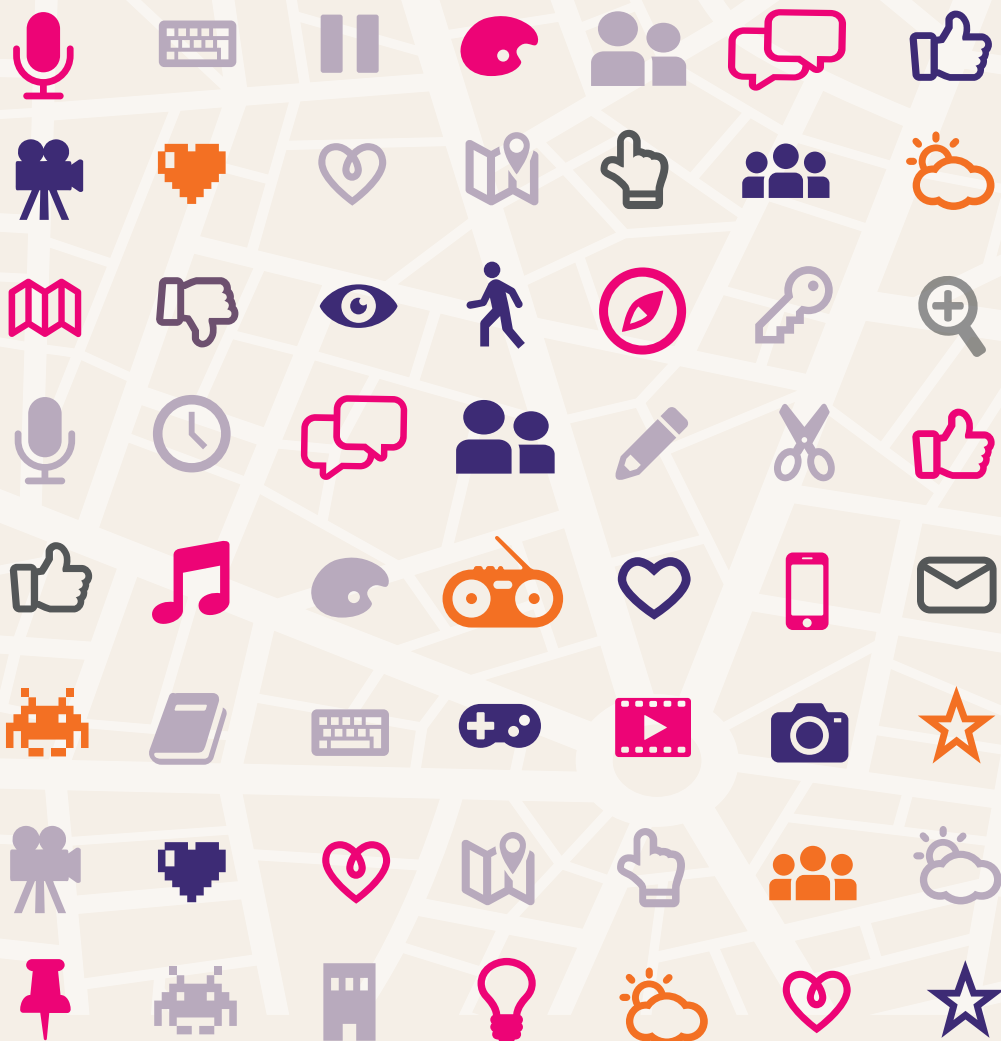# INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF OPEN YOUTH WORK

Issue 3 2019

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF OPEN YOUTH WORK

ISSUE 3

Dear readers,
Welcome to the International Journal of Open Youth Work. The editorial board is pleased to present the third issue of this journal.
This Journal is the result of the co-operation between representatives from Newman University (UK), Gothenburg University (SE), Professional Youth Work in Europe (POYWE), the University of Iceland (IC) and Ungdom og Fritid – Youth Work Norway (NO).

For this issue we have had the pleasure of co-operation with Plymouth University and guest editor Jon Ord. Ord was the coordinator of the International youth work conference – Transformative Youth Work in September 2018. Many of the contributions to this issue is a direct result of that conference.

The Journal aims to privilege the narrative of youth work practice, methodology and reality. It is a peer-reviewed journal providing research and practice-based investigation, provocative discussion, and analysis on issues affecting youth work globally. The Journal aims to present youth work issues and research in a way that is accessible and reader-friendly, but which retains scholarly integrity.

The Journal is built on the concept of co-writing, which means that we are taking seriously the notion of practice informed by theory and theory based on practice. This, we argue, is mutually beneficial to the development of both theory and practice within the field.

Lastly, we want to thank all the contributors, peer-reviewers, stakeholders and others who have helped realize this third issue of the International Journal of Open Youth Work.

Chief Editor, Pauline Grace and Managing Editor, Amund Røhr Heggelund

Cover design: Marit Unni Bredesen
Layout design: Ida Schmidt

The International Journal of Open Youth Work

The Journal is published once a year and contains peer-reviewed articles, explorations of good practice, methodology, research, policy analysis, book reviews and conference papers. It is aimed at open youth workers, youth work academic specialists, policy makers and stakeholders.

How to contribute

Contributions to the journal are sought from academic, researchers/scholars, youth workers and stakeholders who are active and/or have a professional or political interest in youth work. The Journal encourages co-writing where academics and youth workers write together.

Scope

Each issue of the International Journal of Open Youth Work will have a mix of content.

Research: where researchers and practitioners/stakeholders write together; for instance, on projects of action research or theoretically grounded projects aiming to develop youth work or to develop the organisation or management of youth work.

Articles: which should contain an extended discussion on theoretical and/or methodological (research) issues concerning open youth work connected to the research project being discussed.

Critical conversations or provocation: present an article containing experiences of youth work and/or thoughts on youth work in order to highlight and discuss conditions, possibilities and problems in or connected to open youth work in a broader sense. The aim is to create debate or open up for new perspectives.

Good practice sharing: present an outline of a new or dynamic piece of youth work practice.

National or European policy review: present an overview and critical commentary about specific and related national or international policy, with a focus on the impact for youth work practice and young people.

Book review: provide a review of new books and/or journal articles that especially focus on youth work methodology and its broadest subject of interest.

Conference paper: papers that focus on youth work methodology, research, ideas, innovations or provocations.

Submissions

All submissions will be read by a member of the Editorial Board, before being submitted to a system of blind peer reviewing by two external assessors, one of which will be a youth work practitioner and the other an academic. The submissions will then be discussed by the Editorial Board.

Editorial board

Pauline Grace is senior lecturer and MA Programme Leader of Youth and Community Work at Newman University and has over 30 years of face-to-face youth work experience in the UK. She facilitated in 2010 at the first European Youth Work Convention, which resulted in the first European Declaration on Youth Work. In 2015 she was invited as an expert to give input to the second European Convention. Pauline is a founder and Vice-President of Professional Open Youth Work in Europe (POYWE). She is a part of the UK´s In Defense of Youth Work (IDYW) national steering group. Pauline is the Chief Editor of the Journal.

Amund Røhr Heggelund is responsible for public and international relations in Youth Work Norway – the Norwegian National youth club organization. Amund has been managing the northern most youth club in the world for several years and have long experience in working with young people, democracy and cultural expression. He is educated in the fields of sociology and cultural studies.

Marc Boes started his education as a social worker at the University of Professional Education in 1982. In 1994 he became managing director and later on the CEO of JONG Rotterdam. He was the president of ERYICA from 2006 until 2013. He was co-founder of POYWE (Professional Open Youth Work in Europe) and is now the managing director.

Árni Guðmundsson is a lecturer and youth researcher in the Faculty of Sports, Leisure Studies and Social Education and in The Centre for Research in Childhood and Youth at the University of Iceland. Árnis research area is social pedagogy, mainly in the fields of youth work, open youth work, youth clubs and youth centers, professionalization in youth work, group work methods in youth work and youth work in the historical context.

Åsa Andersson is a sociologist and currently a PhD student at the Department of Food and Nutrition, and Sport Science at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. Åsa´s main research interests are the areas of sociology of knowledge and social change. Specifically, she is interested in how sociological research can contribute to an equal knowledge production and bridge the growing gap between academics and "non-academics". For instance, she has devoted herself to expand the academic field of sociology by enable academics and practitioners to engage in mutually respectful dialogues. The project of her research is to make visible the invisible and to validate these connections as parts of the academic life.

Åsa is a lecturer and trainer for youth work, qualitative methodology/methods, theory of science and sociology.

Contributors

Michael Schlauch is both a social researcher and practitioner working at the open youth club 'Bunker' in Bolzano, Italy, since 2014. After studying Economics and Engineering at the TU Dresden, he recently graduated with a Master's Degree in Sociology at the University of Trento. Since 2016, as a board member of 'Netz', the umbrella association of open youth work in South Tyrol, he has been engaged in further developing open youth work regionally.

Gaia Palmisano is researcher, open youth worker and mother at the same time. She graduated in Philosophy at the University of Verona and finished her Master's degree in Sociology at the University of Trento with a work on drinking culture in relation to prevention policies. During the last 5 years at an open youth club in Bolzano, she has accompanied a variety of adolescents and initiated many projects ranging from Erasmus + exchanges to projects with a focus on multiculturalism and gender issues.

Hedda Hakvåg is a project coordinator with Youth Work Norway - the Norwegian National youth club organization, working on developing and implementing Ungdomsledelse («Youth Leadership»), a new training program for youth workers.

Amund Røhr Heggelund is responsible for public and international relations at Youth Work Norway – the Norwegian National youth club organization. Amund has been managing the northern most youth club in the world for several years and have long experience in working with young people, democracy and cultural expression. He is educated in the fields of sociology and cultural studies.

Trudi Cooper has been a youth and community worker, lecturer, and a youth work researcher. She leads the Edith Cowan University youth work staff team and is the Director of the Social Program Innovation Research and Evaluation (SPIRE) research group at the university. Her youth work research has been concerned with linking youth work theory, policy and practice. In 2006, she received a national commendation for her outstanding contribution to learning and teaching for work on youth work education portfolio assessment. In 2016 she became an Australian Learning and Teaching Fellow.

Miriam Brooker is a Postdoctoral Research Associate in the Social Program Innovation Research and Evaluation (SPIRE) research group at Edith Cowan University (ECU), where she supports and undertakes youth work research. She is educated in the fields of psychology, education, sociology and social work. Her experience working with young people includes employment as a residential child/youth care worker and a school psychologist and she has completed a master's degree on youth mentoring and adult-youth relationships.

Debbie McCabe is the Coordinator of the City of Swan's Youth Development Team. Debbie has over thirty years' experience working in youth and community development. Her work has predominantly been in local government and not-for-profits both in the United Kingdom and Australia. Debbie is an experienced manager who understands the importance of professional standards and corporate governance to ensure accountability, transparency and outcomes focused. Debbie is a keen advocate for delivering evidence-based practice, whilst supporting innovation with robust evaluation. Debbie is particularly passionate about young people having a voice to inform decision making and working in partnership with them to make a difference.

Peter Madden has been a Youth Work practitioner for over 16 years. Qualifying from the University of Bedfordshire in the UK with a First Class Honour degree in Child and Adolescence studies in 2005, Peter began his youth work career for Milton Keynes Council in Bedfordshire in the UK, running a youth and community centre as well as supporting volunteer youth clubs. Peter moved to Perth, Australia in 2008 where he has worked as a Team Leader Youth Services for the City of Joondalup. Peter is currently the Coordinator of Youth and Families at the City of Gosnells.

Orietta Simons has worked as a lecturer in the Bachelor of Youth Work at Edith Cowan University (ECU) and is completing her Master of Counseling at ECU, which includes a research project on youth work practice. Orietta holds a Bachelor of Social Science (Youth Work) and a Bachelor of Social Work. Kalbir Shukra Qualified youth worker and senior lecturer at Goldsmiths, University of London. Programme convenor for MA in Applied Anthropology & Community and Youth Work. Related previous publications include articles in the Youth and Policy and a chapter in What is Youth Work.

Malcolm Ball is a long established qualified youth worker involved with In Defence of Youth Work. Continues to work with young people as an Advisor to the Young Mayor of Lewisham.

Katy Brown is a long established qualified youth worker. Continues to work with young people as an Advisor to the Young Mayor of Lewisham.
Lyn Boyd is a lecturer in Youth and Community Work at the University of Huddersfield and a qualified Youth and Community Worker. She has a wide range of teaching and youth and community work experience. Lyn is the secretary of the European Network for Youth and Community Work Education and Training in Higher Education.

Dr Glynn Jones is a Subject Leader for Postgraduate Taught Courses in the Department of Education and Community Studies. He focuses on internationalisation of education in his research at the University of Huddersfield, alongside his teaching responsibilities which include teaching Youth Work on two MA courses.

Anu Gretschel (Ph.D.) is a Senior Researcher in the Finnish Youth Research Network. Her special interests are evaluation in youth work, youth participation and action research. She is currently involved in monitoring the function of the multifaceted evaluation tool developed a couple of years earlier that has been taken into use in Southwest Finland.

Antti Korhonen (BA of Social Sciences) is the International Youth Work Coordinator at the Marttinen Youth Centre, which is one of the 9 national youth centres in Finland mandated by the state in the Youth Act and supervised by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture. He has spent a large part of the past two years working at the Marttinen Youth Centre, in advancing its international coordination. He has been involved in developing the actions of the youth centre to acquire the Council of Europe's Quality Label for Youth Centres. For the last 10 years he has been involved in various organisations, networks and projects around Finland.

Dr Mike Seal is a Reader in Critical Pedagogy and head of Community Courses at Newman University Birmingham, UK. He is Programme Director of the Certificate in Community Leadership and a post graduate programme in Trade Union Education. He was programme director for Criminology between September 2016-2017 for the Youth and Community Work Programmes between 2010-2019. He has worked in youth and community work and homelessness for over 25 years. He has conducted over 30 pieces of funded research and 20 pieces of consultancy work. He has over 30 publications, including ten books, and has spoken at over 80 conferences.

Annelieke van Dijk MSc is a researcher in the field of Education and Pedagogy, specialised in societal educational issues in international and culturally diverse contexts. She is affiliated with Noorda en Co and Utrecht University and involved in research projects investigating pedagogical practices and interventions directed at youth in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Social education of youth in a multicultural society plays a central role in her work. Specific interests are pedagogical community programmes, intercommunication between youth and police and socialisation in street culture.

Drs. Jaap Noorda is a social pedagogue whose research focusses on social integration of youth in vulnerable neighbourhoods. Together with partners and social professionals he investigates societal youth issues, effects of youth interventions and develops innovative experiments in the practice of youth work and education. His field of expertise lies in youth work, youth unemployment, pedagogical community programmes and other instruments of local youth policy.

Contents

1. Evaluating Young People's Engagement and Participation in Creating Public Identities

Kalbir Shukra with Malcolm Ball and Katy Brown

Abstract
This article outlines the evaluation methodology deployed in a multi-stranded, long running youth democracy programme in London. Based on field research conducted 2012-2018 in collaboration with the staff responsible for the programme, the article shows how a broad exploration of young people's experience of the programme spiralled into a pursuit of answers to questions arising from the data and from practice. We argue that a richer understanding of how young people constructed and expressed public identities in Lewisham Young Mayor Programme was gained than conventional impact evaluations in youth and community work would have allowed. We found that an ethos of informal work engaging young people within the formal structure allowed young people from a wide range of backgrounds to include their way of being into their engagements with peers and adults.

Introduction
This article presents the methodology used to evaluate a multi-stranded, long running youth democracy programme in London Borough of Lewisham (LBL). It is based on field research conducted 2012-2018 in collaboration with the staff responsible for the programme. The article shows how the research started with a broad exploration of young people's experience of the programme and spiralled into a bigger project through a series of other research questions. The use of a combination of grounded theory (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Chametzky, 2016) and an action research methodology (Dick, 2007) yielded specific research questions. We argue that in pursuing questions emerging from the data as well as from practice, a richer understanding of young people's identities on the programme was gained than conventional impact evaluations in youth and community work might have allowed.

Lewisham Young Mayor Programme (LYMP) is a youth democracy programme based in the town hall since 2003 involving weekly meetings of Young Advisors and annual elections for a Young Mayor, Deputy Young Mayor and Lewisham representatives to UK Youth Parliament. Throughout the year, the representatives work voluntarily with peers, politicians and other adults on local, regional, national and international activities. These include campaigns, strategic conversations and project development. They also take responsibility for consulting other young people across the borough about how the Young Mayor's annual budget of £25 000 should be spent (London Borough of Lewisham, 2013).

The programme is staffed by two full time Adult Advisors who are seasoned professional youth workers running the programme from their base in the Adult Mayor's Office. The staff have built the life of the programme around an ethos of democratic youth work while organising around Young Mayor of Lewisham annual elections. The structure was part of new governance arrangements and intended to involve young people (Quirke, 2006) as part of a programme of democratic engagement. The staff and the young people report directly to the Mayor and Cabinet about their activities and proposals for spending the budget.

Evaluation in Youth Work
Traditionally, internal evaluation of local education authority youth services was conducted via the self-evaluation processes of what is a reflexive profession. External evaluations were conducted under Ofsted's quality assurance oversight. Similarly, voluntary sector organisations were largely monitored through self-evaluations supplied to officers.

These processes were benign while funding was secure but took on a different complexion when competition increased.

Demands to measure youth and community work in specific ways grew from the 1980s. These were prompted by local authority funding crises, the introduction of the market to deliver public services and new policy regimes. In LBL, as in other areas, voluntary sector workers had constructed a narrative that they were less bureaucratic and more closely aligned to their communities because they were independent organisations. Voluntary sector independence was a spurious notion that suited councils because it allowed them to buy in the services of organisations willing to manage a cheaper and more flexible workforce but tended to divide council and voluntary sector staff. This was exacerbated as monitoring and evaluation became a tool for councillors to identify cuts: the romanticism surrounding voluntary sector independence dissipated and organisations became wary of evaluations.

The 1980s and early 1990s saw successive Conservative governments rolling back local authority autonomy and resources, using quasi-non-governmental bodies as vehicles to manage regional funds and fragmenting the local state by requiring councils to invite service tenders. The contracting out of council services resulted in a mixed economy of partnerships pitching to deliver services and accepting that monitoring data was needed by their funders as part of a process of accounting and accountability. This was central to the 'growth of managerialism' in the 1990s alongside a reshaping of youth and community provision (Bloxham, 1993). During the New Labour years, monitoring and evaluation processes were refined with organisations agreeing to quantify outputs and outcomes in accordance with the policy agenda of the time. For example, youth work projects tended to present data to illustrate how they were addressing the government's social inclusion agenda or meeting targets in youth, arts and community work (Mayo et. al., 2013). Success was presented by showing changes in young people's behaviour or attitudes and quantifying how many young people had been reached. Social and political education features of youth work (Smith, 1994) were strained and finally reshaped by the transforming youth work agenda and its associated policies (Taylor, 2009; Davies and Merton, 2009; 2010). Able to demonstrate success, youth workers looked to secure more funds and contracts, but in the process of chasing funds in compliance with social policies oriented towards the ideo-logical and behavioural modification of young people, many sought solutions to structural problems in young people's cultural behaviour or psychological make up.

Changes to local government structures and the commissioning of services also had a significant impact on youth work: public private partnerships were promoted as a solution to funding crises in youth work (NYA/LGA, 2012; Ward, 2016). The contemporary orthodoxy of measuring 'impact' accompanied the austerity agenda after a 2011 House of Commons Education Select Committee (2011) inquiry on services for young people sought data on the 'impact and cost-effectiveness of services'. Politicians, policy makers and sponsors asked for proof of the difference that particular interventions made at a time when public sector funds were drying up. In return for 'investments', youth workers looked to philanthropists and the corporate sector for sponsorship, offering up business plans and 'proof' that their work solved problems and made savings for the public purse in the long term (Leat et.al, 2006). New measurement tools were offered by organisations like the Young Foundation (McNeil et.al., 2012) and the Greater London Authority's 'Project Oracle'. While youth workers devised a wide variety of tools and matrixes to measure outputs and outcomes of their interventions, the Cabinet Office published guidance on calculating 'social return on investment' and made it a requirement to assess 'value for money' in public procurement processes with the Social Value Act 2013 (Shukra and Mullings, 2014). A year later, the Cabinet Office (2014) set up the Centre for Youth Impact (CYI) bringing several organisations together to 'help measure and increase the impact of youth sector organisations. Consequently, a new orthodoxy developed across youth services, non-governmental organisa-tions and housing associations: evaluations required a 'theory of change' and a 'logic model' to provide robust measurement. CYI was available to provide the necessary training, tools and support for measuring specifically youth sector impact. Social return on investment as a method of calculating the financial value of an intervention became a benchmark for acceptable measurement. Having agreed to demonstrate the efficacy or value added of youth work, providers produced a wealth of data (de St Croix, 2018) hoping to show evidence of success to funders. Organisations often focused on particular vehicles of youth engagement, whether related to leisure, education, sport, performing arts or another medium to show what they could achieve. Increasingly, these were offered statistically as quantified returns on investment. The new ideological settlement in evaluation and austerity politics launched in 2010 (Nicholls, 2012) marched on and shut down vast swathes of England's year-round youth work and substituted them with a six-week National Citizens Service aimed specifically at sixteen year olds (UNISON Local Government, 2016).

A handful of researchers were left looking for qualitative forms of evaluation that would be more closely aligned with youth work principles and values.

