group • extra funding available from the borough council • borough services available to give support 	<p>skatepark and a youth club.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • local councillors manage the building • extra funding available from the borough council • borough services available to give support • borough youth strategy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • extra funding available from the borough council • borough services available to give support • borough youth strategy
Concerns which contributed to the local council wanting the development of local youth provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to prevent ASB 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to prevent ASB • to prevent criminality • to keep yp off the streets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • yp are/have been neglected • to deal with specific issues and provide for their wellbeing • to provide a sanctuary for them • to get yp off the streets • to help the wider community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to prevent ASB • to deal with specific issues and provide for their wellbeing • to provide a safe space • the rural location meant yp could become isolated.
Wider contextual factors in each community that enabled the development of local youth provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community agreed for their precept to be raised • active neighbourhood partnership group headed up by a committed leader/local councillor willing to put in a great deal of time and effort to further their vision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community agreed for their precept to be raised • An active community group developed to save vulnerable services which included the local council • A local community project was revitalised and used as a base to progress community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community agreed for their precept to be raised • A youth partnership organisation was formed to progress the vision for youth work locally • Key individuals willing to put in a great deal of time and effort to further their vision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community agreed for their precept to be raised • A local group set up to support and raise money for local youth work was used to further the vision for youth work locally • Key individuals willing to put in a great deal of time and effort to further their vision

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The local neighbourhood partnership was willing to take over the old youth centre for community purposes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> aspirations to take over the running of the youth centre and library Key individuals willing to put in a great deal of time and effort to further their vision 		
Suitable spaces and resources identified for a possible youth club	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Previous LA youth centre was transferred to local agency for community use, once all issues had been put right with it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Previous LA youth club was available to be used. Money became available to make the space available at a reduced cost. 	<p>Modular units became available and given to the local council.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local council raised all the money for the building and skate park. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Suitable premises had been identified by the local council. Money became available to make this space into a youth building.
Reasons for adults committing time and energy into securing new youth provision for the community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> love making a difference love for others and the community the challenge to make a successful project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> love for others and the community make a better place to live the challenge to make something interesting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> love for others and the community outworking of faith, social justice and yp's wellbeing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Love for others and the community
Connections to the Big Society/Localism political agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developments have been driven by the community not by the government Local council worried that a precept cap might be implemented 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developments have been driven by the community not by the government It depends on whether there are time, money and skills available. Responses have been locally driven and nothing to do with the government; it's a scam to try and save money. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developments have been driven by the community not by the government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developments have been driven by the community not by the government

Theme: Local councils finding and working with providers				
Why did the council choose to fund the model that it did?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the provider was a known trustworthy source 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> consideration was given to running something 'in house' but it was deemed to be too specialised and needed much more support and time They needed to pass responsibility to a specialised service the provider was a known trustworthy source 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> consideration was given to running something 'in house' but it was deemed to be too specialised and needed much more support and time They needed to pass responsibility to a specialised service the provider was a known trustworthy source 	<p>The youth collective project</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local council tried to run something 'in house' but experienced a number of issues In order to secure a quick fix they joined forces with other councils to find a localised solution they needed to pass responsibility to a specialised service <p>Enterprise for youth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> They wanted a more localised approach they needed to pass responsibility to a specialised service
Characteristics required for a provider	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a known trustworthy source who could continue to deliver a stable service reasonable cost 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a known trustworthy source who could continue to deliver a stable service they could deal with staffing and safeguarding issues reasonable cost 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a known trustworthy source who could run a service and meet required expectations they could deal with staffing and safeguarding issues reasonable cost 	<p>Both</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a provider who could run a service and meet required expectations they could deal with staffing and safeguarding issues reasonable cost <p>Enterprise for youth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A localised approach

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> reasonable cost
Required accountability and measurement from local councils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> flexibility is important A report was all that was required Numbers of users were important <p>From the council:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No one has ever thought about quality on the council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A regular report was all that was required Numbers of users were important <p>From the council:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adopted approach out of naivety and trust 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A regular report was all that was required The provider sets their own goals and targets and submits against those Numbers are important <p>From the council:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No idea if monitoring is correct 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A regular report was all that was required One provider sets their own goals and targets and submits against those One provider give a report in terms of narration of development stories Numbers are important
Required accountability and measurement from the borough council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A light touch to monitoring – just an annual report 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A light touch to monitoring – just an annual report 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A light touch to monitoring – just an annual report 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A light touch to monitoring – just an annual report
Issues encountered by local councils when supporting youth provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local councils don't have the expertise in many areas including youth work Funding is dependent on council responsibilities which could become tighter if they are required to take over more responsibilities from higher council bodies Changes of councillors may bring a change of skills and priorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local councils don't have the expertise in many areas including youth work Funding is dependent on council responsibilities which could become tighter if they are required to take over more responsibilities from higher council bodies Changes of councillors may bring a change of skills and priorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local councils don't have the expertise in many areas including youth work Funding is dependent on council responsibilities which could become tighter if they are required to take over more responsibilities from higher council bodies Changes of councillors may bring a change of skills and priorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local councils don't have the expertise in many areas including youth work Funding is dependent on council responsibilities which could become tighter if they are required to take over more responsibilities from higher council bodies Changes of councillors may bring a change of skills and priorities