These included the collection of youth work 'stories' (Davies, 2011; IDYW, 2014), 'complementary' or 'transformative evaluation' (Cooper and Gretschel, 2018:610) and our grounded action research methodology.

Methodology
This research study began in 2012 when interest was growing around what overall difference LYMP had made and while the new evaluation orthodoxy was forming. LYMP was organised around a democratic youth work ethos (Hall et. al., 1999) rather than around the sorts of targets and predetermined outcomes required for conventional evaluation agendas that demonstrated outputs and outcomes for funder accountability (Estrella and Gaventa, 1998:14). This meant that it was not clear at the start of the evaluation what the most useful measures of success would be, even if overall impact were to be examined. In grounded theory, however, this can be a positive starting point as initial research questions are descriptive rather than explanatory, allowing a researcher to identify the processes or phenomenon rather than test it against existing theories (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Bryant and Charmaz, 2007).

We worked collaboratively to develop a methodology that would allow us flexibility in developing research questions. Susman's (1983) action research model offered a framework for the research in the form of a cycle of defining a problem, action planning, acting, evaluating, learning and diagnosing new issues. However, we did not want to start with a deficit approach or prescribe a 'problem'. We preferred to begin by researching candidate experiences of participation in an upcoming Young Mayor election. Grounded theory offered the methodological flexibility required to do this, allowing more specific and new research questions to emerge from a process of coding and reflecting on fieldwork. In that sense we adopted a form of 'grounded action research' (Dick, 2007). Whereas the new techniques of 'measuring impact' in youth work set out to demonstrate effectiveness or to calculate 'value', we hoped to grow our research questions from young participants' perspectives. The first strand of the research was therefore the basis for the research questions that followed.

Strand 1
We began with a small-scale depth study of the 2012-13 Young Mayor Election candidates to gain a 'detailed and in-depth picture of youth political participation' (Griffin, 2005:145) locally. This strand centred on identifying key aspects of election candidate experiences, reflections and engagements.

Who were they? What motivated them to stand for a public election?

What did they hope to achieve and how did they participate? What did they think, do and learn? To pursue these questions, we agreed on a base line survey combined with an ethnographic approach that allowed for participant observation, following candidate journeys from the beginning of the 2012 election process.

As data was coded, it was reflected on and then reviewed by the researcher so that we could discuss the emerging themes and what we thought we were learning from the data. We considered what data was saying, was not saying, confirming or disconfirming. Wherever possible, the evaluation plan and findings were presented to a workshop or conference for further testing. At the end of the first strand, for example, this included a Council of Europe Intercultural Cities event in Hungary that was reviewing intercultural evaluation methodologies. Such interactions were important in critically reflecting on the process and identifying where we needed to create additional research strands and actions to explore any gaps or puzzles that had come to light. Out of this process of methodological reflexivity, we decided to build on what we had learned in the first year by repeating the election study and developing additional lines of inquiry with a spiral of associated questions, data collection, analysis and reflection. These are outlined next, illustrating how LYMP candidates constructed a range of identities.

Strand 2
How diverse and inclusive was participation in the programme? Questions of diversity and inclusivity were asked whenever presentations of LYMP were made by young people, staff and the researcher: did the 'Young Mayor' title make it a tokenistic programme attracting 'the usual suspects' rather than 'hard to reach' young people? Repeating the depth study of 2012, we gained a clear picture of candidate diversity 2012-18.
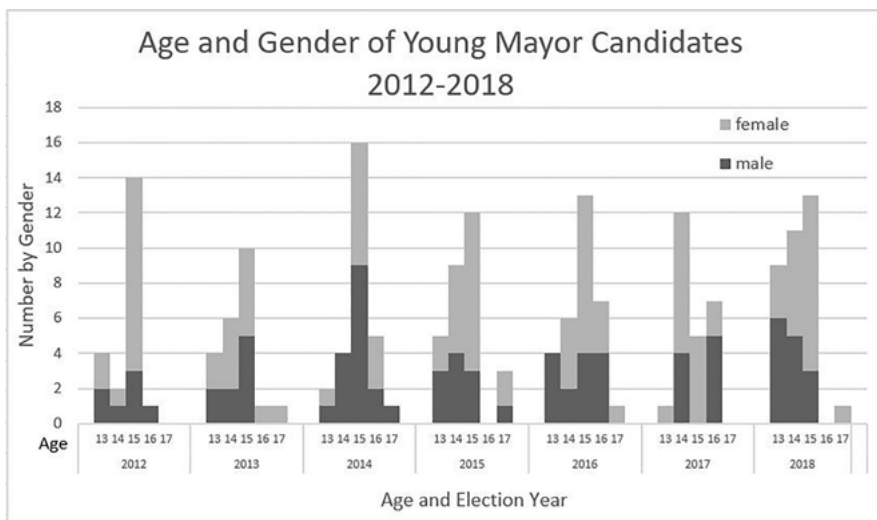
Table 1: Age and Gender of Young Mayor Candidates 2012-2018

Young people aged 13-17 were eligible for nomination in YM elections and while there was participation from across the spectrum in most years, the majority of candidates were found to be aged 15. The majority of candidates 2012-2018 were female, except in 2014. The percentage of female candidates plotted below evidences a high proportions of female election candidates. Even when there was a dip in the number of females standing, in 2014, the percentage stood at 40%.
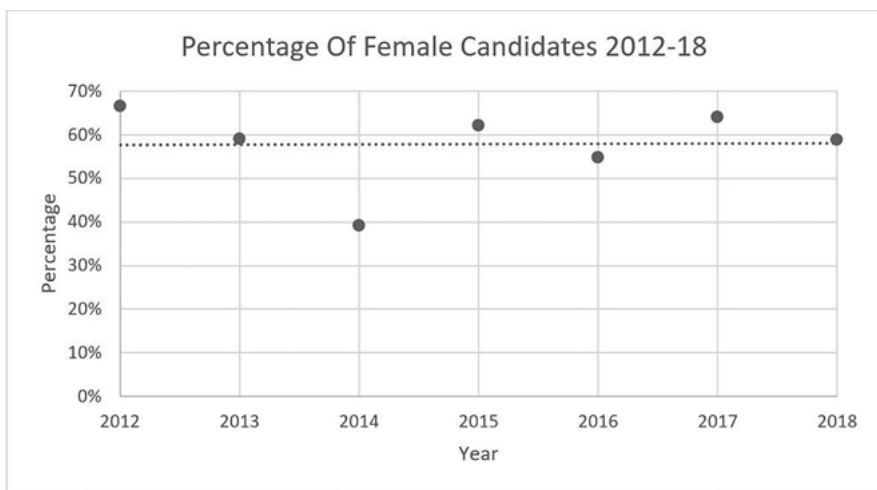
Table 2: Percentage of Female Candidates 2012-2018
The survey did not offer candidates a list of pre-prepared categories but asked about 'ethnicity' in order to capture self-definition. Although candidates were not prompted with categories, they nevertheless responded by drawing on ubiquitous ethnic monitoring categories.
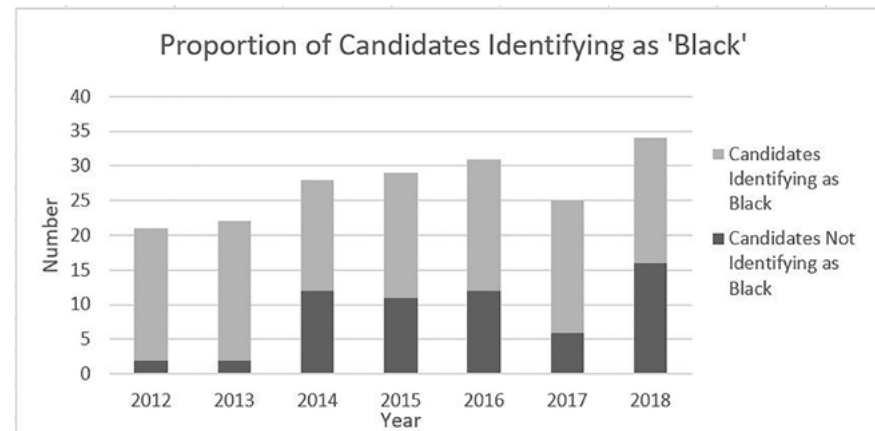
Table 3: Proportion of Candidates Identifying as 'Black'
Where candidates described themselves as 'black' they tended to add a suffix of 'british', 'african' 'caribbean' or 'mixed'. Other candidates described themselves as 'White European', 'Latino', 'Cuban', 'Kurd', 'Indian', 'Pakistani' or by 'Mixed' heritage: 'Mexican-British', 'Moroccan/croatian/scottish', 'White/Indian' or 'white British, pointing to a level of 'superdiversity' (Vertovec, 2007).

Candidates with a wide range of learning, mental health and physical support needs were found to be included and supported as candidates. LYMP worked with young people who lived, worked or studied in the borough. 24 different schools/colleges hosted at least one candidate between 2012-18. There was a wide variation in school size, type, mix, reputation and culture.

Amid the rich diversity, the researcher found that candidates tended to focus on communicating personal commitment to an imagined community of Lewisham young people. They campaigned primarily in terms of

representing 'Lewisham young people' or 'Lewisham youth', appealing to a broadpan-Lewisham constituency. For many, this meant de-emphasising school identities when not in school by wearing campaign t-shirts or removing school identifiers like ties. In speaking of the changes, they wanted to make in Lewisham, candidates elevated this singular civic youth identity. The overall effect was to cultivate a sense of belonging to the locality; a civic social solidarity and pride.

Strand 3: What were the original aims of the programme?
The Council of Europe conference that we presented our first strand to confirm the necessity to research the original aims and purpose of LYMP. As this had so far proved challenging because the programme had been running for a decade, we turned it into a distinct new strand of work. One of the programme staff members had been part of the founding group, and he was able to secure researcher access to the politicians, senior executives, consultants, a headteacher and youth workers who had been involved in conceptualising LYMP. These interviews were crucial to understanding why and how the programme was established, what different stakeholders were trying to achieve and the values they placed on it. Interviews with senior regional and national policy executives and politicians also provided a valuable picture of the changing national policy context for youth participation and democracy.

While involving young people in local democracy, adults had become increasingly concerned about the persistent underrepresentation of women in adult politics. Adults perceived the high number of male Young Mayors and female deputies as due to lower levels of confidence amongst young women. Mentoring schemes for young women to grow their confidence, assertiveness and networking skills were introduced following the first strand of this evaluation. There were confident and assertive young women and young men who campaigned vigorously, did not win but would gain second, third and fourth place positions. Was it possible that something other than a perceived deficit of technique or confidence amongst young women was the source of gendered election outcomes?

Strand 4: Why were young men more likely to be elected as Young Mayors?
In 2012 there was concern both inside and outside the programme about why the majority of candidates were BME young women and yet all, but one Young Mayor had been young men. There was much conflicting conjecturing amongst adults and young people as to the reasons for this. From the perspective of a researcher who had worked previously on the difficulties ethnic minority adults faced in pursuing political representation, it was intriguing to find young people had succeeded in black representation where adults had not. Moreover, it was astonishing to find that it had gone unsung that in 2012, 83% (10 out of 12) Young Mayors came from BME backgrounds while 77% of the local school population was BME (London Borough of Lewisham, 2012). The reason for this lack of recognition was due to a local culture of critical reflexivity in LBL, continually identifying gaps in order to progress further, rather than to focus on celebrating what had already been accomplished.

In order to understand the outcomes of the elections more fully, we were interested in voter perspectives (Visser,1998:89). We devised an exit poll survey with the support of the young advisors' group to assess how voters were deciding who to vote for. The anonymous poll asked voters which candidate they had voted for and why. It also asked how important specific factors had been in helping a voter come to their voting decision, using a sliding scale of importance. In deciding which factors should be included in the exit poll questions, we drew on the reasons mentioned by interviewees and heard during participant observation. We piloted the survey amongst young advisors and ran them from 2013 in a mix of five different schools across the borough using a random sampling method. We were unsuccessful in a bid to scale this poll up and run it across more schools with additional questions on whether voters supported the idea of voting in adult elections at age 16. Consequently, in the years that followed, we ope-rated the exit poll in three schools with a total sample each year of 250-300 with the assistance of volunteers. The exit polls were treated with caution, given the sampling and scaling issues, but similar results emerged the next year (Shukra, 2017). The most frequently occurring reasons for voting could be coded as issues and policies; personality; campaigning; speeches, debunking the idea that young people might be voting frivolously. The results suggested that a candidate's public identity and how it was used to grow a relationship with voters was key to who was elected. To under-stand how those relationships were negotiated, we reviewed the themes emerging from the different strands of data and identified what young people thought to be key in building credible election identities:

• 'Being seen, shaking hands' was referenced in 2012 by a candidate who described what he thought distinguished the winning campaigns. This turned out to be a description that encapsulated the process of face to face campaigning to promote an individual campaign identity. It included 'speaking to people' and being 'seen in a positive light' in public spaces inhabited by young people: schools, youth clubs, fast food shops, markets, buses and open areas. Some spaces, such as football pitches, youth clubs and skate parks were highly gendered so candidates who could access them were at a greater advantage.

• 'Being real' described authenticity. Being real in what was being talked about denoted expertise while being real in how it was communicated could signal charisma or authoritativeness.

• 'Being online' constructed online public-political identities as well as face-to-face ones. Candidates expanded their audience reach and their social credibility by sharing their creativity online. Spoken word, vlogs, campaign and music was broadcast on the latest social media platforms, mobile technology and digital radio.

• 'Being Known' meant that candidates with MC, grime artist, singer, musician, campaigner, young advisor or video maker identities could build on these. We found that where candidates had close links to a youth music collective, social media following or other youth social network, they could significantly strengthen their share of the vote by mobilising it.

These ways of being in LYMP were also consistent with forms of 'being' on the Grime scene (Boakye, 2017; Bramwell, 2015; Hancox, 2018). Since 2006, Grime has been a particularly influential youth music scene in Lewisham as well as London and some candidates drew on their connections to it. Like sound systems and hip hop, Grime was primarily a world of urban, black young men who constructed and promoted a one-dimensional image of hard masculinity in the public sphere whilst sharing a more complex persona privately (Boakye, 2017). Lewisham Grime spoke to the experience of economic disenfranchisement, articulating a lived appreciation of the poverty described in official tables of multiple deprivation. Tracks were circulated through social media platforms, pirate radio and house parties. Grime was music by and for 'mandem' or young black men and had room for 'gyaldem' on its margins: as fans, topics or prizes to be taken from another man. Not as degrading to women as some forms of hip-hop (Jeffries, 2011:154) or drill music, Lewisham Grime was primarily a space where masculinity was performed and celebrated.

While being associated with Grime alone did not guarantee a candidate success, the Grime scene was an important source of voter support for some candidates. If the celebration of masculinity associated with Grime disadvantaged female candidates, some of them found solutions outside adult mentoring. The more successful female candidates produced their own music or poetry in the form of spoken word. Like Grime, spoken word poetry was performed to express insights from the lived experience of the poet but, unlike Grime, spoken word promoted a feminist critique of the world.

Strand 5: Were there any effects on voter turnout?
Adults who set the programme up in 2003 hoped the programme might increase future voter turnout and civic engagement. In this strand we compared adult and youth election turnouts since 1999 and 2004 respectively and sought interviews with LYMP participants of the past. Staff invited past participants to a reunion to share their memories of involvement. Retrospective perspectives indicated that participants' overwhelmingly felt that their lives had been positively affected by the programme. All thought it was important to vote and one person was working for an MP. While the pre-2012 interviewed candidates thought they would have voted as adults even if they hadn't been involved in LYMP, most post 2012 candidates valued voting in LYMP whilst being sceptical of adult politics.

It was when the 2012 former Deputy Young Mayor of Lewisham used his success as an international Grime MC to call on young adults to vote in a general election that the wider impact of LYMP on adult politics became apparent: 'I feel like when I started talking about it (voting), people did wake up. It was a catalyst for young people trying to shift how things work in the UK. My generation is more aware of politics and voting now' (Cook, 2018:20).

Strand 6: International perspectives
LYMP engaged enthusiastically with a range of European policy areas relating to diversity and identity in the context of promoting a European identity (Zentner and Ord, 2018). The programme instigated partnerships with youth groups in France, Sweden, Czech Republic, Portugal, Italy, Poland and Norway. This brought the staff, researcher and the young people into contact with a variety of histories and youth work traditions (Siurala, et. al, 2016; Williamson, 2015). The distinctiveness of LYMP's flexible ethos of informal learning (Batsleer, 2008) sat in tension with more prescribed approaches as LYMP encouraged young participants to 'be yourself'. This included speaking their opinions as experts of their lived experience rather

than elevating more scholarly debate, which was preferred by others.

Reflections on the research methods

The challenges faced by the researcher as a middle-aged Asian woman seeking the perspectives of 11-18-year olds and learning about the evolving youth cultures was mitigated by the way in which the staff presented the researcher positively and evaluation as a normal part of the programme's work. It also helped to meet the candidates on the first day of candidate training. At the LYMP reception table, young advisors signed new arrivals in, provided each candidate with their information pack and pointed them to complete the consent form and base line survey. It meant that candidates completed the base line survey and spoke with the researcher before the training. Helping out at the rest of the training day meant the researcher was able to build an early connection with candidates. Listening to nervous candidates as they rehearsed their speeches, answering queries, and letting them know if the photographer or film recorder was looking for them were all participatory activities that allowed for early connections making it easier to have conversations when accompanying the campaign trails. The researcher inevitably gained additional competence in engaging with the young people whilst balancing this with the distance of a critical friend of the programme. Some periods were spent reflecting on findings whilst in the field, whilst other phases called for more intensive engagement in data collection. Some of the researcher's MA students and other volunteers assisted with the exit polls and a researcher specialising in survey analysis processed the exit poll data. There were numerous other adults, including students on placement whose views the researcher heard as part of the process of participant observation. Conversations with visitors to the programme were a particularly valuable antidote to the disadvantages of long-term engagement in fieldwork where the researcher becomes part of the habitus (Crossley, 2001:83).

Young people's perspectives were gathered through a base line survey; semi structured interviews; following candidate campaigns during the election period; an alumni reunion; focus groups; exit polls and participant observation. Taken together, the interviews, participant observation and base line survey contributed to rich data on participant perspectives and their construction of public identities. Due to the extended period of the research, the survey covered 7 of the 15 elections that ran 2004 – 2018. The base line survey was repeated every year and was returned by 100% of candidates. After reviewing initial findings, the survey was refined; additional questions on social media engagement and views on votes at 16 were introduced.

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Candidate campaigns were followed annually, most intensively in the first three years. 'Following' candidates involved joining them while they were actively campaigning at hustings, assemblies, school gates, youth clubs, libraries, markets, streets and other public areas. It was possible to see and hear participants as they travelled, prepared, waited, spoke, put up posters, reflected and engaged with each other and other adults. This was about more than quantifying how many events people attended but about listening to candidates as they expressed their hopes, fears, reflections and views. Being with candidates offered privileged access to them in action. It was possible to witness, for example, how they presented themselves and their message; how they related to others; how they travelled, negotiated time out of school to campaign, how the staff worked with them and how candidates campaigned. These observations allowed for a more nuanced understanding of the context and the engagements that young people shared in interviews.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a sample of candidates in the first three years. An exit poll was piloted in 2013 and repeated annually to establish factors that shaped voting decisions. Semi-structured interviews with adults who had set the programme up established their perspectives on the original aims of the programme and the direction it had taken. Participant observation and interviews with European partners were spread across the whole period. The alumni event provided a valuable retrospective perspective while the weekly Young Advisors group meetings that anchored the programme activities provided an opportunity to observe the engagements of young people in the present. Varied levels of observation at the regular space that brought the different strands of the programme together offered a unique vantage point. Here it was possible to see, hear about and experience the nurturing of LYMP's distinct ethos, culture and habitus.

Conclusion

During this study, a variety of research methods were used, reviewed and repeated in dialogue with the LYMP staff team. Participant observation was key to providing a level of immersion that allowed participants to speak candidly about their experiences. It provided for a depth of researcher understanding of engagement with the programme that quantitative analysis could not provide. In working with the young people, the researcher developed a picture of candidate and young advisor activities, ambitions, insecurities, backgrounds, interactions and growth beyond their formal statements.

While the mainstream demand to measure impact suited the austerity agenda our grounded action research framework went beyond quantifying levels of participation. This project identified participant ambitions, critiques, difficulties and the lived experience of being young in Lewisham, as young people engaged in and reacted to the world around them.

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2.   Transformative Youth Work in Local Government Youth Services

Trudi Cooper, Miriam Brooker, Debbie McCabe, Peter Madden and Orietta Simons

Abstract
The Transformative Youth Work (TYW) project uses an appreciative inquiry evaluation method developed by Cooper (2016) that collects and analyses young people's perceptions of the impact of youth work in their lives. In this article, the authors focus discussion upon the benefits of this process in a local government context, for youth work evaluation, for staff development and for improving understanding of youth work by other stakeholders who can influence youth work funding and policy. The Transformative Youth Work process was trialled in two local government youth services in Perth Western Australia, in conjunction with the international project discussed elsewhere in this issue. The research found that 1) there were important benefits for youth work team and staff development and 2) that the project greatly improved stakeholders understanding of the youth work process and 3) that both services intend to embed the process into future practice.