Equality Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Funding and human capital were seen as important factors which either encouraged or prevented suitable responses occurring 			
Theme: Youth Work				
Views expressed regarding what 'youth work' is	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> development and education listening and support provide a place of warmth and safety help yp meet others socialize yp Behaviour modification and development wider than just youth clubs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> role modelling offering a safe social space development and education support yp in the community help yp informally learn wider than just youth clubs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> offering a safe and welcoming space development and education support, help and care help yp reach their potential help yp consider all possibilities including faith journeying with yp help yp develop positive behaviour youth involved in decision making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> providing a safe space for yp to relax and enjoy themselves support and help development and education youth involved in decision making
Specific approaches to youth work ethos and delivery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Changing from LA run services to how the project envisioned the work was problematic and challenging. Many relationships with local young people in the community were mostly lost. Open access work is not cost efficient, purposeful project work is now the focus 	Reflected inherited LA youth work approach	Youth Aid <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Creating a positive environment was an important focus Clear boundaries are important Providing consistent leaders Youth Aid' insisted on a programme of educational development Faith Matters	Youth Aid <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Youth Aid' insisted on a programme of educational development Had to enforce educational development as this was in the tender documentation and was a part of the larger organisations ethos Enterprise for Youth

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A sports focus was in line with the above point • Junior work thrives – hope to start older work from the junior work. The focus was to demonstrate young people used the facility rather than ‘youth work’. Numbers of young people in the building is a clear focus. 		Would always include a faith dimension into their weekly sessions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Enterprise for youth’ believed in ‘relationships before programme’ • Developing junior leaders • Own their community
Theme: Knowledge base of parish/town councillors				
Local councillor knowledge base	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • training is needed for local councillors especially in relation to youth work • local councillors are volunteers and so they are limited for time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are unrealistic demands sometimes made of the delivery organisation. This reveals that councillors do not know how to run organisations or appreciate what is involved in running a delivery organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • councillors do not understand youth services • councillors rely on their own experiences and networks for much of their information • misunderstandings regularly occurred because of a misalignment in understanding of what youth work is and how a youth work organisation would approach a specific situation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • training is needed for councillors regarding youth work and commissioning processes • councillors rely on their own experiences and networks for much of their information • training for local councillors is really important and welcomed • councillor time is limited

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Youth Aid' introduced a requirement for local councillors to attend basic training to try and prevent such misunderstandings 	
Tendering, contracting, finances and resources.				
Reflections on the contracting process		<p>Councillor views There are not many organisations to choose from</p>	<p>'Youth Aid' views</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communities were keen to explore local contracts to meet their own needs • People didn't know what yw was or our ethos – see training section • Keeping up with individual relationships is hard • Relationship between providers are more competitive • Local councils are competitive with each other • There is no joined up youth strategy • Where there was a joined-up approach that is fragmenting 	<p>'Enterprise for Youth' views</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some local councils wanted a certain size of organisation • Correct tendering processes were not understood – bidders have had to do much of the work rather than the councils • Competition drives down price and quality • People don't work together • Every community wants something different – meeting their expectations plus being true to yourself/org is hard • Capacity is an issue for smaller orgs – can only ever be responsive

<p>Funding realities in projects</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to be sustainable • money is always an issue for youth project • funding dictated shape of programme to a demand led project-based arrangement, where provision was made only for known numbers • diversification of income • time and expertise to apply for funding • provide for known numbers only • grants are a source of income, but the funding forms take time to fill in • maintenance of buildings is an issue • maintenance of user numbers is a pressure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • money is always an issue for youth projects • finances are always an issue, but good management has made the project quite robust • youth work seems easier to fund than the library • creative ideas for bringing money into the project • not all councillors are supportive which may have a future impact • maintenance of user numbers is a pressure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • money is always an issue for youth projects • money has to cover full costs and when it doesn't changes have to be made • finances have to be managed well • fund raising is part of everyone's role • funding forms take time to fill in • Christian projects may be overlooked for state funding due to funding criteria or objections raised by vocal individuals • Managing small contracts takes time • maintenance of user numbers is a pressure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • money is always an issue for youth projects • money has to cover full costs and when it doesn't changes have to be made • Managing small contracts takes time • maintenance of user numbers is a pressure
<p>State of resources in projects</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relied on subcontractor bringing own resources and using left over LA equipment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is old equipment • Some money for new kit is needed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Faith matters' have a good level of equipment to use • 'Youth Aid' had a central resource but recognised there was not much 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Youth Aid' had a central resource but recognised there was not much money for resources and trips • 'Enterprise for youth' recognised that activities were money dependent

			money for resources and trips	
With more money we would	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> buy in people to do other things 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> get a leader in charge build and develop resources do more activities buy in a fund raiser 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> get a full-time worker 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> get more workers run more projects to meet needs
Theme: Staffing				
Recruitment, retention and reflections regarding paid staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> youth workers are hard to find turnover in staff and inconsistency of leaders, hinders work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> project model relies on quality youth work staff which they seek to retain by sessional payment local workers have stronger connections to yp and the community longevity is a real asset to the work Couldn't recruit staff for longer hour contracts Lots of staff means more issues, fewer staff means smaller issues Paid staff seem to have less emotional connection to the job 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> turnover in staff and inconsistency of leaders, hinders work supervision of staff is vital Working with a variety of different organisations means working with different personalities, which may be problematic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> youth workers are hard to find turnover in staff and inconsistency of leaders, hinders work local workers would be preferred as they have local links and can build on local relationships and understandings supervision of staff is vital
Volunteer experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> volunteers were not prepared for/able to cope the issues they encountered when the project took over the work from the LA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A notion that volunteers should not replace paid workers. Volunteers should back up paid workers Growing own workers is still important 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recruitment of volunteers is challenging 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recruitment of volunteers is challenging

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • volunteers should not replace paid workers. Volunteers should be supported by paid workers • lots of volunteers involved across the project as it is a whole community project • volunteers only stay for a short time, as they are looking to achieve something out of it themselves and then they move on. • volunteer burnout could be an issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are no volunteers in the youth work but a good amount for the library – youth work is harder! • Volunteer burnout could be an issue 		
Issues experienced by staff at various levels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • there is no robust staff structure • everything is tightly controlled by the manager 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • many communication issues encountered across many levels • there is a need for a designated leader in charge to coordinate and do needed back room jobs. Without such staff pairings are isolated • no hours are given for prep or session planning – not enough hours to do jobs properly • people only do what they are paid to do 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • uncertainty due to lead worker leaving 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • isolation • uncertainty and insecurity due to unpredictability of contracts and money • demands of manager • inexperienced young staff • no links to community (manager's role) • zero-hour contracts • communication • limited responsibility • upper management expect staff to be highly

				<p>structured and not 'go with the flow'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> middle management was hard
Training for staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> there was no training, despite internal staff wanting further support. by buying in organisations to deliver specific pieces of work, the main project assume staff are already trained 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> more training is required for staff and volunteers training is bought in, without a leader in charge there is no one to source any training and as such it doesn't happen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Youth Aid' had internal training but only at certain times 'Faith works' had internal training scheme and sent workers to faith based resourced sessions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Youth Aid' had internal training but only at certain times 'Enterprise for youth' had been involved in running basic youth worker training courses but once workers had completed this, there was little available
Support networks for staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> no support networks known by staff no time or priority given to networking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no money for networking, if there were any network events, staff would have to attend in their own time No local networks known by youth workers Workers unaware of union support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> local networks are limited workers have to fit networking into their hours and this may not be possible 'Youth Aid' staff rely on 'in house' support 'Faith Matters' relied on faith-based networks and were free to engage with these workers unaware of union support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> local networks are limited workers have to fit networking into their hours and this may not be possible 'Youth Aid' staff felt isolated as they were not based in the central office workers unaware of union support regional networks were in existence but getting to them and fitting them in was the issue
Support networks for organisations and councils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> local networks are limited 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> local networks are limited 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> local networks are limited 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> local networks are limited

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> personal networks used guidance from the borough council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> personal networks used guidance from the borough council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> personal networks used guidance from the borough council some from 'County Wide Support' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> personal networks used guidance from the borough council some from 'County Wide Support'
Theme: Relationships				
Relationships between projects and councils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strong due to manager being on the local council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Official relationships aren't as smooth as they could be 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Councillors expect regular meetings and communication between them and providers in the youth centre 	<p>Youth Aid</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Youth aid': Sessional workers don't have contact – this is the role of the mid manager Meeting with council are infrequent Reports to councillors from others may be inaccurate <p>Enterprise for youth</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> local contact is shared between local worker and manager Occasional centre user meetings are held
How sharing of youth club premises is viewed by delivery organisations/staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> N/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> N/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> there are good relations between the groups communication is only ever about building use which is overseen by the local council, no other communication occurs apart from this 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> there is a sense of competition between providers – possibly because a funding review is forthcoming any meetings there are linked to the building and are guarded meetings

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • there are distinct differences in culture between each group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • organisation keep themselves separate • yp see a difference in the providers and view them as rivals • yp recognise the different approaches between the two organisations
Theme: Young People				
Previous activities undertaken before young people attended the youth provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no answer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hang around the area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hang around the area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hang around the area
Reasons for attending the youth provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social reasons • activities • not many present 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social reasons, • to chill • to touch base with workers • somewhere to go and it keeps us out of trouble • it's warm and there's food 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social reasons, • to chill • to touch base with workers, • somewhere to go and it keeps us out of trouble. • it's warm and there's food. other yp told us about it • to use the outside space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social reasons, • to chill • somewhere to go and it keeps us out of trouble. • it's warm and there's food
The purpose of the youth provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • as above 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to get yp off the streets • to provide a safe space • to stop yp getting up to stuff • to bring people together. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • as above 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To keep yp off the streets • to keep yp safe
The role of a youth worker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To help us have fun • keep us safe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to look after us • stop us get into trouble • to listen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to ensure we enjoy ourselves • to entertain us 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to keep us safe • to give us space • to put the heating on