Keywords
transformative youth work, local government, australia, staff development, stakeholders

Introduction
The benefits of the Transformative Evaluation (TE) process for youth work evaluation have been well documented (Fyfe, 2018; Ord et al., 2018), and see also other articles in this issue). From an evaluation perspective, the TE process supplements outcomes-oriented evaluation by documenting unintended outcomes of the youth work process (S. Cooper, 2014), and young people's perspectives about what they value most about youth work. Benefits of the Transformative Youth Work (TYW) process for organisational learning and development have also been documented (S. Cooper, 2011, 2014a, 2014b) . In this article we discuss the evaluation benefits but focus our discussion on the benefits of the TYW process for staff development and for stakeholder education in a local government context.

The research reported here occurred in Western Australia, during 2018, in two metropolitan local government youth services, where youth workers provide open youth work through drop-in centres and other organised events and activities. The research was conducted in tandem with the European TYW project and used the same methodology. In Western Australia, the project was funded by Lotterywest (funding raised by the state lottery), and was undertaken in conjunction with the Youth Affairs Council of Western Australia, which is a state advisory body for youth work and youth policy in Western Australia. An important aspect of the funding brief was the emphasis upon embedding the TYW process, so that, if successful, the practice became part of everyday practice after the project had finished. Under the funding agreement (T. Cooper, Brooker, & Simons, 2018), the project objectives were to embed the Transformative Education (TE) method of evaluating youth work into practice in the Western Australian context of youth work, and to identify necessary adaptations to ensure it was sustainable in the long term, and to exchange information with similar youth work projects being conducted in Europe (UK, Estonia, France, Italy, and Finland).

Background
The Transformative Evaluation (TE) methodology is based on the transformative paradigm (Creswell, 2014). The Most Significant Change (MSC) technique used in TE is a form of appreciative inquiry and of practitioner evaluation (S. Cooper, 2012, 2014b, 2017). The transformative paradigm is concerned with how marginalised groups, (in this instance people and youth workers) can be more fully included and given voice in an evaluation process (Creswell, 2014). The perspectives that this generates about how participants in youth work perceive benefits and outcomes can then be added to policy briefs and have potential to influence decision-makers.

TE also contributes to change by engaging youth workers in explicit discussion of the processes they use in youth work. Appreciative inquiry focuses on collecting positive examples of successful practice. TE encourages the generation of new ideas and ways of doing things (S. Cooper, 2014). The MSC technique involves collection of stories of change, and documents young people's perceptions of the benefits they value most. The findings of this process help organisations to gain additional insight into how programmes are perceived by recipients (S. Cooper, 2014). Practitioner evaluation of youth work practice provides opportunities for practitioners to critically reflect on their own practice, the practice of others and the application of theory in practice to strengthen the applications of youth work (S. Cooper, 2017). However, appreciative inquiry alone is not an adequate as a stand-alone evaluative method (Stufflebeam, 2001; Stufflebeam & Coryn, 2014) and is best used in conjunction with other evaluation methods (T. Cooper et al., 2018).

The Transformative Evaluation (TE) process is designed to support an ongoing process of gathering 'significant change' stories from young people, sharing and reflecting on these within the youth work team, and then sending the 'most significant change' stories to a group of stakeholders, comprised of managers, trustees, politicians, or funding body representatives, who then provide feedback on what they perceived as the most significant change story. This increases dialogue between the evaluators (youth workers) and other members of their community (i.e., young people, managers and internal and external stakeholders) (S. Cooper, 2014). TE broadens evaluation processes by 'capturing the complexity and demonstrating the value' of youth work, as well increasing the efficacy of youth workers in 'defining good practice or determining the outcomes of their work' (S. Cooper, 2014, p. 1). TE is thus an ongoing process of personal and organisational learning, change and improvement.

This article discusses the application of the TE process in local government contexts in Western Australia. In Western Australia, local governments have an option to provide youth services, but there is no requirement to do so. If they choose to provide youth services, local governments may provide services directly, or may fund other organisations to provide youth work services. Within local government youth services, youth work is funded from local rates, sometimes supplemented by other grants from state or federal government.

Local government areas in Western Australia vary considerably in size, in population and in wealth. Some local government councils in Western Australia serve small populations, for example the Shire of Peppermint Grove in the Perth metropolitan area covers 1.5 square kilometres and has a population of 1600 (Shire of Peppermint Grove, 2019). In rural and remote areas some councils serve very small and scattered populations, for example, the Shire of Cue has a population of 330 but covers over 13,000 square kilometres (Shire of Cue, n.d.) and the Shire of East Pilbara covers an area of 372,000 square kilometres and has a population of 11,005 (Shire of East Pilbara, 2019). It is very hard for small councils to provide youth services, either because they do not have the rate base to fund youth services, or because there is no concentration of young people within their boundaries.

Within the Perth metropolitan area there are several large local government councils that serve populations 100,000 -220,000 and cover an area of 50 -1,000 square kilometres, and many medium sized local government councils that serve populations of 30,000-100,000. Most these medium and large local government areas either provide or fund youth services. The project described here took place in two of the larger local government areas. In the two examples compared in this article, youth services were coordinated by English Joint Negotiating Committee qualified youth workers. Both local governments managed youth workers directly and operated a mix of provision, including drop-in centres and project work.

Research design
This participatory action research project worked with five Western Australian youth work organisations, two of which were local government youth services, two were youth accommodation services, and one was a non-government youth and family organisation that provided a range of recreational and case management services to young people and their families. The youth work team in each organisation collaborated to implement a process to identify, develop and communicate the impact of youth work. This article focuses only on the findings from the two local government organisations. Altogether, the local government youth workers collected thirty-seven stories from young people who had had long-term engagement with the two services. The young people chose their own pseudonyms. Extracts from some young people's stories and some youth workers commentaries, are presented in this article.

The Transformative Evaluation Process

1. Significant Change Stories

Youth Workers & Young People

Looking back over the last 3 months or so, what do you think was the most significant change that occirred for you as a result of coming here?

Conversations and reflective dialogue

2. Contextualised Significant Change

Youth Worker Group

1. Assign stories to domains
2. Provide context
3. Choose the most significant change story for each domain and state why

Shared visioning and teamwork

4. Review

Participants

Review experience of using the evaluation methodology to develope skills and understanding to inform the next cycle

Selection of the Most Significant Story and Why

3. Identification of the Most Significant Story

Stalkholders Group

Discuss, review and reflect on the stories
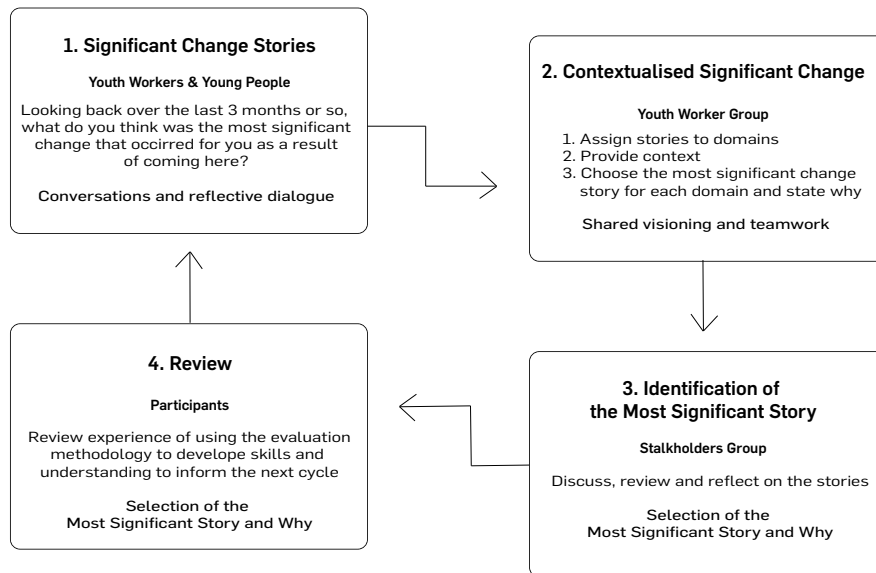
Selection of the Most Significant Story and Why

Figure 1: The Transformative Evaluation Process (S. Cooper, 2017, n.d.)

The youth workers engaged in three cycles of collecting significant change stories, providing context for them, choosing the most significant change story for each domain, sending them through to the stakeholders group and reviewing the feedback that they received about what was significant about the most significant change story and why.

The implementation varied slightly in Western Australia compared with Europe. There were two main differences. Firstly, the youth worker and stakeholder training sessions were offered partly by virtual delivery methods. The training commenced with a video briefing on the process, followed by live facilitation of practice exercises, followed by a live teleconference debrief. This combination of training methods was considered effective by participants.

Secondly, the training was offered in a shortened form, partly because it was offered in mixed mode (online and face-to-face). To compensate, the local researchers attended youth worker meetings and stakeholder meetings to provide support with the process. This was very useful to ensure process fidelity between sites. On several occasions, the researchers intervened to ensure that the methods were followed consistently, and sometimes also engaged in conversations to clarify practice.

Benefits identified by young people
The TYW process gave young people a greater voice in evaluation of youth services. In many youth work program evaluations, young people are asked what they like or dislike about organised events, programs or activities. Less often they are asked more open-ended questions about the long-term benefits that they have experienced. This project remedied that deficiency. Thirty-seven young people provided stories about their participation in local government open youth work and identified a variety of outcomes. Some themes included: benefits they gained from the activities that they participated in (e.g., opportunities they wouldn't otherwise have); social benefits, (including meeting other people, forming trusting relationships); receiving personal support; and informal educational outcomes, (including the learning and personal development that young people identified); and being inspired to volunteer or contribute to help others.

The environment established by youth workers was important to realising these outcomes and young people identified important environmental and relational features such as: the ability to meet in a safe and welcoming space; the ongoing presence of youth workers who related positively to them; access to engaging programmes and activities; receiving supports or resources relevant to their personal needs/strengths; and, informal education, which facilitated the development of practical and artistic skills, leisure activities, career goals and life-skills, as well as increased self-awareness, trust building and greater problem solving and interpersonal skills. These themes are illustrated in the quotations from young people's stories (participants chose their own pseudonyms, when their story was collected). Participation in a dance program, facilitated by youth workers, gave Antwuan Marshel the opportunity to engage in a new activity. This allowed her to meet other new people through shared activity in a supportive and non-threatening environment. Youth workers were important to this process by ensuring that young people felt accepted, supported and comfortable. Dance also enabled her to express emotions that she may not have expressed verbally through kinaesthetic and creative processes. Youth workers supported her through this process:

I hated the idea of interacting with people I'd never even met before but now it's the greatest thing in life that happened to me. I come from a broken home with many problems but the people I met at the program changed how I viewed my problems, they were no longer destroying me but made me who I am, I use to be an angry and violent person whom suffered from depression but I learnt that instead of taking my emotions out on my friends and my body I could enforce them into dance. I now had a way to release the emotions that terrorised my mind on the daily into something beautiful and something that not only made me happy but made me feel like I was a part of the world.
(Antwuan Marshel, aged 24 years)

Xavier described changes that had occurred in his life over an extended period and articulated both his own learning and the way he felt that youth workers had supported and facilitated his learning. Through various youth activity programmes, he identified that he had learnt about team work, as well as how to be compassionate and respectful to others. He identified that the informal and supportive relationships youth workers provided had been important to his ability to change:

I've been attending youth programs for about 4 years and I've had some of the most eye-opening experiences. I've been a part of many events and programs that have helped me as an individual. From skate camps to live production shows I've learnt many values such as respect, compassion for other and the value of teamwork. One of the best things I like about youth services is that the youth workers although they are professions in their own right, they treat you like a little brother or sister. I get to communicate my i deas and wishes to them and they try with their utmost potential to help myself and other young people succeed. (Xavier, aged 19 years)

Through his interactions with others, Xavier developed understanding and compassion for the challenges other young people faced, along with valuing the role of youth workers in nurturing potential. This led to him to volunteering to support other young people.

Fluffy, who had multiple dietary restrictions, valued the way that youth workers took her dietary needs into account, so that she could participate fully in social events:

I enjoy the Youth Centre, it's one of the few places that my needs for food is taken into account, so I don't have to sit by when others eat. I can come down and know if something is happening, I can go over to the x-box or over to the computers away from the person. We don't have to be stuck with each other like in school. (Fluffy, aged 12 years)

Fluffy also recounted that she had been bullied at school. This led her to withdraw from school and she was being home-schooled. Youth workers supported Fluffy to participate in activities at the youth centre, where she was not bullied, even though some of the young people at the youth centre had previously bullied her in school.

J participated in a youth work programme for young women, hoping to become closer to her sister. She said this enabled her to rebuild her relationship with her sister. She identified that the effects of the programme had been far-reaching. She had improved her relationship with her mother, and eventually she became a youth work volunteer, to help others:

I first got involved with the … Youth Team when they began running [a girls' work programme focussed upon building self-esteem, self-care and selfefficacy]. I thought it would be a good opportunity to bond with my younger sister as we usually fought with each other or just didn't bother to communicate…I was amazed at the ripple effect of this program had on my sister and me. On the car rides home, she began opening up to me about her problems and we actually made conversation at home rather than arguing. Some of the massage skills I learnt [in the programme] helped me to bond with my mum as I was able to chat to her whilst treating her with a massage. The program really adjusted the relationship with my sister, we are now best friends! The Youth Team … has inspired me to volunteer and help with programs they run. Volunteering allowed me to grow as an individual by improving communication with so many people.
(J, aged 18 years)

Participation in the programme gave J a new skills (massage), which she shared with her mother. Her experiences of change inspired her volunteering.

Benefits for youth workers in Local Government
Several benefits were identified by local government staff. These benefits include improvements to evaluation and reporting, improvements to staff development and team work and improvements in communications with outside stakeholders about the process and benefits of youth work.

Evaluation and reporting
The first benefit identified was to evaluation and reporting. Youth work coordinators explained how the project had changed evaluation and reporting about youth work services, and how in one local government, the success of this initiative meant that it had been adopted by other community services and led to changes in council reporting practice. In local government in Western Australia, youth work coordinators must report monthly or six-monthly on the outcomes of the youth services. In the past, in these reports, the information is usually in the form of statistical data (i.e., number of face-to-face sessions, young people's attendances, costs per participant and the total budget spend) and related to key performance indicators (KPI's). These reports had not previously included any information on young people's experiences of engaging with the service or of their personal development journey/distance travelled. Although staff undertake evaluations and endeavour to include some qualitative data about young people's perceptions, this has been used formatively and did not usually form part of the reporting templates. This meant that typically either it is not included, or it is provided as 'additional information' or 'further comments'. Participation in the TYW project enabled the team to include most significant change (MSC) stories in project evaluations, monthly and annual reports. These stories complemented the quantitative reporting and showed the complexity of work that the youth workers were undertaking. The stories provided context to the other data. A key benefit has been the cumulative impact of the stories. Whilst one story has impact, when over twenty stories are read together, the evidence of long-term changes to young people's lives and futures is compelling. As a result of this project the reporting templates have been changed for both youth workers and across the whole business unit of community development, social planning and community care. Youth workers staff are now playing a key role in mentoring other staff in how to apply the MSC process with colleagues. Selected stories from participants are now fully incorporated into the monthly and annual reports.

Staff development and in-service training
The second benefit identified was to staff development and in-service training. In local government in WA, staff development was mostly provided

through formal training courses. The TYW process supported youth workers to explicate the processes they used in their work with young people and enhanced reflective practice. The TYW method used youth worker peer discussion of young people's stories to promote reflection and mutual learning. In an anonymous online survey about their experiences of the TYW process, youth workers and coordinators confirmed that it had strengthened their reflective practice and enabled them to analyse their work to identify learning and potential improvement. Several observed that the TYW had enabled them to reflect on how far a young person had come since they started attending the programme:

> It has … given the youth worker [the opportunity] to stop and reflect on the distance travelled and how every encounter is a transformative opportunity for our clients.

Another local government youth worker said the TYW process helped them to notice changes in the young person, and also how they could develop their own practice:

> This project provided the opportunity to actively reflect on my own practice as a youth worker. It helped to more actively identify changes in a young person and provide that feedback for them. Depending on what the young person wrote, I was able to identify the things that I do well and perhaps other aspects of my work that I could improve on.

The stories youth workers gathered were shared at meetings and this enabled peer-learning. A local government youth worker observed that they were able to see a bigger picture when sharing stories interacting with their peers, this helped share successful practices:

> [It] Allowed me to view the work that my team does from a higher level which enabled me to see common themes which allow youth work to be successful - i.e., developing strong relationships with the young people / ensuring that the environment of the program is safe and inclusive.

Another youth worker valued having a structured opportunity to share practice with colleagues who were working in different areas:

> [It] Created opportunities for reflection and peer discussion around practice.

In summary, youth workers felt analysis of practice by youth work teams helped build learning across different areas of work.

Coordinators affirmed these perceptions and added that the TYW project had provided a structured peer learning experience, creating a safe environment to discuss and explore practice. Colleagues were able to question and provide constructive feedback to each other and explore the impacts and boundaries of the youth worker's role.

They felt critical peer review and feedback offered a different perspective, encouraged reflection, and increased understanding. They considered that staff awareness was raised about the impact on young people. For many of the team, youth work has been a vocation and they have become unconsciously competent practitioners. This process has reminded them about the importance of being consciously competent and reflective (Ruona & Gilley, 2009). One of the coordinators also stated that the inclusion of reflective practice in Youth Services team meetings had ensured continual review and discussion of what was working and not working. Involvement with the project re-emphasised to the team the importance and value of regular reflective practice. Through the project staff from different programs shared good practice and collaborated on planning of future programmes. The process of identifying themes enabled staff to see how their work was directly related to the team's aims and objectives and providing an opportunity to identify emerging trends requiring a response. According to the coordinators, recurring themes were building capacity in young people; enabling them to give back to their community; and equipping them with transferable skills.

A third benefit of the TYW process was that coordinators found the process improved teamwork and staff morale. The value that young people place on youth work was something that the team were not always fully aware of. Without this process, feedback from young people to staff often came years after an intervention occurred (if it comes at all), and through chance encounters with young people who have become adults. One coordinator also felt the project had brought the team closer and strengthened team relationships. This was important because the team had experienced structural and process changes in the last two years, which had not always been welcome. However, the TYW process had enabled the team to revisit the core values and to focus on their positive impact on young people, rather than the potential negativity of imposed organisational change.

Benefits for Local Government Stakeholders
Local government youth workers have to work with many different stakeholders, not all of whom necessarily understand what youth work does; although initially they may not be aware of their lack of understanding. This project provided excellent opportunities for youth workers to share their practice, the rationale behind how they made decisions about youth programs, and how they responded to individual young people. Sharing of practice can be daunting because when youth workers share what they do, they open up their practice to scrutiny by others.

Greater understanding of youth work
Politicians, funding bodies and the executive management team in local government all make decisions that affect youth work provision, without necessarily having a clear idea about what youth work is, or what it does. Engaging stakeholders in the TYW process provided an opportunity to remedy this. A common misapprehension is to assume that the most immediately visible activities (for example recreation) represent the essence of what is occurring, without understanding that the process of youth work is much more complex (T. Cooper, 2018; Jeffs & Smith, 2005; Ord, 2016).

The local government youth work coordinators at each site selected stakeholders for this project. One coordinator invited a mix of internal and external stakeholders. The coordinator felt that inviting external stakeholders to the group meant that there was an element of risk of exposure for the team. However, as this process focuses on positive change stories, the risk is reduced and worth taking. This stakeholder group included local councillors, the local Member of the Legislative Assembly (the lower house of the WA parliament) as well as local community members and an executive manager within the council. The stakeholders were chosen carefully, in that they all had a role in youth work delivery through the council and within their communities. The youth services team reports to the executive manager and councillor through standard reporting mechanisms but engaging the manager and councillor in the TYW process helped them to increase their understanding of the role and the importance of youth work. The other coordinator focused upon internal stakeholders from other parts of the council and used the project to educate senior managers in other council areas including the strategic planning and business unit.

From the beginning, stakeholders were keen to extend their understanding of youth work. Initially, however, most of the stakeholders did not have an in-depth understanding of the youth work process. They did not know how

youth workers used informal interactions with young people to build trust or how they used conversation dialogically to extend and challenge young people's understanding of the world, their circumstances and themselves. The youth work coordinators were able to respond dialogically to stakeholder's questions and interests, providing further information and insights, and in some ways, mirroring the use of dialogue for informal learning that takes place between youth workers and young people.

The first benefit identified by members of the stakeholder group was that they felt they gained a greater understanding of youth work methods and practices. Both groups of stakeholders provided positive feedback about the TYW process. At the end of the process, one of the stakeholders stated that their participation in the process led to 'A better understanding of the breadth(s) and depth of the work undertaken by youth workers … [and] a better understanding of the impacts of the work undertaken by youth workers from the youth perspectives'. Stakeholders developed an understanding of the different methods and strategies youth workers used in their work with young people. The stories demonstrated the importance of long-term relationships, and that behind a simple encounter with a young person might be a well-thought out process. This led stakeholders to appreciate the importance of providing professional services and the value of ongoing and consistent youth service provision, which is not compatible with short-term funding. The stakeholders realised too, the value of flexible services to could enable youth workers to respond young people's needs.

Stakeholder feedback and dialogue

A second benefit of stakeholder involvement in the TYW project was that youth workers received feedback on the stories from people who were not youth workers. Stakeholders wanted to know the detail of the youth work process for each story, including what methods they had used and why. Additional information was provided by coordinators during the stakeholder meetings, as in the early rounds of the project, youth workers often did not provide enough detail. The stakeholders encouraged youth workers to explain youth work processes in their commentaries on the young people's stories. Stakeholders were sometimes able to identify benefits of youth work that had not been identified by the youth workers. This feedback was relayed to youth workers, who gained a greater understanding of stakeholders' perspectives and what additional information they needed to provide to ensure that their work was better understood.