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to keep us healthy and fit • to be there if you need support • to be a referee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to support • to talk to yp • to be a role model • to keep us safe • to teach life lessons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to be a role model • to understand • to support • to help yp • to chat about things • to give advice • to keep us safe • to look after us • to provide sanctuary. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to help us socialise • to entertain us • to put on activities • to give us responsibility so we can get a job • to support yp • to give helpful advice • to give out condoms • to interact with yp
Things yp would do if the youth provision did not exist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • be at home • play computer games • watch tv • go to local MUGA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hang around in the park and the streets • get involved in drink, drugs, smoking, gambling • cause trouble/ASB • get bored • be at home. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hang around in the park and the streets • cause trouble • get bored • not go out as much • go to friends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hang around the streets • cause trouble • commit crime as would be bored • stay at home • watch tv
Young people's perceptions of adults views of them.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No ideas expressed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some experienced complaints and dispersal orders for just being together • Some felt that they got treated like adults 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No ideas expressed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • adults don't like yp skating on the streets
Important characteristics that youth workers should have	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Giving young people choice and options on activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • longevity and consistency • sense of humour • they are not a teacher • someone who is not strict/authoritarian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • informal • someone who behaves not like a teacher 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sense of humour, banter • they are not a teacher • someone you can trust, you can get on with, someone who will talk and listen • someone who is not strict/authoritarian

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> someone who treats you well and interacts with you
Characteristics that yp liked about their youth provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The sports and activities It's good value for £1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> it's free good leaders and staff the workers are really nice the activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the development activities the link with the outside activities which brings yp together 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the facilities it brings yp together and mixes everyone up from different social backgrounds
Different preferences with different youth providers in shared premises			<p>Like 'Faith Matters' because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> friendlier happier better atmosphere more adults to talk to they give out free stuff <p>Like 'Youth Aid' because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> more people better atmosphere it's not Christian older yp there are less boundaries at this group it is more comfortable it's more social 	<p>Like Youth Aid because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> They accepted me <p>Like 'Enterprise for youth' because</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> prefer the youth leaders, they don't shout. the leaders don't make you do activities like the other group. this club goes on later. the atmosphere is better the group is focused on us and what we want, rather than being told what we should do. you don't have to pay to come here. better relationships with leaders free food
Suggestions to make the groups better	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> more people more sport and activities more time to relax make the session longer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> more resources more trips and external activities e.g. theme parks, paintballing, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> more trips make the session longer open more nights for our age group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> more trips more activities something else on the tv

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more competitions • advertise it better 	<p>horse riding BUT remember a lot of people don't have a lot of money</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more decent equipment e.g. decent pool cues, computer games • new computers • better wifi • cooking • a new pool table • re-decorate • have gym equipment • make the space bigger 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more people attending • make the skate park covered • make the space bigger 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more educational activities like how to cook • make the session longer • make the space bigger
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Appendix 23 – SWOT analysis for each of the youth providers

Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) for each organisation

These SWOT grids are based on my view of the youth providers that I visited and held interviews with relevant people associated with them. They seek to identify the key characteristics of each of them in relation to how they run their services in light of the Loconomy.

Birchwood Project who ran the community centre

<u>Strengths</u>	<u>Weaknesses</u>
<p>g) They were financially astute</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The neighbourhood project refused to take over the asset from the county council until all necessary works were undertaken to prevent costly bills to occur in the short term • The building they took over could be used for income generation – they already had regular bookings and looked to extend these • They added to the building a restaurant in order to develop further income streams. • They only committed to spending money on young people when a need was identified, and a group of young people wanted to do something, which was reviewed regularly • Instead of employing staff directly they subcontracted out to other providers for specific pieces of work, for a limited time • The project was successful in receiving extra funds from the borough council which had been given to them by the county council to support local youth work <p>h) Entrepreneurial manager with experience of running businesses</p> <p>i) Active leadership and management of the centre and workers</p>	<p>b) The operation was heavily reliant on the manager</p> <p>c) The building needed money spent on upkeep</p> <p>d) Short term projects were meeting a specific need but were not building long term relationships with young people in the community so that they could develop an ongoing link with local young people</p>

<p>j) The manager had many connections and was political involved in many levels of government</p> <p>k) The manager had built up a level of trust and respect in the local community and in the local council</p> <p>l) The local council was part of the management group</p> <p>m) The local council was keen to give the project flexibility regarding its outcomes</p> <p>n) The manager demonstrated their effectiveness through the numbers of users in the community resource as a whole</p> <p>o) A committed group of volunteers and staff were present, including a treasurer experienced in funding applications</p> <p>p) The organisation appeared to be both responsive and proactive</p> <p>q) The centre was left with significant youth resources from the local authority youth service</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Opportunities</u></p> <p>d) Good reviews by satisfied customers would encourage further business and income from hirers of the building facilities</p> <p>e) As a local charity with various projects and a building, various funding sources could be tapped into.</p> <p>f) The flexibility to try different approaches to meet the needs of young people</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Threats</u></p> <p>a) Financial issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The unpredictability of users • Increased competition for funding sources • The availability of the treasurer/bid writer • The long-term sustainability of council funding from various levels <p>b) Potential loss of favour by the local council</p> <p>c) New competition by a new or existing provider</p> <p>d) The health of the manager</p> <p>e) The manager discounting youth organisations who could have potentially helped</p> <p>f) The negative associations which may have developed as a result of how young people from the local estate were treated –such negative feedback from young people may reduce attendance and/or be noted by funders</p> <p>g) The limited success of attracting young people to the centre from the wider area</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="810 194 1310 300">h) The adoption of a 'you come to us' strategy rather than undertaking outreach<li data-bbox="810 309 1362 383">i) If the local council wanted to see more specific youth work activity<li data-bbox="810 392 1305 465">j) The availability of organisations to subcontract out to<li data-bbox="810 474 1382 530">k) Difficulties in recruiting youth work staff/volunteers to help with future plans
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The Oakland Project

<u>Strengths</u>	<u>Weaknesses</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The neighbourhood project was a local response to a local situation born out of resistance to the county council's desire to cut the local service b) The local council was part of the development via a local councillor on the board c) The council had faith and trust in the organisation and those running the youth centre as they were known people. Many of the youth workers had proved themselves when they were with the youth service d) The council knew they would be getting the same staff and the promise of a similar service compared to when the local authority was in charge e) The continuance of the staff meant that local relationships with young people were maintained without interruption f) The staff who stayed with the project were trained by the local authority youth service and brought with them those skills and abilities g) The project had been successful in recruiting new part time staff members who could be mentored into their roles by trained workers h) The chair of the trustees was very skilled in business and was highly motivated to see what could be achieved. He was committed to his local community i) The chair of the trustees was confident in the strength of the financial oversight of the neighbourhood project j) The project was getting a good level of support from the community as it had also taken over the library and secured this resource. There seemed to be a good level of support in the management group k) The project had been successful in receiving extra funds from the borough 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The project also took over the local library at the same time and so had a split focus and had to find resources b) The project was entirely committed to the local community, with resources and support from the local council, including running the youth club from local council premises. If anything were to happen with the relationship with the local council or if the council wanted to explore using another provider, there would be considerable issues to overcome c) The state of and the amount of youth work resources available to support young people's engagement

<p>council, provided to them by the county council to support local youth work</p> <p>l) The organisation appeared to be both responsive and proactive</p> <p>m) The project was not responsible for the maintenance of the youth club building</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Opportunities</u></p> <p>a) Their entrepreneurial spirit had explored whether such a service offered in the Oakland community could be offered to others, with a positive level of interest expressed. Good reviews by a satisfied local council could encourage further business</p> <p>b) As a local charity with various projects, various funding sources could be tapped into</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Threats</u></p> <p>a) Financial issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased competition for funding sources • Adequate funding to provide for paid staff • Adequate funding to provide resources for youth work programmes • The long-term sustainability of council funding at various levels <p>b) Potential loss of favour by the local council</p> <p>c) New competition by a new or existing provider</p> <p>d) Staff disquiet and disunity due to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • management issues - no widely accepted leader in charge • limited coordination and communication • Little time for key tasks to be done in <p>e) Trained staff leave and not replaced</p> <p>f) Difficulties in recruiting youth work staff/volunteers to help with future plans</p> <p>g) Potential negative feedback from young people which may reduce attendance and/or be noted by funders</p>

Elmbrook Community – Faith Matters

<u>Strengths</u>	<u>Weaknesses</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Finance not dependant on contracts with local councils. Externally financed and strongly linked to the faith community which may ease the sense of competition from local council funded organisations b) A strong vision and mission to work with local communities, churches and with young people c) Active leadership and management of the local work and workers d) 'Faith Matters' could be both proactive and reactive e) An overt faith mission so that all know upfront, what they are about, what they offer and hope to achieve with their involvement in communities f) An overt faith approach, supported by many adults has attracted a number of young people who like the safe space and structured approach g) Locally based staff workers and volunteer community members h) A strong management board with many relevant skills to steer the organisation i) The organisation was present and committed to the area when no other services for young people were present and so developed a strong link with local councillors. They undertook a great deal of work without the need for public funds j) As a user of the local youth club premises they regularly attended the youth club provider meetings facilitated by local councillors k) Good relationships with 'Youth Aid' meant that sharing resources and collaboration was possible l) As an organisation they had a team of sports faith-based youth workers, interns and have access to many churches with volunteer help, support and resource 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Being so overt regarding their faith had prevented them from being considered for local council contracts due to opposition and concern expressed by some members of the community b) Being so overt regarding their faith had put some young people off the sessions that they ran

<p>m) The organisation had a good level of resources to use for its work with young people</p> <p>n) This team had flexibility and resource to commit to relevant local opportunities and make relevant links i.e. within local high schools</p> <p>o) The wider staff team provided support for all colleagues</p> <p>p) There were training opportunities available for staff to develop their knowledge and skills</p> <p>q) The project was not responsible for the maintenance of the youth club building</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Opportunities</u></p> <p>a) As there were workers committed to an area and not just paid for sessions, workers could give more time to network, build connections and respond to needs and opportunities as they arise</p> <p>b) The willingness to attend the relevant youth club provider meetings with local councillors, meant they can draw attention to the local councillors, needs and issues which should be addressed, including potential new investment for the youth club</p> <p>c) Good reviews by satisfied customers would encourage further business to be created in the local networks</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Threats</u></p> <p>a) Financial issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased competition for funding sources • Adequate funding to provide for paid staff • Adequate funding to provide resources for youth work programmes <p>b) Finding volunteers and interns may prove problematic and may impact on what they can physically undertake</p> <p>c) The level of training and experience of workers, interns and volunteers may affect their awareness of and response to issues and opportunities that present themselves</p> <p>d) Potential negative feedback from young people which may reduce attendance and/or be noted by funders</p>