Extending recognition of youth work

A third benefit was that when external stakeholders were involved, the effects of the process sometimes extended beyond the youth work group. In one stakeholder group, the local Member of Parliament already had a keen interest in young people and their needs, as was demonstrated in their election campaign. Once elected, they became dedicated to delivering positive outcomes for young people. Their involvement in the project has assisted them by providing background context and a strategic view of youth services, whilst increasing their knowledge and understanding of youth work as a profession. Consequently, contact with youth workers and the council has become more frequent. A local community member acknowledged the value of the service delivery within their community and the contribution it makes to improving community outcomes. In another instance, internal stakeholders were involved in this project. These were influential people who held other portfolios within local government. Through their involvement, the coordinator able to build more support for youth work within their local government, and influential people also saw how strong youth work could have benefits for other aspects of the council's work.

Discussion

Across the duration of the project, there was a substantial change in how staff discussed young people's stories. Initially, the youth workers 'wrote themselves out of the story'. The first round of youth worker commentaries made it appear as if the changes young people had identified, and had valued, had occurred merely by attending the services, or solely though the young person's spontaneous actions. The youth work process was not articulated, and it appeared as if youth workers were bystanders to the changes that occurred. This is indicative of the still tacit nature of youth work practice in many contexts. The culture of youth work also ensures that youth workers give young people, rather than youth workers, credit for their achievements. The stakeholders identified this and provided feedback, asking the youth workers to provide more detailed descriptions about what had occurred, in other words, to explain the youth work process more fully. This required youth workers to focus on their role in the story, fully exploring why they did what they did, explaining the choices they made; in other words, exploring what it means to be a conscious competent practitioner. Coordinators addressed this issue in staff team meetings by allowing time for them to fully engage in the process of story generation, and providing their commentary, and creating domains. Sometimes this came at the expense of operational meetings, which put pressure on the coordinator who had to update staff individually. Over the course of the three cycles, the youth workers responded by describing the processes in much greater detail.

The youth work cultural norm of reticence to take credit for young people's achievements is in sharp contrast with the norms of most other health, welfare and education services, where professionals are very ready to take credit for positive achievements and outcomes for young people, for example, school success, or positive mental health outcomes (whilst blaming the young person for non-compliance in instances where the outcome is negative, for example, in the case of school failure, or addiction relapse). Whilst the youth work norms are more supportive of young people, there is a risk that, because youth workers downplay their contribution, other people underestimate what youth workers achieve and the integral role they play (and conversely, potentially overestimate what is achieved by other professionals, who are more ready to claim young people's successes as their own).

Similarly, in the first round, the youth workers' commentaries were varied in the amount of self-reflection they contained. Many of them only described the young person's context or situation and did not mention the actions and interventions that they had made, or the supports and opportunities that they had offered. This meant they did not reflect on what they had done or on their reasons. Over the course of the three cycles, as more of the commentaries described what youth workers had done, and as they had documented their reasoning, some youth workers reflected on the efficacy of their choices and actions and upon their own learning. This led them to discuss changes they were making in their work. For example, in Cycle 3, one youth worker documented her observations about group interactions with an empowerment programme and outlined changes:

> *The … program is a strengths-based early intervention empowerment program aimed to support the emotional and physical wellbeing and development of young women… Ultimately, the aim of the program is to act as a catalyst for participants, by developing skills that are valued individually and also by their peers and wider community…. Although Ashley appeared confident and comfortable in the group, I began to notice over the first few weeks [that] the entire group of young women, including Ashley, verbalised highly negative self-talk and limited coping strategies. In response to this behaviour I adapted the program to meet the presenting needs of the group, creating opportunity to address this by delivery of practical long-term strategies… the comments made in … [this] evaluation highlighted the value and importance of the program being accessible to all young people, irrelevant of perceived confidence and ability.*

This youth worker identified a gap between what she observed about the young woman in the programme, and her prior assumptions when she planned the programme before she met the group. This prompted her to adapt the programme to meet the needs of this group. Over time, youth workers became more willing to explicitly describe their interventions, and this made it easier to articulate how programmes had made a difference in young people's lives. Coordinators reported that because this was a new pilot project everyone had learnt as they went through the process. Stakeholder meetings were one and a half hours in duration, to allow time for stakeholders to discuss stories fully, and because of their other commitments, it had been a challenge to get stakeholders together. Team meeting agendas were changed to schedule time for reflection. This shifted the focus from operational business to reflective practice and evaluation. The 'Most significant change' stories are now embedded into internal evaluation processes more widely, with the youth workers offering peer support to non-youth work colleagues as they learn the process.

Conclusions
In summary, the coordinators felt that the project had been beneficial: for reporting the impact of youth work; for changing council reporting processes; for strengthening staff learning and sharing practice; and, for building teamwork. Stakeholders had gained a better understanding of how youth workers operate and had gained a greater appreciation of the knowledge, breadth of skill and complexity of judgement required for successful youth work. Through the TE process young people expressed their beliefs that youth workers were had catalysed changes they recognised in themselves, even though youth workers did not initially make these claims. The TE process highlighted the urgent need for youth workers to provide a balanced account of their work that gives due recognition to the young person's contribution, but also identifies how youth workers have contributed to change.

In conclusion, the TYW method makes useful contributions to the literature on youth work process by explicating what is otherwise tacit practice, and this will enable evaluators to develop more realistic program logic models by making tacit practice explicit. From an educative perspective, the TYW evaluation process can facilitate reflective practice by youth workers, as well as supporting peer sharing and peer supervision. The TYW process also contributes to dialogue about the youth work process between youth workers and those outside youth work, who are influential in funding youth work or making policies that affect youth work.

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3. Code-switching in Open Youth Work: Approaching Bilingualism in Communities of Practice

Michael Schlauch and Gaia Palmisano

Abstract

The community of practice framework (Lave and Wenger, 1991) has provided new sociocultural perspectives on non-formal learning (Lave, 1996; Edwards, 2005) and language (Buchholtz, 1999) that emphasize identity-changing participation. Youth workers witness and shape the many trajectories of adolescents and their identity work. In this paper, we explore how the community of practice framework can be used for the benefit of diversity and inclusiveness in a youth club. Therefore, we discuss the example of youth with multiple lingual and cultural backgrounds in the autonomous province of Bolzano. The political and legal framework in South Tyrol preserves the cultural identity of both the Italian and German speaking population, but has also lead to ethnic differentiation and the compartmentalization of society, which limits intercultural encounters (Atz et al., 2017). Thus, we evaluate semi structured interviews of bilingual adolescents and carried out participant observation at a youth club in Bolzano, where both languages are spoken. Whereas bilinguals have difficulties to match the social norm in monolingual environments, it is possible for them to form their own community of practice at an open youth club. Interestingly, such a community of practice provides the means for monolingual peers to practice bilingualism, too, on various scales. Thus, we discuss how such an ability of code-switching can be viewed as a collective, rather than individual, achievement. Regarding diversity, we argue that youth work, by virtue of its impact on cultural practices, offers unique opportunities for adolescents to improve their ability to switch frames of reference.

Keywords

youth work, bilingualism, communities of practice, code-switching, non-formal learning

Introduction

A main concern of open youth work is how young people find and grow their own identity. As a matter of fact, in the declaration of principles for professional open youth work in Europe we find the intend to 'create save spaces' for young people, 'broaden horizons' as well as the creation of meaningful relationships and opportunities for positive experiences (POYWE, 2016). On the other hand, youth workers are well aware of the fact that identity formation is also influenced externally. As reported by the OECD (2017), fewer opportunities are often related to socio-economic factors, gender, origin and education. Thus, as inclusive spaces and diversity are becoming more relevant, in this paper we focus on the usage of multiple languages and how they mediate various forms of identification. Due to the historic presence of multiple language groups, public life in the province of Bolzano is structured politically and culturally along boundaries of language affiliation. Apart from trilingual Ladin schools in a few valleys, in South Tyrol, separate monolingual Italian and German schools provide education (Alber, 2012). What is more, every citizen, including foreign nationals, has to submit a 'declaration of linguistic affiliation' and select only one of these language groups in order to retain a series of rights ranging from full political rights to social housing (Pallaver, 2008, p. 325). Nevertheless, in everyday life, public discourse about language affiliation tends to neglect those identities that cut across boundaries and that don't have a clear preference for one of the official languages, such as children of bilingual families and migrants. Thus, rather than assuming predefined lingual identities, we explore language as one among multiple sociocultural influences that contributes in the formation of identity. In particular, we use the community of practice (CoP) framework (see Lave and Wenger, 1991) to analyse the social interaction among peers in a youth club based in Bolzano where both Italian and German is spoken. After illustrating the CoP approach in relation to youth work, we outline the qualitative methods used during fieldwork. In the subsequent section, we illustrate a possible shift in perspective from individual language affiliation to an intersubjective, practice-based emergence of language. In consequence, we provide suggestions on how heterogeneous sociocultural settings in open youth work can promote diversity on an individual level, as a skill acquired through practice, but also as laboratories for the creation of new sociocultural practices that accommodate relations based on interaction rather than segregation.

Communities of practice, youth work and language

Recurrently, policy makers qualify facilities of open youth work as places of non-formal education (see Rannala and Allekand, 2018). In this regard, youth work is seen as something that provides a distinct set of skills and knowledge complementary to formal school education. Nonetheless, youth workers often oppose the idea that open youth work provides a 'lesser' form of education, as it is also based on careful preparation and subtle interventions that require formal planning. Thus, the concept of learning through communities of practice abandons the distinction between formal learning (seen as the transfer of abstract curriculum knowledge) and non-formal learning (understood as reproducing existing practice and skill). In specific, Lave (1996, p. 161) finds it counterproductive to 'compartimentalize so-called informal from formal educational endeavors', or 'classroom learning from everything else', because 'learning, wherever it occurs, is an aspect of changing participation in changing practices'. In particular, formal schooling aims at producing abstract knowledge and therefore relies on what has been called 'decontextualization practices' (see also Minick, 1993). Yet, the success of one's own learning is expressed by the ability to engage differently with the world, rather than by the mere quantity of acquired information. Thus, both formal and non-formal education endeavours can be viewed through the lens of CoP, as 'resourceful action in and across settings' (Edwards, 2005, p. 58).

The idea of learning as a process which is mediated by social relations can be traced back to Russian psychologist Vygotsky (1934/1978) and sociocultural approaches in psychology and anthropology. These lines of research explore, for instance, how 'the mind is in actions and activities in which humans engage with the world' (Sannino and Engeström, 2018, p. 44). Thus, as a sociocultural approach, the CoP framework provides to us ways to consider learning as a process of identity formation and participation that is mediated by multiple actors and contextual factors that emerge in the everyday life of a youth club. As a result, the CoP, as opposed to individual cognitive development, becomes the main unit of analysis.

To delimit such a unit of analysis, Wenger (1998) defines the CoP by 'mutual engagement', 'joint enterprise' and 'shared repertoire' (Wenger, 1998). As Handley et al. (2006, p. 646) point out, this does not necessarily presume shared understandings and uniformity, as there is room for conflict, negotiation and varied trajectories of participation. Namely, rather than individuals being a product of social structure, in a CoP 'identities emerge in practice, through the combined effects of structure and agency' (Buchholtz, 1999, p. 209).

Regarding language, this concept therefore differs from the classic 'speech community' approach where researchers focus on 'central members of the community' and 'view identity as a set of static categories' (Buchholtz, 1999, p. 207). Instead, according to Buchholtz (1999, p. 210), this makes for a 'shift to the margins' as the researcher is now able to focus on the changing identities of marginal and peripheral members of a community and their ways of either reproducing or also resisting given practices. Therefore, as mutual engagement ensues, language is shaped as a part of the 'shared repertoire' in a CoP.

Regarding the margins, this shift allows us to understand social learning. Lave and Wenger (1991) describe an apprenticeship model of learning that involves a movement from legitimate peripheral to full participation in a CoP. Here, the CoP, rather than the single teacher, provides 'information, resources and opportunities for participation' that enable learners to access membership in the community (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 101). With this in mind, many activities in a youth club can be qualified as learning. In the past, the notion of a movement from peripheral to full membership has been extended by possible trajectories where full membership isn't necessarily reached. Markedly, there are 'peripheral, full, marginal or contingent' forms of participation (Handley et al., 2006, p. 651). For one thing, a member can also make her participation 'contingent' in ways 'which secure a continued sense of existential integrity whilst still notionally fitting in with community norms' (see Handley et al., 2006, p. 648). Accordingly, she would learn to participate without fully identifying with the group. Additionally, a newcomer can choose to distance herself from reaching core membership (marginal participation). Notably, marginal participation can also happen by exclusion rather than voluntary choice.

In this regard, Kiilakoski and Kivijärvi (2015) adopt the concept of 'tightness' and 'looseness' of spaces in professional youth work (see also Franck and Stevens, 2007). For example, although open youth work embraces openness and accessibility, ethnic minorities, newcomers or non-male visitors might experience youth clubs as 'tight spaces'. Factors that produce tightness can either be internal, such as the claims made by a dominant group of regular visitors, or external, such as negative attitude of adults towards visitors of a youth club (Kiilakoski and Kivijärvi, 2015, p. 56). Additionally, however, tightness can also be a more general condition. As Lagergren and Nilsson (2017, p. 134) recount, youth clubs may involuntarily reproduce common stigma that are already widespread in society. Here, looseness translates into providing a place for targeted youth to cultivate stigma resistance (Lagergren and Nilsson, 2017, p. 149).

Thus, inclusion, participation and learning do not emerge automatically and are not something to be taken for granted in open youth work. In consequence, youth workers are required to put substantial efforts into shaping interactions and practice in a youth club in order to afford that kind of participation that is missing in other public spaces. Regarding bilingualism, in regions where distinct official languages are used to 'label' persons (see Becker, 1963), a prevalent language affiliation in a youth club can produce severe tightness for visitors belonging to another language group. Conversely, however, the CoP framework also suggests that these language barriers are by no means naturally given.

Therefore, a youth club can prove to be a suitable research setting with 'intense foci of identity-changing activity' (see Lave, 1996, p. 162). Accordingly, we have the opportunity to look at participants who don't normally identify as full members of either of the official language groups.

Methods and setting
Before diving into the findings of this research, we briefly describe the qualitative research methods we have used. The data we are discussing stems from two distinct research undertakings. One the one hand, we analysed 15 semi-structured interviews conducted in a research concerning drinking culture in the province of Bolzano (Palmisano, 2018). Among the young adults interviewed, there are also former visitors of the youth club 'Bunker' who can be qualified as bilingual or belonging to a bilingual household. Among other things, the study explored differences in drinking culture between German and Italian youth. Thus, interesting interpretations about language affiliation and identity emerged from the interviews.

On the other hand, in order to get a deeper insight into the current use of language, we engaged in a two-month period (March to April 2019) of ethnographic research at the youth club 'Bunker' in Bolzano, where both authors are employed. As suggested by Aagre (see 2017, p. 187), we engaged in 'bottom-up research practices' in line with an effort to develop a 'double view' aimed at lifting our 'reflections above the practical everyday work'. Namely, we carried out participant observation regularly during a specific activity offered by the youth club in collaboration with the neighbouring German middle school. Namely, twice a week the youth club opens during lunch break as a retreat for middle school students (aged 11-15 years) that subsequently return to school for the afternoon session. Therefore, during the 'active lunch break' many middle school students visit, have conversations, eat a snack and do typical youth club activities (e.g. play foosball or billiards). During an observation, one of us would sit quietly in a corner and take field notes, while the other one did regular youth work. At the end of each session, we did a brief evaluation and exchanged our impressions and observations in order to complete the field notes. Thus, the observation was jointly done by an active participant ('the youth worker') and a more passive participant ('the researcher'). Additionally, we interviewed fellow youth workers to gain further insights about specific subjects. To maintain privacy, all names used are pseudonyms.

Regarding the research setting, it is worth spending a few words on the historical division between 'German' and 'Italian' monolingual schools in the city of Bolzano. Nowadays, South Tyrol is an autonomous province that grants equal status to both language groups. But, during the fascist period and after World War I, the German-speaking population has suffered forced italianization (Alber, 2012, p. 401). Therefore, the linguistic division of public life has been seen as an important guarantee in terms of minority protection. Not only schools are divided into 'German' and 'Italian', but invisible boundaries have also evolved geographically (Riccioni, 2012). As a result, youth work facilities, depending on their position, receive partial funding either from a German or an Italian department for culture (the remaining part is financed by the municipality). The youth club 'Bunker' is co-financed by the German division - as it was originally created for needs expressed by the German-speaking population of the subdistrict 'Haslach'. In short walking distance, however, the subdistrict 'Oltrisarco' begins, along with an Italian middle school, an Italian vocational school and Italian-speaking population living on the next street. Thus, in the last few years the youth club has been used by an increasingly mixed group of visitors.

Findings
In the past, Bolzano has been described as two cities that coexist in one city, with two distinct lingual spheres; the youth club 'Bunker' has been historically identified as belonging to the 'German' sphere (Riccioni, 2012, p. 142). Still, as youth workers recount, there have always been teenagers with a bilingual identity, for example with a German and an Italian parent. Nevertheless, their past participation in the youth club could have been characterized as contingent. As German is the main spoken language in school, they kept trying to fit in with German community norms also outside school. As one youth worker recalls:

They strictly spoke german, without showing that they are bilingual. Often this was paired with a general resentment against the 'Italians' from 'Oltrisarco' [the neighbouring subdistrict]. Strangely, it was okay to speak Italian if you were from outside Bolzano. Nowadays, I don't hear that kind of talk

anymore (youth worker interview 02-04).

Thus, additionally to common school attendance, the local identity of visitors of the youth club was in continuity with a general feeling of belonging to the 'German' subdistrict. However, it is also possible for someone to lose his or her bilingual identity. In an interview, one teenager revealed how German as a spoken language has been lost in his family:

> R: In your group, among your friends...there is nobody who speaks German as mother tongue?
>
> I: No...that is: i would be German...if my father had taught me... hence no! Well, my cousin, his mum is German... but mother tongue German [i.e. non bilingual German], let's say no
>
> R: He didn't teach you?
>
> I: No, he never talked to me in German... and I don't know it! I know Spanish better than German! His parents were German, but at home no... also with his friends he mainly speaks in Italian. He could have spoken to me a little in German, at least now I would have known it... instead nothing
>
> [...] (interview MN 23-08)

As a result, while becoming full member of the Italian community in Bolzano, he lost part of his potential German identity. Notably, he doesn't speak about German in terms of identity (he already has a German surname), but merely as a beneficial ability he missed the opportunity to learn. In this case, this process has already begun with his father adapting to a community of Italian-speaking friends.

These kinds of problems associated with bilingualism are known in other contexts as well. For instance, in Finland both Swedish and Finnish are recognized as national languages. The Finnish government, however, reports that 'negative attitudes and reactions increase antagonism and defensiveness in both language groups' and aims at 'viable bilingualism' (Tallroth, 2012, p. 16). For instance, viable bilingualism is achieved through 'natural encounters between languages where all parties use their own languages' (Tallroth, 2012, p. 14). Notably, negative attitudes towards bilingualism increase where the mere ability to speak a language is

juxtaposed with a sense of belonging to a different community or even nationality. Thus, as we have seen, it is not easy to maintain a bilingual identity, even if it is generally recognized as an advantage, if not necessity, in the South-Tyrolean economy to know both languages (Pörnbacher, 2009, p. 41). This is also the main difference to other mixed identities of migrants, where the knowledge of the language of origin doesn't necessarily get noticed. In any case, open youth work is already embedded in practices of identity formation that are easily reproduced in the youth club. In the past, participation of the youth club coincided with inhabiting a German subdistrict and having attended a German middle school. But, as we are going to see, a youth club can also give rise to a distinct community of practice.

With this in mind, the students voluntarily choose to visit the youth club during the active lunch break. However, not every student does so, as it isn't part of compulsory school activity. Hence, visitors engage in a joint enterprise, which is to spend recreation time in a shared environment of their choice. When visiting the youth club, the students begin to build a shared repertoire and history. For example, they know in advance the snacks and beverages that they can purchase, as well as the games and activities they can engage in. This refers also to more subtle habits. For instance, regular visitors gradually get aware of when to leave the youth club at the latest in order to be in school just in time. Moreover, they build a relation with the various youth workers and volunteers that work in the youth club. Notably, the current team includes also youth workers that know Italian as their first language, but who speak both languages.

Furthermore, visitors perform mutual engagement. They have to engage with one another, in order to play billiards, foosball or darts. In conversations, sometimes initiated by the youth worker, they find out about common interests and get to know each other beyond school.

More importantly however, we have been able to observe new types of language practices that have emerged through mutual engagement. Upon their arrival, most visitors greet the youth worker in his or her first language. Although they are bound to speak only German in school, in many conversations among peers, they switched back and forth between Italian and German. Interestingly, language usage is dependent on context. Several conversations concerning Italian sports cars, Italian football teams or tv shows would began in German and ended in Italian. On the other hand, for instance, while playing a traditional card game ('Watten'), usage of the German language has been prevalent.

Due to mutual engagement, groups are mixed independently of the preferred language of their members. Participation of non-bilinguals is enabled by the following pattern. If a boy or girl doesn't speak the language of his or her conversation partner fluently, he or she would still signal passive competence of that language by beginning a conversation in the other language and switching back to his or her preferred one shortly after. Given that the partner does the same, a conversation ensues without a dominant language.

In line with the concept of learning as identity formation in a CoP, a German or Italian-speaking teenager acquires bilingual language competence gradually, as his or her range of possible mutual engagement extends. Thus, along with other competences, visitors learn a language while they increase their participation in an emerging practice.

It is worth noting, however, that such bilingual practice is not limited to the youth club. The youth workers view this practice as a surprising coincidence, but also as an expression of a general increase in bilingualism. Notwithstanding the surprising outcome, it is however a stated goal of open youth work to provide loose, rather than tight spaces and enable participation. In monolingual schools, bilingualism earns limited recognition. Whereas in the past the youth club has also been experienced as a tight space for bilinguals, nowadays the youth club provides a space that is loose enough to allow the emergence of a more inclusive practice. We identify the following internal and external factors that have contributed to this outcome. First, the general attitude towards bilingualism has changed as language skills are perceived to get increasingly important on the local labour market. As a result, there is an increased number of non-conventional bilinguals, such as children of Italian or migrant families enrolled in German schools. According to Alber (2012, p. 412), public support for an integrated model of language teaching is increasing. Second, along with a change in frames of reference, the demographic composition of the traditional subdistricts, once clearly separated by language, are gradually becoming more mixed. In other words, in an urban context, ethnicity increasingly detaches from the act of speaking either one or the other language. Markedly, participation is also facilitated by the type of activity observed, which is targeted at youth who already attend the same school and are available at a specific time frame. Lastly, bilingualism has been made viable by virtue of a mixed-language staff, including some volunteers (doing community service) who speak mainly Italian.

Chiefly, the most significant impact lies in the possibility of youth workers to shape practices that are performed in the youth club. Namely, it would not have been possible if the youth workers were unable to embrace passive and active usage of both languages during all activities offered by the structure, including cultural events and concerts. Other than the language, however, it is required to know cultural references of both language groups as well. In sum, unlike other educational institutions, the flexibility and looseness of settings in open youth work allow new inclusive practices to emerge and be reinforced.

Conclusion
Admittedly, the example above distinguishes itself from other situations by the fact that both languages, at least officially, are granted equal status in the province of Bolzano and neither of them is in a clearly weaker position. Yet, in practice, we have seen that this doesn't assure a place and a voice for identities that cut across boundaries, such as German-Italian bilinguals as well as youth with a multilingual and migration background. Thus, viewing the formation of communities of practice is highly relevant for approaching diversity in practical youth work.

As we have learned, declaring inclusion is not the same as performing inclusion. Rather, youth work has to afford participation in emerging communities of practice. This has two implications. On the one hand, not everything is in the control of the youth worker but lies in the interaction between peers. On the other hand, there is a high potential in open youth work to build awareness and sensibility towards factors of tightness that encumber participation for those who find themselves at the margins of a community. As a result, open youth work provides spaces where new cultural practices of mutual engagement are able to manifest early in relation to broader developments in society, such as increased diversity or bilingualism.

In our youth club, we noticed how bilingualism has emerged, on various scales, as a shared practice. Rather than being performed as an individual property of identity, we observed a context-driven usage of both languages. Thus, code-switching is situated in practice and achieved collectively. What is more, we can extend code-switching not only in terms of language, but also more broadly, as the ability to switch frames of reference.

In fact, this allows us to come back to the theme of stigma and the concept of 'stigma resistance' in open youth work (Lagergren and Nilsson, 2017). In the account of Lagergren and Nilsson (2017), stigma in a heteronormative

society forces LGBTQ youth to feel misplaced.

Hence, the authors describe a youth club that offers a closed environment whose aim is not to segregate further, but to allow "the visitors to become functional members of the community" (Lagergren and Nilsson, 2017, p. 149). In other words, the youth workers and volunteers proactively create the conditions for meaningful activity, relationships and shared identities to form. As a result, 'regular visitors also join other activities' that are open to the general public (Lagergren and Nilsson, 2017, p. 136). That is to say, they become participants in a newly formed CoP. Hence, we argue that stigma resistance is not only an aspect of changed individual consciousness but connected to a broader ability of code-switching that is performed collectively, as the result of newly build relationships and new ways of mutual engagement.

In this light, it is worth acknowledging not only the impact of youth work on the individual skills and competences of an adolescent, but also the impact on general frames of reference and cultural practices. Specifically, in regard to diversity and inclusiveness, both components become interdependent aspects of youth work whenever conventional customs and practices produce exclusion. Therefore, youth workers can use the CoP framework as a conceptual tool to build communities by virtue of recognition, active shaping of practice and by facilitating shared relationships and meanings.

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4. Youth Work in Light of Public Health Policy

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Abstract
In the absence of national policies for youth work, such as is the case in Norway, public health policies can provide a framework for supporting youth work on local and national levels. The current Norwegian public health model takes a broad perspective on public health, centring mental health and wellbeing as key issues. Focus on early prevention among children and youth makes visible the connections between public health work and youth work. In this paper, we examine the most recent Norwegian white paper on public health and the Program for public health work in the municipalities 2017-2027. We compare the two documents with the Declaration of Principles for Professional Open Youth Work (2016), looking at how youth workers might use public health policy to advocate for and advance their work. We also discuss some of the potential vulnerabilities in this approach, arguing for using public health policy as a channel to developing separate national youth work policies, and not as an end in itself.

Introduction

The field of youth work in Europe is constantly advocating for acknowledgement in public policies. Some countries have strong youth work policies, while others, such as Norway, have none. Since youth work is struggling to receive acknowledgement in public policies, we find it important to investigate how other policy areas might contribute to the development of youth work and its policies. Here we argue that public health might be one such field.

The Norwegian government has introduced a public health model that broadens the scope of public health to include mental health and wellbeing. This shift in public health policy opens a new terrain for organizations and actors working to develop youth work policies. In this paper, we explore the promises and the potential pitfalls of the public health approach by looking at two key documents in Norwegian public health policy. While Norwegian public health policy differs from public health policy in many other European countries, the political discussion about whether youth work should gain its own policy or if it is enough to be an element of other policy areas, holds relevance in an international perspective.

The status of youth work in Norway

Youth work in Norway is mainly structured as youth clubs owned or funded by municipalities. The first youth club was established in Oslo in 1953, in response to fears of rising crime involvement among young people. Today, there are more than 620 youth clubs in Norway (KOSTRA 2018), and youth work is characterized by a balance between a cultural and a social approach towards the methods and activities used.

While there are a fair number of youth clubs, there has been no evident political will to make a youth work policy framework. This is in part because youth work is not understood as a national matter, but rather a local possibility for municipalities to give their young people a meaningful leisure time. Neither youth work nor youth clubs have any protection within the legal or political framework. As a result of this, the youth clubs often suffer cutbacks in local budget priorities. Working for a legislation of youth clubs has therefore been one of the main concerns for the youth work sector in Norway since the early 1980s.

Norwegian youth work has, on the other hand, seen an emerging support from organisations such as the Red Cross and Save the Children. This is a result of increased focus on Article 31 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Article 31 concerns the rights of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities, and provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity (United Nations, 1989). In 2016, the Norwegian government together with voluntary organizations and the Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities (KS) signed the so-called Leisure Agreement (Fritidserklæringen), in which they commit to working to ensure that all Norwegian children can participate in at least one regular leisure activity, independent of their parents' economic and social situation. There has also recently been attempts to put forward in parliament a private member bill for legislation of youth clubs (Stortinget, 2018).

Declaration of Principles for Professional Open Youth Work

The Declaration of Principles is the result of a Strategic Partnership between ten partners and nine countries (Declaration of Principles for Professional Open Youth Work, 2016) and aims to draw a clearer picture of what is meant by professional open youth work in Europe. There have been various previous attempts at finding a common understanding on youth work in Europe (i.e. European Youth Work Convention 2010 and 2015), and the declaration serves as one reality. In this article we use the declaration as a reference to what the field of professional open youth work consider to be its core values and practice.

Public health policy in Norway:
From disease prevention to promotion of mental wellbeing

In line with international development, public health policy in Norway has gradually shifted from a narrow focus on disease prevention to a broader perspective on how social and structural factors impact the general health of the population. In recent years, the scope of Norwegian public health policy has broadened even further and now encompasses mental health and the promotion of mental wellbeing on the same level as physical health (Meld.St. 19, 2014-2015, Meld.St. 19, 2018-2019). The importance of mental wellbeing to public health, and the municipalities' responsibility for enabling mental wellbeing, is legislated through the Public Health Act (LOV-2017-06-24-29).

As a result of this shift in the conceptualization of public health, early prevention gains priority. Children and youth are outlined as a prioritized group in national policy documents, including the last two governmental white papers on public health (Meld.St. 19, 2014-2015, Meld.St. 19, 2018-2019) and the Program for public health work in the municipalities 2017-2027.

The focus on early prevention towards children and youth makes visible the connections between public health work and youth work. In the following, we examine the most recent white paper on public health (Meld.St. 19, 2018-2019) and the Program for public health work in the municipalities 2017-2027. We compare the two documents with the Declaration of Principles for Professional Open Youth Work (2016), looking at how youth workers might use public health policy to advocate for and advance their work.

Youth as a prioritized group in public health strategy

In April 2019, the Norwegian government launched their latest white paper on public health, Good lives in a safe society (Meld.St. 19, 2018-2019). By and large, the white paper continues the premises and political analysis from the previous white paper on public health from 2014-2015.

Meld.St. 19, 2018-2019 proposes three areas for increased intervention: early intervention for children and youth; prevention of loneliness; and decreasing social inequality in health. All three focus areas are clearly interlinked with professional youth work. The prioritization of early intervention necessitates holistic, community-based measures directed towards children and youth. Youth and young adults are also highlighted as one of the groups that are most vulnerable to loneliness. Finally, a national increase in the number of children living in low-income families, is framed as one of the main challenges to overcoming social inequalities in health.

Children's right to leisure and the value of safe social meeting places in local communities are highlighted throughout the white paper. In the chapter on early intervention for children and youth, youth clubs are acknowledged as frequently being 'the spearhead' of general preventive measures that municipalities undertake towards youth" (Meld.St. 19, 2018-2019, p. 36). The white paper states that youth clubs serve a unique function as a public leisure arena open to all and accommodating to youth-initiated activities. Furthermore, municipalities are encouraged to provide support for local youth clubs. In this way, the white paper positions youth clubs as a core activity in the municipalities' public health work.

The importance of accessible leisure activities and social meeting places is further accentuated in the chapters on prevention of loneliness and decreasing social inequality in health. Among the proposed measures to prevent loneliness, we find efforts to increase social participation among children and youth; stimulating the establishment of local meeting places for youth, such as youth clubs; and making it easier for children and youth to participate in leisure activities, as promised by the Leisure Agreement in 2016. This last political goal is supported by a project fund for the inclusion of children from low-income families. The commitment to accessible leisure activities and meeting places is reiterated in the chapter on social inequality in health.

Program for public health work in the municipalities

The current political vision for public health work is in part operationalized through the Program for public health work in the municipalities 2017-2027. The purpose of this ten-year program is to strengthen the municipalities' public health work, especially when it comes to early intervention, alcohol and drug prevention, and mental health issues. Its stated goal is that by 2027 all municipalities will have "increased capacity and competency to maintain a systematic and long-term public health work that promotes children's and youth's mental health and wellbeing" (Helsedirektoratet, 2017). The program includes a fund to support the development of new measures at county-level and in the municipalities.

The guidelines for the program accentuate the link between youth work and public health work. They explicitly state that in order to promote the mental health and wellbeing of children and youth, municipalities need to enable all children and youth to experience empowerment, belonging, and a sense of purpose and participation. In addition, municipalities need to provide arenas that are safe, open to and inclusive of all.

These principles for public health work with children and youth are completely in line with both the daily workings of the Norwegian youth clubs and the Declaration of Principles for Professional Open Youth Work (2016). The main principles of open youth work, as proposed by the declaration, is that it is open to all young people on a voluntary basis, it is based on a meaningful relationship between youth worker and young people, it adopts to the needs of the young people present, and it encourages young people to use and develop their skills, talents, and knowledge.

Promises and potential pitfalls of using public health policy in youth work

From this brief reading of two key documents, we discern that public health policy might offer new possibilities for the sector of youth work. In the following, we discuss what can be gained by the professional youth worker from contextualizing youth work within public health policy. We then discuss how this tactic also might be problematic.

The shift towards a holistic approach to public health has equipped youth work and public health with what may seem as matching interests, values, and terminology. Norwegian public health policy positions youth work as central to population health and emphasizes the importance of universal measures and meeting places open to all. In line with good principles for open youth work, we see a commitment to fostering empowerment and skill building, a sense of purpose and meaning of life, and a sense of belonging among all children and youth.

As Norway lacks a policy framework for youth work, public health policy gives youth workers another framework to use when explaining and advocating for their work. The documents we have looked at provide a potential advocacy tool for youth workers, in terms of positioning open professional youth work among the core services that the municipalities offer children and youth. The Program for public health work in the municipalities could for example be used to argue that funding youth clubs and similar low-threshold meeting places for youth, is part of the municipalities' responsibilities under the Public Health Act. The program's emphasis on the value of youth participation in municipal development, also provides an entry point for youth workers to share their skills and competencies with policy makers and municipal services. This, together with a general municipal shift towards building local communities through co-creation and empowerment, helps to build a shared agenda and language between youth workers, public services, and local government.

The shift in public health policy can also be said to provide an opportunity for advancing youth work as a field and strengthening the competencies of the professional youth worker. As shown, the new white paper does explicitly mention youth clubs as a key factor in universal health efforts towards youth, and this contributes to the recognition of the youth work sector. Both the white paper and the Program for public health demonstrates a clear commitment to building local competency and strengthening local cooperation, both of which supports the professional development of youth work at a municipal level. In addition, the Program for public health has funded two national projects supporting professional youth work: a research project by NOVA, the Norwegian Welfare Research Institute, and an educational program for youth workers developed by Ungdom og Fritid - Youth Work Norway. The latter program instigates measures to increase both the formal and informal competencies of youth workers, through developing a university-level course in open youth work and skill-building workshops offered in all regions.

Despite these promising developments, we also see some limitations and potential pitfalls in using public health policy to advance youth work. So far, youth work's presence in public health policy has not fulfilled the expressed need for legislation of youth clubs or contributed to the development of a separate youth work policy. As long as youth clubs and similar low-threshold meeting places are not a mandatory municipal service, they risk being down-prioritized in favour of mandatory services. In the operationalization of the Program for public health, we see that the municipalities often favour schools and kindergartens when selecting arenas for public health promotion. This despite research showing that the youth clubs reach all segments of the youth population (Andersen and Seland, 2019).

Another danger is that public health may be too broad a framework to successfully advance the field of youth work. It is debatable whether public health is a strong enough policy area to give enough public and political attention to the needs of the youth work sector. Public health is cross-sectorial and characterized by political consensus, which in turn leads to less political debate and attention.

It could also be said that linking youth work to public health policy alone, might instrumentalise youth work, reducing it to a tool for prevention. In Norway, there is a tradition for seeing youth clubs and similar meeting places for youth, as valuable in and of themselves. Youth clubs are an arena for social work and prevention, but also an arena for leisure and for youth's cultural expression and production. While Norwegian public health model takes a broad perspective on public health, underlining the importance of informal meeting places and leisure time, there is still a risk that youth work might be absorbed into prevention efforts and lose its unique approach of both cultural work and social work.

Furthermore, what is missing from public health policy, is attention to the role of the youth worker. While children and youth are a prioritized group, nothing is said about the importance of competent adults managing the open meeting places for youth. The key youth work principle of "stable and meaningful relationships between youth workers and young people, where professionals build and maintain trust and clearly define boundaries" could therefore easily be overlooked (Declaration of Principles for Professional Open Youth Work, 2016). Through the new educational program, funded by the Program for public health, Youth Work Norway hopes to challenge this and render visible the connection between professional youth workers and quality youth work.

Conclusion
In this paper, we have discussed how public health policy might be used to advocate for and advance youth work. We argue that public health policy can give youth workers new and interesting ways of framing their work and communicating its relevance to other stakeholders. When taking a broad perspective on public health, public health policy can also contribute to a deeper understanding and description of youth work. Since the European Youth Work Convention in 2015, the European youth work sector has done a striving effort to develop a professional language for the field. Other policy areas, such as public health, might add value to this.

At present, youth clubs are just one of many elements in public health, and the objectives related to early prevention are mostly linked to schools and kindergartens. It is therefore important that youth workers and youth work organizations in Norway make their voices heard within the public health sector.

We believe that youth workers have a lot to contribute to the field of public health policy. Youth workers' unique knowledge and experience can help keep public health policy attuned to the needs and interests of youth and ensure that public health is not reduced to prevention efforts only, but centers quality of life and wellbeing. Youth workers are crucial to developing safe, inclusive, and meaningful meeting places for youth and facilitate youth participation in local communities.

In conclusion, we see is a huge potential for future policy development within public health policy, as this policy area is not yet filled with deep-set expectations and content. Public health policy can be a space for youth work organizations and youth workers to get acknowledgement for central values in youth work policy. There is still need for a separate youth work policy, but public health policy might provide a stepping stone towards full recognition of youth work.

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5. A case study of a transformational experience?
The impact of a European study visit on youth workers' professional development and professional practice

5. A case study of a transformational experience? The impact of a European study visit on youth workers' professional development and professional practice

Lyn Boyd and Dr. Glynn Jones

Abstract

This paper analyses the impact of a European study visit that took place in 2016 and which aimed to enable a small group of youth and community work students to compare Youth and Community Work theory and practice in the host country and the UK. It was expected that students would gain experience and critical understanding of the theory and practice of youth and community work in the host country and that they would explore and analyse models of good practice in youth and community work

The case study examines the transformational impact of that visit on the youth and community work students and on their practice. The research takes a phenomenological approach and is based upon participant observation, a critical analysis of student work, semi-structured interviews of students and student feedback. The research aimed to identify student's learning from the experience, especially in relation to their personal and professional development, to examine how the study visit contributed to their course and their youth work practice.

The main themes of the case study centred on the impact of students' experiencing membership of a wider community of practice during the visit and the impact of the valorisation and values of youth and community work witnessed during the study visit. The key findings of the research suggested that a clear distinction between students situated, experiential and work-based learning may exist and that international study visits can be transformative and may have a transformative impact on youth work practice.

This article explores the impact that a short overseas visit had on the professional practice and the professional identity of youth workers who were studying for a Postgraduate Diploma in Youth Work or related courses. The last twenty years has seen a significant increase in the discourse of internationalisation within higher education but there is no clear explanation of what the term means (Knight, 2013). There is much criticism that the definitions are 'too narrow' because they focus on 'how best ''western'' HEIs can integrate international students into their classrooms in terms of what is expected of the teaching approaches, behaviour and assessment; a one-way street with benefits focused predominantly on the receiving institution'. (Clifford, 2009 cited in Atkin et al, 2015, P6)

Within the UK the most significant developments have been in ensuring that institutions increase the number of overseas students studying within their cohorts. There has also been research into developing the international standing of UK universities in lists such as the Times Higher Education World University Rankings. This may also be linked to attempts to increase the number of international students. However, it is also closely linked to the notion of employability and its importance in relation to student outcomes and hence university rankings. Thus, the Internationalisation of HE agenda 'is part of a globalisation that has been fuelled by university strategies driven by student demand not just for a university education but one that prepares them for this increasingly globalised economy.' (Gardner, 2018)

From a European perspective there is a strong drive towards internationalisation through the Bologna Process, established in 1999, which aimed to 'facilitate collaboration, mobility, international understanding' (bolognaprocess, 2019) and now includes the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) of which one of the aims is, to facilitate 'student mobility as well as employability.' (EHEA, 2019). In addition, the European Council conclusion that 'Europe needs a unified research area' (European Commission Secretariat General, 2011) reinforced the internationalisation policy agenda.

There is also a drive to internationalisation in youth work through programmes and projects such as the Erasmus+ programme which aims to 'promote the sustainable development of its partners in the field of higher education and contribute to achieving the objectives of the EU Youth Strategy.' (European Commission, 2019). Erasmus+ provides funding and support both for mobility for young people and for youth workers. In the UK the group known as In Defence of Youth Work developed a statement of

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starting points in their campaign on Rescuing Youth Work and Reimagining A Youth Service and this document includes the notion that 'Irrespective of Brexit, Youth Work ought to embrace the Declaration of the 2nd European Youth Work Convention (2015) and be internationalist in outlook' (Taylor, 2018). Thus, there is a growing movement towards internationalisation in youth work.

However, there is not much investigation in UK into internationalising the experience of UK students on UK courses nor on that of youth workers in training. This is particularly so for students studying for professional qualifications at universities. Furthermore, the pressures of (part-time) work and the rigid structure of UK courses makes it difficult to find time to travel for anything beyond a few days and there is a tendency to assume that short-term trips are little more than a 'jolly'. This is not the case for many European courses which often have cross-border experiences built into the syllabus and may include short visits, collaborations on projects or a semester in another country. The place of 'internationalisation' within youth work training is not strongly defined. There is recognition of the benefits of youth workers taking young people overseas to expand their horizons but the role of an international experience in the training of the youth worker themselves is not prescribed. This may reflect the issues already mentioned. Also, youth worker pays and time pressures make taking time out to pay for a trip overseas more onerous than usual for students.

Nevertheless, an important driver behind this study visit stemmed from the learning processes involved in education and training for youth workers in England. The National Youth Agency's criteria for validation of courses (National Youth Agency, 2019) , the Youth Work NOS (LSIS, 2014)and the Subject benchmarks for youth work (The Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education , 2017) include the requirement to develop critical thinking and reflective practice, both of which require an opportunity to gain experiences from practice upon which to reflect in order to develop a critical understanding of that experience and youth work practice.