Elmbrook Community – Youth Aid

<u>Strengths</u>	<u>Weaknesses</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The council had faith and trust in the organisation chosen to run the project, due to its size, and experience running youth programmes across the county for many years b) Good relationships and good outcomes achieved working with young people and local councillors had developed over time. c) Good relationships with 'Faith Matters' meant that sharing resources and collaboration was possible d) The staff team comprised of a nationally professional degree qualified youth worker and locally qualified youth workers e) The staff team undertook other roles with the 'Youth Aid' meaning that time was available for preparation and that some of the staff were not just paid for delivery f) There was a good team spirit identified amongst the youth work team g) Staff felt supported from the centre organisation via active leadership and management of the local work and workers h) Lots of different types of resources were available from the wider organisation's resources i) Lots of connections to other possible services for young people's development were possible via the wider organisation's other projects j) Different training opportunities were available from the organisation k) Finances were centrally managed and controlled leaving local delivery staff to get on with delivery l) 'Youth Aid' could be both proactive and reactive m) The project was not responsible for the maintenance of the youth club building 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The staff were tied to the youth centre and did not have the hours or flexibility to develop wider community networks or link with young people in the local high school or undertake outreach work b) Being part of a larger organisation might incur more costs than a small based organisation, therefore the amount provided by local councils may not cover all the costs incurred and over the long term, this may be problematic

<u>Opportunities</u>	<u>Threats</u>
<p>a) The good relationship developed between the local councillors could potentially lead to further hours being developed and extension of the contract</p> <p>b) Good reviews by satisfied customers would encourage further business</p>	<p>a) Financial issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased competition for funding sources • Adequate funding to provide for paid staff • Adequate funding to provide resources for youth work programmes • The long-term sustainability of council funding at various levels • Not being a local organisation working in Maple Hill may restrict funding applications <p>b) Potential loss of favour by the local council</p> <p>c) New competition by a new or existing provider</p> <p>d) Trained staff leave and not replaced</p> <p>e) Difficulties in recruiting youth work staff/volunteers to help with future plans</p> <p>f) Potential negative feedback from young people which may reduce attendance and/or be noted by funders</p>

Maple Hill – Youth Aid/The Youth Collective Project

<u>Strengths</u>	<u>Weaknesses</u>
<p>a) The council had faith and trust in the organisation chosen to run the project, due to its size, and experience running youth programmes across the county for many years</p> <p>b) Perceived as a short-term fix to enable youth work to be provided in a number of communities using a variety of sources</p> <p>c) A collective approach to an issue that was faced in all communities, where the more affluent communities supported the less affluent in order to get the project off the ground</p> <p>d) Two councillors from each community were part of a management board</p> <p>e) A local base was created so workers could be near to the communities serviced</p> <p>f) Active leadership and management of the local work and workers by a middle manager</p> <p>g) The use of 'Youth Aid' for this project meant that the staff could draw on the wider resources of the organisation to support the work</p> <p>h) Lots of connections to other possible services for young people's development were possible via the wider organisation's other projects</p> <p>i) Different training opportunities were available from the organisation</p> <p>j) Finances were centrally managed and controlled leaving local delivery staff to get on with delivery</p> <p>k) 'Youth Aid' could be both proactive and reactive</p> <p>l) The project was not responsible for the maintenance of the youth club building</p>	<p>a) Being part of a larger organisation might incur more costs than a small based organisation, therefore the amount provided by local councils may not cover all the costs incurred and over the long term, this may be problematic</p> <p>b) The difference of contribution verses the amount of sessions may have caused friction and affect the long-term viability of the project</p> <p>c) The management board meant that the local 'Youth Aid' manager potentially had many local bosses with different opinions about the delivery and the manager had to manage the various dynamics of these relationships</p> <p>d) All members of the team felt isolated from the main delivery organisation due to location</p> <p>e) Despite having a local office, there was little use of local people, staff had to travel a distance for the sessions and then leave creating a sense of disconnection in the staff and potentially the local community</p> <p>f) Potential negative feedback from young people which may reduce attendance and/or be noted by funders</p>
<u>Opportunities</u>	<u>Threats</u>
<p>a) Good reviews by satisfied customers would encourage further business</p>	<p>a) Financial issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased competition for funding sources <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adequate funding to provide for paid staff • Adequate funding to provide resources for youth work programmes • The long-term sustainability of council funding at various levels • Not being a local organisation working in Maple Hill may have restricted funding applications

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">b) Staff disquiet due to the leadership and management style of the middle managementc) Trained staff leave and not replacedd) Difficulties in recruiting youth work staff/volunteers to help with future planse) Potential negative feedback from young people which may reduce attendance and/or be noted by funders
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Maple Hill – Enterprise for Youth