The theoretical basis of this work can be found in the work of Schon (Schön, 2016), with his notion of reflecting-in and reflecting-on action and also in Kolb's experiential learning cycle (Kolb, 1984). These experiences are emphasised as developing through work-based learning in student placements where students are learning whilst practising youth work. Therefore, the study visit offered students the opportunity to gain further experience and the opportunity to further develop their reflective and critical thinking skills. Lave and Wenger add another dimension to experiential

learning in their focus on situational learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991) which is recognised by Fenwick who suggests that ''learning is rooted in the situation in which a person participates' (Fenwick, 2003, p. 24).

The objectives of the visit were for students to compare youth work practice in Spain and England and to that extent learning was recognised as obviously situated but essentially experiential. Lave and Wenger also developed the notion that an aspect of situated learning is inclusion into a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991). It was envisaged that the learning from the study visit would enhance the students' integration into their community of practice as youth work or education practitioners in the UK.

In youth work education and training the aim is to develop the professional identity of the student. This will unavoidably also contribute to the development of students' personal identity. A key focus here is to develop the human and social capital of the individual student. However, Cote also recognises the impact of experiential and professional learning in developing identity capital and especially professional identity capital (Cote, 2016). Dreyfus et al developed a staged model of skills acquisition and therefore professional development. The model moves through five stages from novice, to advanced beginner, then competence, followed by proficient and finally expert (Dreyfus, 1986). The aim of professional youth and community work education and training is to develop proficient youth workers.

At a European level a competence model for youth workers to work internationally has been developed by Evrand and Bergstein (2016). The model consists of eight competences: facilitating individual and group learning n enriching environments, designing programmes, organising and managing resources, collaborating successfully in teams, communicating meaningfully with others, displaying intercultural competence, networking and advocating and developing evaluative practices to assess and implement appropriate change. This model has been developed within the framework of the European training Strategy (ETS) in the field of youth. (Salto, n.d.) in the context of the training of youth workers in preparation for the mobility programmes of the youth actions of Erasmus +.

Recently Kovacic and Williamson (2019) suggested that there are 'three steps to heaven' in the development of youth workers and the steps are defined both by level and geographical focus. In this model the first level is Doing which is focused at the local level. The second level is Knowing which

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is focused mainly at the local and national level, although with the possibility of some focus at the European or international level. This is the level of the professionally qualified youth worker. The third level is Being, and the key geographical focus clearly includes a much stronger European or international dimension to youth work practice. This links to Kim's notion of transnational identity capital focused on transnational academic intellectuals. (Kim, 2010) However, Kovacic and Williamson's (2019) concept of Being as a professional youth worker could possibly be considered as incorporating the concept of transnational youth workers who have developed a level of transnational identity capital.

What then are the benefits of overseas experience especially from a short visit?
This trip was the outcome of an unexpected access to funding. This is important because although the trip was not last minute, the time to arrange it was limited and yet the experience was still beneficial. A visit was arranged to Barcelona for eight students on a Postgraduate Diploma in Youth Work or a related course, accompanied by two university lecturers at a university in Northern England. The trip would be over four days and three nights including the travel to and from Barcelona. One of the lecturers involved was able to call on her links with a university in Barcelona to organise the core events of the trip which included a presentation and discussion on the topic of Social Pedagogy and Catalonian Youth Work policy and practice and a visit to a local youth work project and there was time for independent cultural activities at the beginning and end of the visit. There was also an international youth work conference taking place at the same time and the group attended this too.

Two of the students were JNC qualified youth and community workers with experience in the field and practice. Six were in training as youth and community workers and three were already employed in the field and all had relevant youth and community experience. They were all studying or had recently completed youth and community work or related education qualifications. So, they went with an understanding of practice and theory in their field (as it is taught and performed in England). The aims of the trip were that the students would compare what they learned about the Spanish system and practice with their knowledge of the English system and practice. The funding opportunity had as a requirement that the students would produce a report at the end of their visit that would be presented to representatives of the funding organisation and the university managers.

From the point of view of the accompanying lecturers we were interested in how this experience would develop the students understanding of youth work practice and how it impacted on their professional identity. We have also been involved in developing a wider community of practice to develop links with Youth Work Trainers in other EU nations so it was felt that this trip would inform this process.

Each evening during the trip the students had a meeting to reflect on what they had experienced during the day and to draw findings or express what they had learned. This was more formally pulled together at the end of the trip during a discussion to sort and organise the message that they wished to provide in their presentation. In the few days after returning the students developed their presentation to the funders which would take place a few weeks after their return. For this they used an application that was image rich which we felt reflected how they had experienced and made sense of the trip.

Approximately a year after their return the students were asked to meet again to reflect on the experience again and discuss whether it had impacted on their professional practice. Three of the eight who had gone on the trip were able to return and the interview took the form of a group interview. Like all interviews, these can be used to collate information that is deeper and richer than might be collected through, for example, questionnaires. This is because the interviewers can seek fullness and clarification through follow up questioning (Cohen et al 1993). In this way "knowledge should be seen as constructed between participants, generating data rather than capta" (Laing, 1967 cited in Cohen et al 1993:409). Group interviews allow the participants to interact with each other rather than interviewers to produce a group opinion and thus they co-create the data.

In order not to direct the topics or structure of the discussion, the initial part of the interview was conducted using a visual technique. The participants were asked to bring with them to the interview three photographs that represented the trip for them. The method is called SHOW and is adapted from an idea from Nina Wallerstein. (Wallerstein, 1994) Initially the photographs are laid out and the students were asked what do you See? Then they were asked what do you see Happening? Then they were asked what are your Observations on what is going on? Finally, they are asked what do they want to do about what they see? The aim of this is to allow the students to provide the structure for the topics discussed rather than constraining the discussion with topics chosen by the interviewers. This was followed with a more traditional focus interview around questions built on

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their initial SHOW discussion to find out their continuing impressions of the trip and since their return. There were no major ethical considerations and the work followed BERA guidelines. The long-standing tutor-student relationship between the interviewers and participants and the depth of the relationship developed during their course between the participants provided confidence in the data collected. While the small-scale and ad hoc nature of this study limits this as a broad, formal piece of research, the findings are interesting, and we felt that they provide a starter for further consideration and future research.

In addition to the interviews with students and their report, the student presentation and the staff observations were analysed and coded to identify the themes arising from the visit. Finally, the students were invited to read this article and to provide feedback on the impact of the visit. The key themes derived from this data are: Internationalisation, Situated learning, Professional Identity Development and Community of Practice.

Internationalisation
As was to be expected, given the aims of the study visit, Internationalisation and Situated Learning were strong themes in the data, as one of the staff members observed the students were 'very clear about the aims of the visit and they clearly focused on the internationalisation and situated learning elements of their experience.' The aims of the study visit clearly sat within the 'internationalisation agenda' as one of the reasons that the visit was funded was to develop links with a university in the top 500 of the Times Higher Education World University Rankings. However, the students seemed less concerned about developing their 'employability' through the visit, in comparison with their interest in understanding the international context of the visit. In their report the students identified two of the study visit outcomes as the fact that they were 'able to experience, and learn about youth work in Barcelona, comparing practice, support, funding and presentation'. And they had developed 'a clear enthusiasm for developing links for exchange through Erasmus+'. The students acknowledged 'it's about that international perspective' in their presentation. Thus, demonstrating their movement toward internationalising youth work as proposed by Taylor (2018).

The study visit proved to demonstrate value as an international learning experience, for Higher education students on a professional course. The students recognised this opportunity as unusual for the majority of students in England and they valued their learning from this experience. As one of the students suggested:

'we have lectures and we learn theory and practice and then we go   back to work to try to put some of that theory and practice into us practice and we are in our own work bubble ..… but when we went to Barcelona… it's given us opportunity to see youth work differently, different cultures different languages different community approaches to it and we had that learning aspect to it where we could see X [the named contact at the host institution]lecture…so I think it's definitely added value to my learning, our learning.'

The impact of developing an international perspective on youth work is demonstrated in feedback provided by two of the students concerning their current reflections on the study visit : 'I remember feeling more informed about the wider international perspective of youth work after our Barcelona trip and the similarities in our practice and the differing challenges impacted by the socio-economic factors' and 'it added immeasurable value to my own studies at the university as previous learning at other universities in the UK did not have international experience included.'

In the interviews the students were asked whether they see themselves 'in the Global context' and one replied 'I'd forgotten that, I did see myself, but you lose that in work when you are told to look at local and national and where you get funding from.' However, in recent feedback one student explained that he is 'currently exploring further opportunities to engage in a collaborative international practice sharing project with Erasmus.' So, it seems that aspects of the international context have found their way into students' contemporary practice.

Situated Learning
The students clearly had a focus on situated learning as propounded by Lave and Wenger (1991) and Fenwick (2003) Specifically the study visit also enabled the students to develop their understanding of the concept of social pedagogy from the practice they learnt about in Spain: 'It was very useful to build on our knowledge and understanding of social pedagogy which we had previously touched upon.' Indeed, the student's report explained that:

'visiting the University and having a seminar with X enabled students to learn more about the history and development of social pedagogy, not just in the UK and Spain, but across the world. This seminar assisted students to visualise Social pedagogy as the 'Science of Education.'

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They were also very impressed by the attitudes of the professional workers in Spain 'Their Pride as 'Barcelona Practitioners' was clear to see when the students visited L [the youth work project] as all the practitioners were happy to show they are the best at what they do, and articulate that within their practice', The students were critical of aspects of youth work and youth work education in England because in Spain they felt:

> 'When you were walking around you can feel that there was a real passion for education, it's not just something that you might fancy doing. It wasn't like a passive thing... For me that was a massive part of the journey actually valuing it and valuing the experience. It was very experiential'

In comparing the two situations they concluded that:

> 'I don't feel like it fits necessarily in some of the spaces or institutions that are in England. I don't feel like I can fit it in because of the way they are set up... In the UK people seem to get embarrassed about success as well, it comes over more negatively'

They were very impressed with X and they considered their focus on first contact with young people and how they include this in their practice. They felt that in Spain with X they were able 'to take that step back and to see how it [first contact] does impact people'

In the interviews the students discussed their experiential learning from the visit and when asked whether they were 'saying that having such experiences helps you learn about experiential learning' one responded 'Yes, the placement is supposed to make you learn from experience but there's not a big enough gap.' They expressed the view that on the study visit they 'were doing the bigger picture.'

However, when it came to the students' focus on reflection, an essential element of experiential learning, it was observed that 'despite being professional youth workers, they preferred an informal reflection process. This is something we probably needed more time to consider prior to the visit.' They were much more keen on reflection that was more closely linked to action for example,' travelling back on the train... straight after when it was instant.' Thus, indicating that reflective practice remains a challenge to students in their learning.

Professional Identity
In analysing the available data, it is clear that Cote's notion of professional identity capital (Cote, 2016) was of considerable importance to the student group. One of whom noted that:

> 'I think obviously after that there was like a core change in sort of thinking for me' and suggested that 'if they were to go and have the same experience as us you are breeding a whole new breed of worker for the
> actual profession. I think it's changed us then we take some of those
> changes back then actually the impact that it has after a few years is that in a few years you would have a more passionate workforce in a different way. If you were to do that.'

Whilst another student gave a clear explanation of how the study visit had developed his professional identity capital:

> 'When I came in [to his employment] they knew that I was a sports specialist, I had more of that strength, I was told that my work would touch on that but it was more about develo-ping youth work values, standards and that sort of thing in my practice. When I saw that in Barcelona FC, how they used it as a tool and I shared that with managers and I started doing more sport through a project called tri-sports where I went into some deprived areas delivered some rugby out in the parks and from that then went to some of our group work programmes that I've talked about, sexual health, anger management, all that sort of stuff. It created inroads into bigger things like teamwork and all those specialisms then using specialism as a tool. I think it had more weight [with managers] because I'd gone on a University course and it was respected, and it wasn't just [the student] the sports worker saying we need to do it.'

Thus, this student felt more confident in his professional identity and able to use the strengths of his specialist subject in his practice after his experience of the study visit. In addition, in feedback one student clearly links this development to his:

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'international German exchange last summer... I felt more confident and competent in taking the young people abroad having gone to Barcelona and seeing, feeling and hearing the positives first hand.' Indeed, the student believes that 'through the trip I was supported to find my own professional youth work identity, which has facilitated me to be more confident and successful in the workplace. So, I would say the trip was the catalyst to me finding 'my place' and managers hearing and understanding this far better.'

Community of Practice

Lave and Wenger proposed that an aspect of situated learning is the inclusion in a community or practice (lave and Wenger, 1991). The data clearly indicates that students felt that they gained access to a wider community of practice as a result of this study visit. A member of staff observed that the students 'were very impressed with X and with the idea that they were part of a global community of practice and that youth work is valued outside of England.' This partly reflected the situation of youth work in England with the cuts to the youth service and the changes in youth work policy from universal open youth work to targeted youth work programmes and a demand to demonstrate the impact of youth work (Mulholland, 2018). These changes have undermined the sense that youth work is valued in English policy. This was reinforced by student comments in the interviews such as 'If we build on this community of practice [that of social pedagogy] we have the chance of changing as a full profession, if we have that community.' In addition, the students recollected that:

'Initially we wanted to change the whole language of youth work.... to fit in with the world. Yes, so we could be invited to the social pedagogy parties as well just so that were not excluding ourselves by trying to be special with our own language and this is how youth work is. We've made youth work smaller [in England] ... [it]makes it harder for people to access. I mean that sort of on a global level.'

Staff observed that the student's 'focus on a community of practice led them to recognise the notion of transnational youth work' as suggested by Kim (2010) and by Kovacic and Williamson (2019).

Conclusions:

Although this was a short trip and a small-scale piece of research, the rich data gathered from the staff observations, the student presentation and report, the student interviews and student feedback clearly evidence the impact of the visit on the students.

The research has shown how the internationalisation agenda (Bologna Process 2019, 2019) manifested in the visit and impacted on the students. They were strongly focused on the learning available to them in this situation (Lave and Wenger, 1991) and it enhanced their development of professional identity capital as defined by Cote (Cote, 2016). The visit gave the students access to a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Fenwick, 2003) which enabled them to experience the feeling that youth work was valued and is valuable.

Finally, from this study visit experience, it seems that students gained an understanding of the concept of trans-national youth work and perhaps started to develop their Being as defined by Kovacic and Williamson (2019), thereby indicating the transformative potential of a short study visit.

This small-scale research lays the foundation for further research into the themes raised by the visit: the internationalisation of HE from the perspective of the student, and the internationalisation of youth work. The focus on the development of professional identity capital deserves more detailed research, as does the development of Being as a professional practitioner operating at a European level and the role of communities of practice in this process.

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6. What the European co-operation teach us about the nature of tools used in evaluation of open (international) youth work

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Anu Gretschel and Antti Korhonen

Abstract
This conference paper shares the experiences gained when using different kinds of evaluation tools, in the context of Finnish national youth centres doing European co-operation, the first example being the Erasmus+ funded project, for which the resources came from the European Commission, the second one being the Quality Label process, offered by the Council of Europe. During these processes the experiences of the young people, youth centre personnel and decision makers concerning the impact caused by international youth work and perceived development needs were gathered using a variety of methods: storytelling, a pilot survey, interviews and with both self- and interactive evaluation. In this paper, we will reflect upon what was learnt about the evaluation tools during those processes and how what was learnt has been taken into use afterwards in further ongoing development processes in 2019, both in the fields of youth work research and practice.

Introduction
The idea of the paper is to reflect on what is possible to learn about the evaluation tools when evaluating international youth work. The lessons learnt are issued from two sources. The first one is the Erasmus+ funded strategic partnership project in Finland, Estonia and Slovenia, entitled 'Boost Your Possibilities!' – Youth Centres for Youth Mobility and Intercultural Learning: The Impact of Internationality (2015–2017), which involved several National Youth Centres in Finland (Gretschel (ed.), 2017; Gretschel, 2018). The second basis for reflection is the Council of Europe Quality Label for Youth Centres self-evaluation process, in which the Marttinen Youth Centre took part in 2017–2018. Also, the Villa Elba Youth Centre was awarded the same label in Finland (see more Council of Europe, 2015a; 2019).

In this paper, the main actor is the Finnish National Youth Centres. In 2019, there are nine residential youth centres specialised in organising and distributing expertise in adventure, nature, environmental and cultural education, camps, as well as social and international youth work. In Finland, the status, values and activities of national youth centre has its basis in the Youth Act and the operations are both, mandated and monitored by what comprises 'youth work' followed by the formulations of Declaration of the 2nd Youth Work Convention (Council of Europe 2015b). The international youth work encompasses all learning related activity in a multicultural youth work environment, either in the home country or abroad, including offers of information and guidance to other organisations.

The two evaluation processes will be addressed separately at first, while the reflections are outlined at the end of the paper. The article is based on the personal experiences the writers have on those evaluation processes. The main idea is to roughly assess on what was learnt about the nature of each evaluation tool used in those processes. For this article, the reflections were sorted out by this list of questions:

1. What kind of knowledge does the evaluation tool produce?
2. If the tool made explicit, what was meaningful for young people?
3. If the tool managed to express the authenticity of youth work?
4. What kind of lessons did it offer the evaluated youth centre?
5. What was possible to learn about what needs to be evaluated in the future?
6. To what extent did the evaluation tool reach people outside of the service?

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Erasmus+ project 'Boost your possibilities!' of youth centres and experiences of a multifaceted evaluation process
In 'Boost your possibilities!' -project, a pilot survey was used to ask young people how international youth work impacted them and their lives. The survey contained two structural parts to self-assess competence development (Kiilakoski 2015; Stiehr & Raschdorf 2015) as well as the impact of the activity on different aspects of lives (such as their wellbeing and their further studies). There were also several different open-ended questions that offered space for young people to describe what they felt was important and how they felt the activity had changed their way of thinking and acting. The results of the pilot survey identified considerable growth in the investigated intercultural, personal and social competences, recognised by the respondents. On the other hand, the action of making friends "now" seemed to be more attractive and important for young people than gaining the social competence needed to make friends later in life. Young people also offered fresh descriptions on how their way of thinking had been broadened. International activity was not just an activity among others, but it was described as meaningful or even the most meaningful experience the young people had ever had. The description written by young people also shed light on why international youth work is so often successful: in the international youth work context everyone gets an equal chance to start over again and to get known each other 'from a blank slate', without the burden of what has happened earlier in the social contexts of their young lives.

Realising interviews can of course be directed to fulfil different kind of evaluation needs. In the 'Boost your possibilities!' -project, the main aim of the interviews of youth centre personnel was to get information on what different kinds of impact the international youth work has. It was found out to have three different kinds of impact which were categorised as follows: 1) youth work results, 2) an economic impact, and 3) promoting the expertise of youth work. Beyond the individual level of youth work results such as gaining competences at the individual level, youth centre personnel reported how the international youth work results also at the community and society level: how it had modified the attitude and mind-set of all-age groups towards foreign people, different local ethnicities and young people in general: how they are, what they're capable of and how active they are.

Youth centre personnel also highly valued the economic impact generated by youth centres organising international youth work. Youth centres employed people, generated tax income and increased the local income also by using services when organising international activities. The youth centres do not have a common way of communicating their assessment of how youth centres have impacted the local and regional economy to policy makers. Therefore, in order to find common reporting instruments, an economic impact assessment based on case studies of several youth centres is needed in the future.

The third type of impact as described by youth centre personnel in the interviews was promoting the expertise of international youth work within their region. Youth centres have managed to build up a trustworthy expert image as well as networks of reliable partners both at the local and international levels. Youth centres often empower and support municipalities, NGOs and parishes to initiate and conduct international youth work. What is remarkable is the fact that youth centres purposefully put energy into motivating youth work actors in the regions and municipalities that have not been active before.

Based on the interviews, it seems that one important factor contributing to the success of networking is that the youth centres have certain guidelines that are followed which, in part, are aimed at constantly striving for good quality in action and activity. The guidelines have been formulated from criteria offered by funding structures like Erasmus+, from the concept paper called Finnish Youth Centre Pedagogy (Nieminen, 2013) or from general knowledge about what youth work is (see also for example Ord, 2016). During the 'Boost your possibilities' project, the question of what the youth work or international youth work is was issued also by using 'Cornerstones' of Youth Work from' 'In Defence of Youth Work' (IDYW, 2011; IDYW, 2014; Personal communication Bernard Davies, 2016). The stories produced in story-telling workshops suggested that the internationality brings a 'holistic' dimension to occurring changes, which can more powerfully affect young people's lives and their approach to life. A typical theme found in the collected stories was how young people chose to be involved in more than one of the processes, often leading to a transition from 'young person' to 'leader' and setting up activities for others. The stories talked about motivation and opportunities. It was found that international youth work resembles other forms of youth work, meaning in other words that it is just as important to promote. In Finland, the international youth work has often been the first to be cut when savings are being made by local authorities, despite its effectiveness and results. One way to further address this issue, is to get young people more often to discuss this over with decision-makers.

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In the 'Boost your possibilities!' -project, the Deliberative Discussion Day -method was also used. This is an interactive evaluation method (see more Cooper & Gretschel 2018) which allows not only young people to reflect upon youth services, but also the youth workers and the decision-makers to use their expertise in evaluating and further developing the services. It also served as an arena for young people to express the importance of having international youth work in their region to decision-makers, in a face-to-face setup. Young people participating in this part of evaluation also purposefully included several members from the outside – those young people who have not had experience of international youth work. For that reason, the evaluation data even contains instructions on how to modify services to make them more accessible from geographical, social and economic points of view.

The Council of Europe Quality Label for Youth Centres
The Council of Europe Quality Label for Youth Centres -process for Marttinen youth centre was launched after the report on 'Boost your possibilities' -project had been published. The Quality Label process was implemented as an evaluation and development tool for the Finnish National Youth Centres, and in this example, we focus on the case of the Marttinen Youth Centre in Virrat, Finland. In Marttinen's case, acquiring the quality label was a 2-year process of reflecting and evaluating the Council of Europe's Quality Label criteria under 15 categories, and 43 sub-categories, of which some are discussed and presented below.

First and foremost, the Quality Label process has been a tool for the youth centre to position themselves within the value base and policies for which the Council of Europe strives. This has challenged and put focus on producing a more 'holistic' youth centre practice, in which acclaimed European values — such as the participation of young people, democracy, the rule of law, and human rights — are assessed. In other words, it has allowed and challenged the centre to be evaluated at a 'meta-level'.

Also a strong characteristic of the evaluation process has been that it doesn't just evaluate the 'products produced' as a youth work actor and service provider, but how young people have their say about how those products are being made, and what is the role of the youth centre in shaping and encouraging young people to have a voice.

The key element of review has been the pedagogical standards and approach, where the centre has not only been evaluated through its competencies and qualifications that deliver youth work and map the

principles and cornerstones guiding the practice, but also through the question of 'to what extent does the setting, space, networks, cooperation, financial management and structural layout of the centre support and allow the pedagogical goals and principles to have an impact.' In other words, it is not enough that the centre has a trained pedagogical team of youth workers, but how is this know-how transferred to and echoed by the whole staff, the space and funding setup, as well as the ways in which we approach cooperation with our partners and stakeholders.

Also a strong characteristic of the evaluation process has been that it doesn't just evaluate the 'products we produce' as a youth work actor and service provider, but how young people have their say about how those products are being made, and what is our role in shaping and encouraging young people to have a voice – this naturally makes it also meaningful for the target group we work with, although ever so indirectly.

The Quality Label process has been a comprehensive 'in house self-assessment' carried out by the personnel of the youth centre. The process has been mainly authenticated by the centre's stakeholders' testimonies along with an analysis of the feedback and statistics from past practices and approaches. The results of the process have then been externally assessed by an expert team from the Council of Europe. In other words, the 'proof and authenticity' of the process comes very much from the youth centre's own need to develop and engage with the process, by also assigning its own value and gravitas to the 'evidence of quality.' The evaluation tool has also been good for the centre to evoke the question 'what is evidence' when it comes to the operations and purpose of a youth centre. The evaluation tool has also evoked the question 'what is evidence' when it comes to the operations and purpose of a youth centre.

The learning within the quality label process has shown the Marttinen Youth Centre that youth work is and should always be more than 'providing a service' where growth and learning for young people happens to happen. There's a more significant social, economic, political and ecological role that a youth centre should, and can play in the field of youth work and youth policy –and it can also explore to which extent it is 'mandated to do so' in the regional, national and international structures. In order to fulfil this role, a centre often has to go back to the basics – to the values and principles upon which our structure is set up, how pedagogy is built, and the networks and cooperation are approached – and even more importantly, having a look at to what extent all this is transparent and available, not just to the few, but to all young people. This also relates to one of the pitfalls of the Quality label

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process – or any evaluation setting up a 'minimum criteria' from the point of view of a youth centre. The assessment is done by gauging the existing practices and operations and also, of course, gives an indication (based on the 'benchmarks' set for particular criteria) of what is left outside of the assessment. For instance, to meet the criteria of "The centre ensures the involvement of young people, youth organisations and associations in the development of their concepts and programmes" poses the question of 'young people' does this refer to and is there equity in their involvement? Similar questioning can naturally be built into the way in which most of the criteria is set up – and here we come to a key point: An evaluation based on criteria is only as powerful and useful as the motivation and engagement of the youth centre embarking on the process. If the commitment for development and self-improvement is authentic, the results will also be sustainable.

The Quality Label process has provided the Marttinen Youth Centre with a framework to position themselves in regarding the Council of Europe's common understanding of what youth centres should be. The question remains whether this framework catches exactly to the understanding of the centres own reality – yet even more importantly (and possibly as the most significant result of all) how can this continue to challenge the Marttinen Youth Centre to open the doors and engage in dialogue so as to determine and participate in the discussions that build common standards of quality – not only at regional and national levels, but within an international (European) dimension.

Discussion
'Boost your possibilities!' -Erasmus+ project partners were gathered in Slovenia in summer 2016 to find out 'What is international youth work' and whether there is need for its own 'Cornerstones', similar to those upheld in existing youth work, issued from the 'In Defence of Youth Work' -campaign in the United Kingdom (see IDYW 2011). It was found that international youth work is also youth work: youth work within an international context. For that reason, what is outline here about evaluating international youth work is most likely applicable to all youth work processes at a general level.

There is no one way to evaluate, nor is there one evaluation tool alone that would be enough to assess the quality of international youth work processes and all the different aspects of its impact. The idea of this paper was to estimate what kind of appropriate evaluation tool would be capable of responding to such questions and evaluation needs. With a pilot survey (Erasmus+), it was possible to estimate the extent to which young people

gained a variety of competences, the extent to which they felt satisfied with their experiences and the extent to which the experience changed their thinking and action.

It also showed how acquiring friends in the moment felt more important to young people than developing social competences for later use. The way international youth work provided young people with release from their everyday circles and social burdens was found to be an extremely valuable element in explaining why experiences of international youth work were reported as being one of 'the most significant experience ever' for many respondents. This result might — at least, we hope — change in the long term, if the environments young people live their daily lives in become successfully healthier, with less bullying and less disrespectful behaviour towards other young people. Once such progress is made, international youth work can go onto develop other kinds of strengths. This example genuinely points out how the results gained in the evaluation of a single point mirror not only the success of the one service evaluated, but also of the state of the broader context of action.

Interviewing youth centre personnel (Erasmus+) and the self-evaluation process (Quality label) did have common ingredients: both rely on the expertise of professionals realising international youth work processes in youth centre institutions. As mentioned earlier, the commitment to development and self-improvement needs to be authentic, so that the results can be correspondingly sustainable. This entails taking into account not only the strengths, but also about the obstacles and the outside voices that are still missing. The Quality Label process is impossible to achieve without other evaluation tools producing results, statistics and documents which can be used as evidence when responding to the list of criteria. Nonetheless, the Quality Label does provide a relevant platform within which it has been made possible to report all three aspects of international youth work's impact: youth work results (also at community and society levels), the economic impact in the region, and promotion of youth work expertise through networking with different kinds of actors at local and international levels.

Regardless of any vast amount of evaluation, there is still a danger of losing track of the service's right development unless it includes an interactive evaluation system in which young people, youth workers and decision-makers are able discuss and negotiate with one other about how to direct and keep the services updated, so as to also respond to future needs. In 2019 many of the national youth centres in Finland use interactive methods

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thanks to the promising experiences gained from the 'Boost your possibilities'- project. Even though raising the voice of outsiders is an inherent part of the interactive evaluation, there remains a need for a more systematic tool that will document and develop the services to make them more accessible. What is actual now in the field of youth research in Finland is that there is a piloting project in which about ten youth work organisations (municipalities, NGOs and parishes) are taking the 'Multifaceted evaluation tool' (Finnish Youth Research Network, 2019) into use, which includes its own data gathering system called 'Equality and accessibility mapping.' As such, the content of both European processes described in this paper are vital and need to live on.

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7. From critical reflective practice to the pedagogical practitioner: becoming a youth worker in late modernity.

7. From critical reflective practice to the pedagogical practitioner: becoming a youth worker in late modernity.

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Abstract

Reflective practice is seemingly ubiquitous in most people professions (Finlay:2008) and a bandwagon that we are, understandably, reluctant to jump off (Loughran:2000). Yet it has come under sustained criticism both theoretically and in practice. Critical reflection, as articulated by Finlay (2005) offers something beyond this, but remains under-theorized, and its pedagogic practice, particularly for youth and community work educators, remains largely unarticulated. This article argues that we need to go beyond even the notion of critical reflection, exploring the idea of the pedagogic practitioner, something practitioners are, rather than they just do, or say they do. The pedagogical practitioner is beyond just a re-articulation of the reflective practitioner, it is a necessary conceptual shift.

As educators we need to be involved in co-creating practitioners who know how to traverse the shifting landscape and associated demand of modern youth and community work, workers who can continually incorporate new thinking while retaining professional integrity and staying true to the principles of youth and community work. Yet accounts of teaching reflective practice are remarkably absent in the literature. The article will go on to try and begin to articulate characteristics of the pedagogic practice of a group of youth and community work educators in a HEI in Birmingham's in co-producing this pedagogic practitioner.

Keywords

critical reflection, pedagogy, reflexivity, reflective practice, identity

Introduction

When the youth and community work degree at Newman University was last revalidated we recognized this as an opportunity to reconceptualize the degree; to re-examine what we wanted the programme to achieve, and what kind of practitioners we wanted to produce. This entailed an ontological and epistemological shift from privileging what we thought youth and community work practitioners should know, or be able to do, to what they should be. Collectively we agreed we wanted to *produce a programme fit for the changing landscape of youth and community work, yet still underpinned by its core values and principles (taken from the validation document.*

This paper will make the claim that the culmination of these aspirations is a vision of the youth and community work practitioner as a 'pedagogical practitioner'. It builds on the conceptualization of a pedagogical self, a term recently coined by two colleagues at Newman, Pete Harris and Mairtin Mac an Ghaill. It will then examine how we attempt to educate the pedagogical practitioner on our degree course. The pedagogical practitioner is beyond just a re-articulation of the reflective practitioner, it is a necessary conceptual shift.

Reflective practice and youth and community work

The model of reflective practice has sustained heavy criticism for lack of precision (Eraut:2004) that it is unachievable (Moon: 1999), particularly reflection in action (Ekebergh:2006), that it is individually focused (Solomonn:1987), ignores context (Boud and Walker:1998) and is atheoretical and apolitical (Smyth:1989). It has also come under criticism in the youth and community work field for becoming technocratic and something people know they have to do, or say they do (Trelfa: 2003, 2013, 2014), rather than something they are. It has become, or is in danger of becoming, a defensive practice, and will 'remain at the level of relatively undisruptive changes in techniques or superficial thinking' (Fook, White and Gardner, 2006, p.9). The concept of critical reflective practice (Brookfield: 1995, Finlay,:2002,2003, Fook et al:2006, Reynolds:1998) goes someway to addressing the above criticisms, particularly the contextual and political ones, though ultimately, as I will argue, not far enough.

Finlay proposes five overlapping variants of reflexivity with critical self-reflection at the core: introspection; intersubjective reflection; mutual collaboration; social critique and ironic deconstruction (Finlay, 2002, 2003). Finlay (2002, 2003) rightly points out that most refection covers the first level, the probing of personal emotions and meaning, and this is very true of

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youth and community work, as Trelfa (2014) indicates. There is a need for 'Intersubjective reflection' which focuses on the 'relational context, on the emergent, negotiated nature of practice encounters' (Finlay:2008) and also for 'mutual collaboration', engaging participants, in a 'reflective conversation' (Ghaye:2000) that takes account of wider political and social contexts, including institutional, student/ tutor and student/ student power relations. Of particular appeal is 'ironic deconstruction' that *cue(s) into postmodern and poststructural imperatives to deconstruct discursive practices and represent something of the ambiguity and multiplicity of meanings in particular organisational and social contexts.*' (Finlay:2008 p7).

At the end of her chapter Trelfa (2014) calls for a re-articulation of the reflective practitioner as something one needs to be, not just do, and this dovetails with our aspiration to go beyond producing practitioners who know how to 'traverse the shifting landscape and associated demand of modern youth and community work', (one of the aims of our aforementioned validation) and that they embrace a dynamic, evolving view of what it is to be a youth and community worker. They need to be able to identify and re-identify themselves in the shifting conceptual terrain of youth and community work in late modernity, 'with a de-centred identity politics, a critical project in crisis and retreat, and a neo-liberal hegemony in the ascendancy' (Harris &Mac an Ghaill:2015 p132).

Any canon of knowledge needs to incorporate, or at least take account of, new thinking – many of these trends mentioned have only really emerged, or have shifted fundamentally, in my own lifetime. Concurrently youth and community workers, and their educators, retain a desire to create meaning and authenticity in their lives, and in the young people and communities they work with, that 'honors the past, questions the present, and looks to the future' (Seal, 2018). Therefore the first claim of this paper is that we need to go beyond the five dimensions of critical reflective practice as established by Finlay (2002, 2003). We need to work at a sixth level, beyond social critique and ironic deconstruction: a commitment to developing an active dialectical epistemology and pedagogy, with reflection at a philosophical level that contests, seeks out, and is an active contributor to paradigm shifts, being mindful or how this effects our praxis and pedagogic practice. We need to move from being a critical reflective practitioner to a pedagogical one.

The paper will them expand on this vision of the pedagogical practitioner, showing how it is indeed underpinned by the core principles of youth and community work, but also steeped in its theoretical. The vision of a pedagogical practitioner may indeed be a mechanism for working through

and mediating its tensions, both conceptual and in its praxis. I differ slightly from my colleagues in that their initial conceptualization of a pedagogical self was as a process of becoming for BME students in particular. They had found a pedagogical space to reinvent and re-articulate themselves. I see the pedagogical practitioner as a state of being; one of continual reinvention and renegotiation of praxis within an evolving cannon of knowledge and practice. There's is an empirical claim. The pedagogical self is something they have seen emerge and be embodied by students on the course. My claim is a normative one – as youth and community work educators we should be, and be involved in co-producing, pedagogic practitioners.

Finally, I want to examine how we educate towards the pedagogical practitioner on our degree course. Finlay (2008) raises two main pedagogic concerns in teaching critical reflective practice: developmental readiness and the extent to which the process becomes formularized, forced and a hurdle. She says guiding principles for educating critical reflective practitioners are that we should 1) present reflective practice(s) with care, 2) provide adequate support, time, resources, opportunities and methods for reflection, 3) develop skills of critical analysis and 4) take proper account of the context of reflection. These will serve as points of refection in our findings.

However, as with other authors on critical reflection (Brookfield: 1994, 1995, Pollard et al: 2005) this is a typology of the principles to employ rather than an account of the actual pedagogical practice of teaching critical reflection. Such accounts are remarkably absent in the literature, as Luhmann says 'teachers dedicated to critical pedagogy when speaking about their pedagogy might refer to little else than their teaching style, their classroom conduct, or their preferred teaching methods.' (Luhmann:1998 p 120) Other authors make vague calls for pedagogical practice to be student centered (Finlay, 2008), to focus on building autonomy (Morley:2003) or give list of tools, such as analyzing critical incidents, case studies, peer assessment, small group work and reflective diaries.

The shifting landscape of the theoretical influences of youth and community work
The theoretical base of youth and community work is heavily contested (Seal and Frost 2014, Davies: 2012). In a previous piece I tried to trace the philosophical influences on youth and community work. I would argue that we have a set of philosophical influences and associated praxis's. Historically we have a Marxist, feminist, post-colonial sociological analysis

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(Bourdieu:1977,1992, Fanon:2001, Gilroy: 1987, Gramsci:1971, hooks: 1994) with anti-oppressive practice one element of its praxis (Soni: 2011,Thompson: 2011) and critical pedagogy as another (Friere:1972, Giroux: 2011).

However, there is also a countervailing influence of postmodern and post structural thinking, questioning all boundaries, binaries and essentialist claims, including gender, sexuality, race, class, etc (Lyotard: 1984, Warner: 2000) with a praxis that emphasises meaning contestation, transcending and transgressing boundaries, re-invention and fluidity. (Baizermann:1989) This element of our praxis often draws on existentialism (Friedman:1981), particularly on the work of Baizerman (2013) with a praxis that emphasizes developing agency, encounter and mutual meaning creation (Baizermann:1989), but distinct faith based, and non-faith based versions of this, as well as secular and faith based contestations with very different ontologies (Chazan: 2003, Dean et al:2001, Khan:2011).

We often have a humanistic psychology (Rogers:1980, Maslow:1968) investigating, contesting and investing in theories around child and adolescent development , with a praxis emphasizing being person centered being a virtuous practitioner (Dewey:1966) and heavily contested versions of what makes for the 'good life' (Noddings: 2003) We move between them, because we recognize that none of them are the all-encompassing, the grand narrative that explains all, including the post-modern stance that first questioned the grand narrative thesis, and itself became in danger of falling into relativism and re-inscribing neo-liberalism.

There are irresolvable tensions between all these stances, but adopting them all and holding them in tension is what defines our other stance, our epistemology. What is common to all these perspectives is a dynamic, dialectical view of knowledge creation (Aristotle:1976) and a commitment to an evolving praxis (Carr and Kemmis: 1986). Ontologically, aetiologically and epistemologically I have argued elsewhere that youth and community workers are dialectical critical realists. (Bhaskar: 1978, 1989, 2011; Archer, Bhaskar, Collier, Lawson, & Norrie, 1998; Reeves:2013; Sayer, 1992, 2000). Ontological we recognize that there is a world, and there are operative forces, economic social and political, outside of human meaning creation and perception. We recognize that we cannot discover any objective truths but we hope that our practice can serve as a point of reflection for others on their own work and 'illuminate' their own practice (Cherry and Higgs:2009), beyond just being an ahistorical, atheoretical account of the meaning creating of those involved. At the same time we are epistemological relativists in that we recognize that our accounts of that realist are

contingent and partial, and subject to change (Bystag and Munkvold: 2011).

Methodology
As stated before, my claim is a normative one ie what youth and community work practitioners should be. With this in mind, and as a forerunner to our revalidation, we undertook research into what the threshold concepts, or praxes as we coined, for youth and community work are. Within this there was particular emphasis on exploring what Land (2014) call 'liminal' space, the spaces where these threshold are encountered, engaged with and crossed i.e. where pedagogy happens. However this process is not linear. Cousins (2006) also talks about liminal states, recognizing that *'mastery of a threshold concept often involves messy journeys back, forth and across conceptual terrain Cousins* (2006 p142).

Critical pedagogies concepts of teachable moments, conscientization and generative themes are again echoed, the pedagogue having a crucial role in working through such moments. However threshold authors such as Cousins (2003) saw the limits of critical pedagogy, with its emphasis on the rational, universal and humanist. It may leave student stuck in liminal states because of its intolerance of the irrational, the affective and the contextual, our account needs to take account of this, and be able to hold the irrational.

The research was conducted over the period of nine months by the youth and community work team at Newman. We adapted Cousins (2006, 2009) framework of transactional curriculum inquiry, and conducted an ongoing dialogue between teachers, students and educational curriculum designers, but also, noting Barradell (2013), we involved the wider professional community relevant to the subject, our remit included ex-students, placement supervisors and other professionals in the field. In developing our method we adapted the core questions Cousins (2006, 2009) suggests in the development of threshold concepts.

a) What do stakeholders consider to be fundamental to a grasp of youth and community work? (this was originally just academics)

b) What do student and practitioners find difficult to grasp that it central to the discipline? (this was originally just students)

c) What curriculum design interventions can support mastery of these difficulties?

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Over two years, discussion was a regular feature of our staff meetings, away days and 'overnighters'. We invited practitioners and ex-students to these events, with a day facilitated by our head of academic development. We also embarked on a series of focus groups and informal discussions with current students on their opinions. All stakeholders were involved in the validation events. We had three stages, firstly, following Barradell's (2013) recommendations, we held some educative workshops on our pedagogic practice and the nature and scope of threshold concepts in the team (facilitated in part by our academic development department) and, with students and practitioners. Secondly, and in tandem, was some documentary analysis of student's assessments, course descriptions, evaluations and validation documents.

These were put together in a document and sent out to participants. These then informed the third stage, a series of participatory workshop held with practitioners, students, ex-students, colleagues and other academics teaching youth and community work. These were hold both together and separately, again to mediate possible power relationships, but also as a reflection of different stakeholder interests. We employed within these workshops elements of critical incident analysis (Tripp:1994), which Meyer and Land called 'Eureka moment's. We then grouped these moments into loose groupings around different praxes, with incidents being either practice orientated or theory generating or preferably both. This was an iterative process with theoretical abstractions from incidents and then testing these abstractions through scenarios.

Unique incidents and experiences were not treated as outliers, but important interruptions of the dominant discourse that needed to be reflected on and have impact. Results from workshops were summarised in key findings in a "report and response" structure (Stronach and McClure, 1997) They also served as a discussion points for other workshops. In total we held three workshops with academics, three with students, two with practitioners and two with all stakeholders, the second one acting as the final one, bringing the praxes together. Concurrently we held a number of elite interviews (Gilham:2000) with experiences practitioners in the field, using Cousins questions as a basis for semi-structured interviews.