<u>Strengths</u>	<u>Weaknesses</u>
<p>a) The council had faith and trust in the organisation and those running the youth centre as they were known people who had proved themselves when they were with the youth service</p> <p>b) This organisation was small and could be flexible and offer local communities the approach that they wanted</p> <p>c) Active leadership and management of the local work and workers</p> <p>d) As a small organisation it had relatively small overheads</p> <p>e) The CEO/manager and lead worker have many years' experience working with the previous local authority youth service</p> <p>f) A relaxed approach using conversation as the main engagement tool which local young people seemed to prefer</p> <p>g) A commitment to nurture and develop new leaders from older young people</p> <p>h) A motivated CEO who wanted to make a success of his enterprise and willing to put in extra hours in order to succeed</p> <p>i) The project was not responsible for the maintenance of the youth club building</p>	<p>a) A small organisation may not have the resources to be able to create different learning opportunities or create a varied programme</p> <p>b) A small organisation put a great deal of pressure on the CEO to make up any shortfalls in staff or pickup jobs that need to be undertaken</p> <p>c) There is a limit in what could be committed to at one time</p> <p>d) The CEO/organisation could only be responsive and not proactive due to its size</p>
<u>Opportunities</u>	<u>Threats</u>
<p>a) With the organisation being small and flexible it potentially allowed many bespoke community responses to be created</p> <p>b) Good reviews by satisfied customers would encourage further business</p> <p>c) Links to a local University youth work course provided potential staff</p>	<p>a) Financial issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased competition for funding sources • Adequate funding to provide for paid staff • Adequate funding to provide resources for youth work programmes • The long-term sustainability of council funding at various levels • Not being a local organisation working in Maple Hill may have restricted funding applications <p>h) Potential loss of favour by the local council</p> <p>i) New competition by a new or existing provider</p> <p>j) The retention, recruitment and training of staff as there are limited people wanting to undertake the youth work role on the terms and conditions provided</p> <p>k) A perception that a small organisation could not deliver a larger contract</p> <p>l) To have the required infrastructure to grow to meet future demand</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none">m) Potential negative feedback from young people which may reduce attendance and/or be noted by fundersn) Misinterpretation of CEO responses when dealing with local councillors
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Appendix 24 – RAG rated Youth Practices

The following is a rag rated process which explores various youth work understandings which have been cited over the years in various documents and applied to the observed practices of the cases studied.

The meanings of the colours are as follows:

Green: The elements were observed to be present and a regular part of practice

Amber: The elements were noted or were present in part

Red: The elements were not observed to be present

Black: Unable to comment

Observed Youth Practices						
	Birchwood	Oakland	Elmbrook Faith Matters	Elmbrook Youth Aid	Maple Hill Youth Aid	Maple Hill Enterprise for Youth
<p>Elements from Albermarle visible – association, training and challenge.</p> <p>(NB definitions as per the Albermarle report (Ministry of Education, 1960)</p>	<p>Limited association. Training via recreational sports but no challenge opportunities</p>	<p>Lots of association. Limited discussion work but informal training via young people's own use of outside MUGA. Limited challenge opportunities but only available via special summer programme.</p>	<p>Lots of association. Lots of discussion work and training via recreational sports. Some challenge opportunities via faith networks.</p>	<p>Lots of association and discussion work. Informal training via young people's own use of outside skate park. Some challenge opportunities via NCS and occasional summer activities.</p>	<p>Lots of association. Some discussion work but no other training opportunities. Some challenge opportunities via NCS and occasional summer activities.</p>	<p>Lots of association. Some discussion work. Occasional project work when funds were available but no other regular training opportunities. No challenge opportunities.</p>
<p>Adult driven agenda or young person driven as proposed by Davis and Gibson (1967).</p>	<p>Young people given the opportunity to say what they would like to see happen in terms of the forms of sports.</p>	<p>Young people given the opportunity to say what they would like to see happen when possible/finance dependant.</p> <p>Local council agenda behind</p>	<p>Young people possibly given the opportunity to say what they would like to see happen.</p> <p>Faith agenda behind the activity.</p>	<p>Young people given the opportunity to say what they would like to see happen when possible/finance dependant.</p> <p>Local council agenda behind</p>	<p>Young people given the opportunity to say what they would like to see happen when possible/finance dependant.</p> <p>Local council agenda behind</p>	<p>Young people given the opportunity to say what they would like to see happen when possible/finance dependant.</p> <p>Local council agenda behind</p>

	Local council agenda behind activity to stop ASB.	activity to stop ASB.		activity to stop ASB	activity to stop ASB	activity to stop ASB
Role modelling v client centred approach as proposed by Leighton (1972).	Role modelling	Role modelling and client centred approach	Role modelling and client centred approach	Role modelling and client centred approach	client centred approach	Role modelling and client centred approach
Development of political awareness and empowerment activities	None	None	None	Limited – only via borough council youth forum initiative.	Limited – only via borough council youth forum initiative.	Limited – only via borough council youth forum initiative.
Thompson report 5 As association, activities, advice, action in the community, access to life and vocational skills. (Department of Education and Science, 1982)	Limited association, Limited activities, Limited advice, No action in the community, No access to life and vocational skills	Lots of association, Limited activities, Availability of advice, No action in the community, Limited access to life and vocational skills	Lots of association, Lots of activities, Availability of advice, No action in the community, Limited access to life and vocational skills	Lots of association, Lots of activities, Availability of advice, No action in the community, Access to life and vocational skills	Lots of association, Limited activities, Availability of advice, No action in the community, Access to life and vocational skills	Lots of association, Limited activities, Availability of advice, No action in the community, No access to life and vocational skills
A commitment to mutual action	Limited, as this was viewed from	Limited, as any good intentions	Limited, as this was viewed from a faith	Limited, as any good intentions	Limited, as any good intentions	Limited, as any good intentions

promoting wellbeing and human flourishing via intentional interactions using experiential learning, in culturally accessible forms via voluntary participation and dialogical mutual respectful relationships (Smith, 1988).	a sports development perspective and no wider.	were limited by the amount of available time and resources allocated.	development perspective.	were limited by the amount of available time and resources allocated.	were limited by the amount of available time and resources allocated, as well as knowledge of staff allocated.	were limited by the amount of available time and resources allocated.
Partnering with young people in deliberate acts of learning (Department of Education and Science, 1987).	Limited to sport skills only.	Limited, as any good intentions were limited by the amount of available time and resources allocated.	Limited, as this was viewed from a faith development perspective.	Intentional learning activities occurred each week	Limited, as intentional learning activities were offered but not taken up.	Limited to the development of young leaders.
A commitment to a holistic informal curriculum. (Ord, 2007; Davis, 1999b).	None	None	Limited to the plans of the leader in charge	Wider organisational curriculum adhered to.	Wider organisational curriculum adhered to.	None.
To enable young people to develop	Limited holistic development as	Limited holistic development and	Limited holistic development and	Limited holistic development and	Limited holistic development and	Limited holistic development and

<p>holistically, working with them to facilitate their personal, social and educational development, to enable them to develop their voice, influence and place in society and to reach their full potential (Learning and skills improvement agency, 2012, p.4).</p>	<p>this was not the purpose of the session, Limited personal, social and educational development, No intentional voice development, or help to develop their influence and place in society, Very limited support for enabling young people to reach their full potential, as no links with other organisations advertised.</p>	<p>limited personal, social and educational development due to time and resources, No intentional voice development, or help to develop their influence and place in society, Limited support for enabling young people to reach their full potential due to time and resources.</p>	<p>limited personal, social and educational development as this was a faith focused group, No intentional voice development, or help to develop their influence and place in society, Limited support for enabling young people to reach their full potential due to mostly faith based contacts.</p>	<p>limited personal, social and educational development due to time and resources, No intentional voice development as part of session or help to develop their influence and place in society but limited opportunities available via a borough youth forum initiative. Limited support for enabling young people to reach their full potential due to time and resources.</p>	<p>limited personal, social and educational development due to time and resources, No intentional voice development as part of session or help to develop their influence and place in society but limited opportunities available via a borough youth forum initiative. Limited support for enabling young people to reach their full potential due to time and resources.</p>	<p>limited personal, social and educational development due to time and resources, No intentional voice development as part of session or help to develop their influence and place in society but limited opportunities available via a borough youth forum initiative. Limited support for enabling young people to reach their full potential due to time and resources.</p>
<p>Is the practice taking place in settings which are 'open access' and</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>

<p>to which young people have chosen to come, that is, is their participation voluntary?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the practice proactively seeking to tip balances of power in their favour? • Are young people perceived and received as young people rather than, as a requirement, through the filter of adult-imposed labels? • Is the practice starting where young people are starting, particularly with their expectation that they will be able to relax, meet friends and enjoy themselves? 	<p>Not much evidence</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>This is limited as the expectation was that the young people should engage in sport, with limited breaks</p>	<p>Yes, but limited due to time and resource</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p>	<p>Not really, this was an adult led group</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes, but limited due to youth worker experience</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes, but limited due to time and resource</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p>
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is one key focus of the practice on the young person as an individual? • Is the practice respectful of and actively responsive to young people's peer networks? • Is the practice respectful of and actively responsive to young people's wider community and cultural identities and, where young people choose, is it seeking to help them strengthen these? • Is the practice seeking to go beyond where young people start, in particular by encouraging them to develop their personal potential and be critical and 	<p>This is limited as there is not much time for individual work</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>No, this is not the focus and there is little time.</p> <p>This is only limited to sport</p>	<p>Yes, but this is limited as there is not much time for individual work</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes, in theory, but this is limited as there is not much time for this work</p> <p>Yes, in theory, but this is limited by time and resources</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>The faith organisation may be limited due to its' stance of sexuality issues.</p> <p>Yes, but is limited by a faith perspective</p>	<p>Yes, but this is limited as there is not much time for individual work</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes, in theory, but this is limited as there is not much time for this work</p> <p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes, but this is limited as there is not much time for individual work</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes, in theory, but this is limited as there is not much time for this work</p> <p>Yes, in theory, but this is limited by youth worker training</p>	<p>Yes, but this is limited as there is not much time for individual work</p> <p>Yes</p> <p>Yes, in theory, but this is limited as there is not much time for this work</p> <p>Yes, in theory, but this is limited by time and resources</p>
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creative in their responses to their experience and the world around them? • Is the practice concerned with how young people feel as well as with what they know and can do? (Davis 2015)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
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