Result and discussion
The liminal space of youth and community work pedagogic practice

As we said before, in the threshold concept literature (Meyer & land:2003. Land et al:2014) the spaces where pedagogy happens is called liminal space. It is the space in which threshold praxes of youth and community work are contested. An interesting concept Mac an Ghail and Harris (2015) talk about is 'safe spaces'. For participants in the inquiry the term did not capture it, although we struggled with what did. These spaces can be difficult and challenging, if the open expression of student's own views and attitudes, however unpalatable they may be to others, is an important element of the educational process. There is, however, also the need to protect people's physical emotional and psychological safety, leading to the idea of co-containment. In our research we saw our pedagogical practice as characterised by:

Creating of these spaces also demands of participants an ability to find language to articulate these experiences, and to 'swim with', or be 'at ease' with, the troublesome tension, dissension and discomfort engendered by pedagogical exchanges. The threshold literature calls these 'holding environments for the toleration of confusion' (Cousins: 2006). Participants need to be able to 'contain' (Bion, 1961) the inner conflict and sometimes pain for both tutor and student groups which can result from the disruption of worldviews and the deeply held values that reside therein. It also helps work with the liminal it's of the spaces, containing the irrational, the unknowable, the affective and the contextual. With a commitment to honest, but challenging, exploration of views and personal identities, raw, often previously hidden emotions and projections need to be absorbed, detoxified and re articulated. Initially there was a view that this containment lies within the lecturer, but this seems to perpetuate inequality and a dependency relationship. It should certainly be present within the lecturer, but not them alone. We need to have faith that students also have the resilience and emotional intelligence to do this, although, as with cognitive intelligence, we made need to work on their will to exercise it.

A useful addition to the youth and community work cannon in this respect is Ranciere's idea of an assumed radical equality of intelligence. He sidesteps the authoritarian tendencies of it being the educator who identifies teachable moments and validates which themes are generative, saying that everyone is capable of *putting her experience into words and her words to the test; of translating her intellectual adventures for others and counter-translating the translations of their own adventures which they*

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present to her' (Ranciere: 2009 p11).

The role of the pedagogue is to act on the students will, their self-belief and efficacy, the will to engage and challenge themselves and others, and to learn. Another approach or relevance here is queer pedagogy, often seen as the intersection between critical pedagogy and queer theory. Its concerns seem to complement Mac ah Ghail and Harris's vision of the pedagogical self, with a concern for interrogating the student teacher relationship (Luhmann: 1998), the role of identities in the classroom, the nature of disciplines and curriculum (Bryson and Castells: 1992), and the connection between the classroom and the broader community.

An emphasis on and commitment to de-construction of power and the concept of knowledge
Stemming from this stance is a need to actively deconstruct notions of power and knowledge. Harris and Mac an Ghail (2015) talk about challenging power asymmetry between student and tutor through shared social events, high levels of personal pastoral support (each student is allocated a personal tutor) and through tutor availability to students being given a pedagogical priority. We also routinely involves students in recruitment, curriculum design, validations etc. However, all these could be present within an authoritarian, paternalistic, approach and participants in the inquiry thought that this deconstruction needs to be on an epistemological and pedagogical level. It is in having a Rancierian (1991, 2010) pedagogical approach that we truly begin to break down power.

We assume equal intelligence with our students, and seek out answers and perspectives with them, deconstructing power existing knowledge and the process of knowledge creation. Lecturers pedagogical practice centers on acting on students will, Evoking Bourdieu's notions of 'habitus' and 'doxa', students many not value intellectual cognitive thought and challenging hegemonous assumptions, it is the will to do this that we act upon. We start to do this by breaking down notions of the classroom, hence the emphasis on queer pedagogy, challenging who is the learner and the learned, the nature of pedagogical relationships and who has the right to create of knowledge. Participants in the inquiry thought that the creation of knowledge is a process of co creation needed to be emphasized from the begging of the programme and integrated throughout. Lecturers should not privilege their own intelligence and insights, recognizing them to be inherently partial and contingent.

Working with generative themes: Borrowing from critical theorists such as Freire (1972) participants in the inquiry valued that pedagogy often arose on the programmes from student's own experience and immediate, concrete reality, and was then worked on. That themes are raised by students was considered central to this in order that students examined their own social positioning and allowed for both seemingly trivial and significant aspects of their own lives to be first discovered, named, and then imbued with meaning. It was still felt that a a Rancierain approach was needed, with the students and lecturers co-creating these themes together, with our pedagogy working on their will to do this. In turn it is hoped that this enables them to act more autonomously and in ways that precipitate both their personal development and change within their social reality.

An emphasis on inter-subjectivity, encounter, recognition, and working in the moment
 Akin to Schon's notion of reflection in action, participants in the inquiry valued that students on the course are encouraged to think critically at a time when they are intrinsically motivated to do so, with both lecturers and other students. professional identity formation happens in the context of the classroom and within practice (habitus), within a certain culture of an expected pedagogy (doxa), and under the gaze of the lecturers and other students. This gaze means that the pedagogical practitioner is in its nature intersubjective, drawing on individual experience, but epistemologically 'performed' within a more collective context with a focus on exploring the 'inter-subjective, dialogical and dialectic processes at work' (Harris and Mac an Ghail: 2015). This emphasis on inter-subjectivity explains the aforementioned emphasis on existential notions of encounter, and intersubjective notions of recognition (Benjamin: 1998, Butler: 2000).

This is achieved by bringing theory into the visceral, embodied experience of lectures and small tutor groups and by working to bring tacit, sometimes unconscious processes into a learnable, theoretical framework. (Mac an Ghail & Harris: 2015), recognizing the performativity of this (Butler:2000). Baizerman (1989) summed up this process of identity and meaning making well, saying, in answer to what youth work pedagogy is trying to instill in the worker. It is:

> '*developing the skills necessary to pierce one's taken-for-granted, ordinary, mundane life so that one becomes aware of how the ordinary is constructed and how one is implicated constructing one's own reality...awareness of how one's biography pre-forms the present gives the youthworker the*

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possibility of seeing in the moment its manifold possibilities, not simply what is there. Done well, all of this slows down the instantaneous process of seeing and making meaning. Once slowed, the youth worker (and young person) can "control" how she makes sense, and, in this way, come to be accountable to herself' (Baizerman: 1989 p1)

Encounter, and recognition (Benjamin: 1998, Butler: 2000) are combined with elements of hooks's (1994) engaged pedagogue. All lecturers, as experienced youth and community work practitioners, and students are encouraged to be open about their biographies including discussion of professional challenges within their own practice, but also personal reflections on experiences as members of privileged hegemonic or marginalised and oppressed groups.

Discovering and creating a new (academic) language to name past and current experiences
Discovering new language was of particular emphasis within Mac ah Ghail and Harris's piece. Students expressed that they were now able to 'name past and current experiences and imbue them with meanings and reflexively to articulate self-representations to themselves and others'. (Mac an Ghaill and Harris:2015). participants in the inquiry particularly valued this, but also the recognition that they could be an active participant in the create on new language and conceptual frameworks to name the world. One student recounted the crossing of a threshold when they were told that they could create their own theory to explain phenomena, and crossing another when they believed that they had the right and knowledge to be able to do this and defend it with confidence.

Cultivating hope and a future orientation
As noted before, agency is crucial. Structural pessimism leads to a knowing hopelessness that I have identified in previous research (Seal a & Harris, 2016) as far worse that an unknowing one. The aforementioned emphasis on existentialism and developing critical reflection may go some way towards ameliorating this; as Baizerman emphazises, experience of critical reflective spaces should be

> '*a facilitating process in which an individual penetrates her taken-for-granted reality and, by so doing, comes to under-stand how reality for her is constructed. Thus are extended the possibilities of finding moments of (for) choice and, in this, for extending and living her freedom. Youthwork is a process of*

creating the opportunities for a youth to choose more often about more things in her everyday life and in this way more thoroughly construct herself. Choice is a freedom-in-action…. Why?' does not matter; what is and what emerges does. Life is forward and is to be lived together, worker and youth, from 'right now' to 'next minute'. (Baizerman, 1989, p1)

However, agency and structure can be seen as distinct entities Archer (2010, 2012). Being distinct, and operating in different temporal spheres, makes it possible to unpick structure and agency analytically. Firstly, we need to isolate and analyse how structural and/or cultural factors provide a context of action for agents. It is then possible to investigate how those factors shape the subsequent interactions of agents and how those interactions in turn reproduce or transform the initial and current contexts. Through doing so, argues Archer, it is possible to give empirical accounts of how structural and agential phenomena interlink over time rather than merely stating their theoretical interdependence. In this way people will not develop a structural pessimism and they see potential for change, acknowledging the changes that have taken place, and the need for future changes. This can include questioning and changing their own positioning, which while appropriate and had meaning in historical context, now need to evolve and not remain static.

Sometimes these changes can be symbolic. I have talked elsewhere (Seal & Harris, 2016, Seal, 2018) about the importance of symbolic violence and symbolic power, but also of symbolic resistance. In between all of these stages of action, there are symbolic acts and achievements that give people hope. Reid et al (2006) talk about the need for hope and that some actions, while not actualised now, remain hopes for broader actions in the future. Even if the changes are ultimately diluted to the point of disappearing subsequently, they are powerful symbols.

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Conclusion

I have knowingly covered a lot of ground in this article. I have made the bold claim that the concept of the reflective practitioner is no longer adequate as an end aspiration for a youth and community worker, the world has become more complicated than that. There have been many failed attempts to articulate what the nature of youth and community work is, and therefore what the youth and community work practitioner should be. Any definition of ourselves and our practice is therefore always going to be partial and contextual. What we can start to define though is the terrain we swim in, and the thresholds we need to cross to become a pedagogical practitioner that can traverse this terrain with integrity, and, quoting my opening comments 'honouring the past, practicing in the present and looking to the future.'

I hope I have succeeded in outlining possible features of a pedagogy that co-creates the pedagogical practitioner. I found that the development of pedagogical practitioners necessitates co-created and co-held liminal spaces. I challenge those who call for these spaces to be safe (Baber and Murray, 2001; Galbreath, 2012), and concur with Allen (2015) and others (Britzman, 2003, Schippert, 2006) that this desire is a fantasy. As Allen, (2015) says, 'we should embrace a lack of 'safety' as pedagogically produc- ctive, dislodging it from its negative connotations for learning. (Allen, 2015 p 767). These pedagogic spaces need to 'de-construct and reconstruct pedagogical power and knowledge, in line with critical pedagogy's ambitions, and concur with queer pedagogues such as Talburt and Rasmussen (2010) p2 who call for 'spaces that reveal liberated subjects, liberated moments and political efficacy'. These spaces are most effective when they are intersubjective, visceral, with an emphasis on encounter, working in the moment and cultivating hope and a future orientation.

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8.Young Leaders as a role model for youth at risk and youth policy. A study on individual effects of a pedagogical training programme in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the Netherlands

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Abstract

This study reports on a practical experiment with a pedagogical training programme for youth from disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the results for participating youth. The programme was implemented at seven youth work locations and was aimed at stimulating youth's development towards self-conscious people who take responsibility in their neighbourhoods. After a short discussion of the programme's theoretical foundations in social learning theory, resilience of youth at risk and the position of role models, this study provides indications for the programme's encouraging function a regarding competence development of participants and their social activation. These results offer interesting leads for a consolidation of youth policy directed at social integration of youth from disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Keywords
youth at risk, youth agency, role models, disadvantaged neighbourhoods, social competence

The past years Dutch youth have gained international attention due to comparative research demonstrating that young people in the Netherlands score relatively highly on indicators for wellbeing (UNICEF, 2013). However, there are vulnerable groups who do not profit from this favourable position. Several studies indicate that in disadvantaged neighbourhoods the number of young people experiencing social problems have been stabilising or even increasing the past few years (CBS, 2012; Steketee, Tierolf & Mak, 2014). Evidently the current efforts of youth policy are not sufficient to create a noticeable improvement in the development of youth growing up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, leaving them exposed to all kinds of social risks.

Growing up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods
In addition to the home and school environment, the neighbourhood where young people grow up plays a significant role in their development. Youth from socioeconomic disadvantaged neighbourhoods are exposed to more and higher risks (WRR, 2005). For example, an international study has demonstrated a direct correlation between juvenile delinquency and substance abuse among young people and the socioeconomic status of the neighbourhood they live in (Junger-Tas, Steketee & Moll, 2008). A vulnerable neighbourhood environment might give room to deviating norms which encourage types of behaviour generally designated as 'risky' or 'undesirable'. Particularly in urban neighbourhoods the anonymity of public space offers a playing field for developing a 'deviating' culture of the streets (El Hadioui, 2011). Such a 'street culture' is said to be at odds with norms and values of the home- and school environment: civic decency standards and studying hard in school are generally not appreciated (De Jong, 2007). Not surprisingly, youth from these neighbourhoods are relatively more prone to expulsion or school drop out due to truancy, misbehaviour in class or low academic performance (WRR, 2009). Hence, the social environment in which they are raised has a large impact on the current and future opportunities of young people from these neighbourhoods.

Role models and competence development
A protective factor for young people growing up in such risky environments is proved to be the presence of an involved adult in their environment who functions as a positive role model for them. Research in various international contexts demonstrates that youth from disadvantaged neighbourhoods who can count on such support prove to have more success later in life in the area of education, work and social relations (Werner & Smith, 2001).The principles of social learning theory also stress the importance of these examples in the social environment of children and

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adolescents. Social learning theory describes human developments as a chain of social learning processes in which a person's experiences to a great extent shape his or her behaviour (De Wit & Van der Veer, 1984). Norms, expectations and cultural codes of the social context in which a child is raised, like the family, the peer group and the school, have large impact on their behaviour. However, Crul (2003) argues that young people from disadvantaged neighbourhoods often lack positive role models, like older peers who have experienced educational success and entered university.

In addition to social support and the presence of positive role models, several personal factors have been shown to play a substantial role in the extent to which young people are resilient to risk factors. High self-esteem, competency in age-related developmental tasks and an internal locus of control, or the belief to be in control over circumstances in life, all contribute to young people's ability to flourish despite adversity (Werner & Smith, 2001).

In view of the foregoing, we would like to propose that investing in competency development and talents of youth at risk could produce positive effects for their personal wellbeing as well as their future social position. Earlier research stresses the importance of offering opportunities to experience success (Seligman, 2011). The positive emotions such an experience provides boosts their motivation to exert themselves to achieve another success. For youth at risk such 'success experiences' are even more important because in many settings – such as in school – they are often confronted with their shortcomings and accompanying sentiments of discouragement (Kooijmans, 2009). Offering opportunities to improve their skills in the context of leisure time might offer a counterbalance. Simultaneously, they are able to acquire proficiency in skills they need to find a positive place in society. A review of the international literature on talent development of youth at risk indicates that such an approach, encouraging their competency, offers positive outcomes for their self-esteem and social skills (Van Hoorik, 2011).

Youth work in the Netherlands
Youth at risk in disadvantaged neighbourhoods are the main target group of over 3.000 youth workers in the Netherlands. While the majority of youth policy is directed at youth care in specialised institutions, only a smaller amount of the budget is reserved for professional youth work, which in public opinion is meant for recreational activities and tackling youth nuisance. After more than fifty years of professional youth work, there are serious doubts about its results.

Solid impact assessment has recently started (Noorda & Van Dijk, 2017). In our view doubts might be countered if youth work's main goal to connect youth at risk with society would receive more attention. Boosting young people's social and cultural capital by enriching their development with informal learning programmes, might provide youth work with (new) tools to encourage their personal and civic education.

Young Leaders: a practical experiment
Against the background of the foregoing, we posit the question whether the social integration of youth from disadvantaged neighbourhoods could be encouraged more effectively using the elements of role models and competence development. The results of a practical experiment with Young Leaders, a pedagogical training programme for youth from disadvantaged neighbourhoods, have provided new insights[1].

Goal of the Young Leaders programme is to encourage the personal and social development of young people in socioeconomic disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The programme has been developed to activate youth as positive role models for peers, by encouraging their development towards self-conscious persons who take responsibility in their neighbourhoods. Young people participate in a training course consisting of ten sessions. Each session has several topics to discuss and to learn about. Throughout the course the youth are challenged to gain more in-depth knowledge about their own characteristics: good qualities and potential 'pitfalls', and how to make use of them for the benefit of their own future as well as to improve their neighbourhood.

Individual and group assignments are used to treat subjects, such as 'who is your role model', 'what are your strengths', 'dealing with peer pressure' and 'formative experiences'. During the course young people make plans to organise social activities in their neighbourhood. Supported by a coach they carry out their plans. The young people are leading in thinking up and designing the activities, guided by the aim to improve the neighbourhood. Meanwhile, their visible contribution to the neighbourhood also aims to improve young people's reputation among residents and professionals in the area. In total 96 young people at seven youth work locations participated in the practical experiment. In this paper we present the results of an evaluative study, showing that the programme has fostered several positive effects regarding their development.

Method
A process and effect evaluation has been carried out in order to describe the methodology of the pedagogical training programme Young Leaders and investigate its effects. The study consisted of several elements, among

1 The programme has been designed in a co-production by the Dutch National Youth Council (NJR) and research institute Noorda en Co.

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which individual effects for participating youth, the neighbourhoods they live in and the organisations for youth work in which the programme has functioned. In this paper the individual effects for participating youth are discussed[2]. The central research question for this paper was:

> *"How do participating youth from disadvantaged neighbour hoods and professionals involved with them reflect on the progress in their development during the Young Leaders programme?"*

The core of the data set consists of semi-structured interviews with four types of respondents: trainers, youth workers, coaches and participating youth. In these interviews respondents first of all were asked about their experiences with the programme and its course and subsequently were invited to reflect on their observations regarding the development of individual participants and the group process.

   The study deliberately combined insights from different perspectives in order to get a more elaborate understanding of the reflections on the youth's development during the programme. Through such triangulation (Creswell, 2013) the validity of the reported progress could be increased, in this case by including four sources with different perspectives. In addition to semi-structured interviews, the analysis included observational reports of training and coaching sessions and evaluation forms completed by trainers after each training session.

Participants
The results are based on interviews with 58 respondents involved in the programme at seven pilot locations. It concerns trainers (n=12), youth workers (n=13), coaches (n=7) and participating youth (n=28).

   Almost all participating youth were already involved in other youth work activities. Youth workers asked young people they were in contact with if they were interested in the training programme. Their motivation, learning goals and specific needs were considered in an individual interview before participation in the programme.

   The majority of the groups of young people participating in the programme were mixed with respect to gender. Regarding age category some differences were observed between pilot locations. At three locations the groups consisted of young adults aged 18 to 20 years, while at four location the groups mainly consisted of teenagers aged 15 to 17 years old[3]. With respect to ethnic-cultural background the groups were a representative reflection of the neighbourhood's population. This has lead to an ethnic-culturally diverse group of participants in the Young Leaders programme at the seven locations.

Results
Analysis of the interviews with respondents shows that they have observed positive effects of the Young Leaders programme on several aspects of the participating youth's development. The most important results that emerged during analysis will be presented in the following. These results are considered indications of the average participants' development and not all participants have made the same progress with regard to all elements. Furthermore, despite their growth, both participants and their counsellors indicate that after completing the programme they still have the need for further development.

New skills
First of all, participating youth have developed several specific skills, among which presenting, organising and communicating. They have learned how to give a public presentation, and have developed application skills as well: how do I present myself? Participating youth were given the opportunity to practice a lot in the training course and eventually presented themselves and their plans to an audience, often including members of the city council.

Discovering qualities
Furthermore, participating youth have discovered their own qualities and further developed them. The training programme has challenged them to gain more knowledge about who they are as a person: what do they find important, what gives them a good feeling and what do they feel they are good at. In that process other participants have served as a mirror to them and trainers and youth workers provided them with feedback. How valuable this has been is described by a 20-year-old participant in the following excerpt:

> *Drawing your own 'life path' was very instructive. We really had to think about where we stand and what we would like to achieve. This is also a way to get to know yourself better. I think this was the most important thing I've learned from the programme. Also because of the feedback. You know, normally you mostly focus on the negative and your own weak points. In the programme other people reflect on your good qualities, your strong points. This helps you to see yourself in a more positive light.*

2 All results of the evaluative study are presented in a book about Young Leaders: Noorda, J. & Van Dijk, A. (2015). Young Leaders. Positieve rolmodellen in kwetsbare wijken. Amsterdam: VU University Press.

3 Age differences with respect to results for participants were not analysed because the number of interviewed participants was limited and the age differences were relatively small.

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Self esteem and responsibility
The previous excerpt also reflects another important result: improved self esteem among participating youth. Youth workers and trainers reflected on the fact that many participating youth had low self-esteem when starting the programme. They described how in their perception during the Young Leaders programme the young people have gained more confidence in themselves and their own abilities. Youth workers also related this to the new experiences the youth have been confronted with. This was challenging for them but also provided them with a sense of pride when leaving their comfort zone and for example giving a presentation in front of a group of new people. One of the youth workers described how this resulted in new learning experiences for them:

> They have learned to step outside their comfort zone. They have been brought into touch with new things. One activity included handing out flyers at the shopping mall, an area where they usually hang around in groups. This time they had to walk up to people on their own. At first they were a bit scared and stayed close together as a group. But eventually they started and overcame their inhibition. For them this was a huge step forward.

Another mentioned element in the increased self esteem was the appreciation and recognition they received for completing the programme and organising social activities in the neighbourhood. Several participating young people did not expect to complete the course with success. Receiving the certificate for participation in the programme was a gratifying experience of success.
Another element was the increasing sense of responsibility among participants. During the course several participants took on the responsibility to gather and prepare an activity and they informed each other about the content of a session when one of them was unable to attend.

The number of participants that completed the training but who were not involved in the activity stage of the project was relatively high (36 of 70 participants). The main reason for them to quit was that after the summer break the activities did not fit their schedule anymore. Their advice was to offer both elements in the same school year as an integrated programme. Other factors of importance were instable and problematic circumstances in the home and school environment which impeded some youth to continue their involvement. Noteworthy is that the vacancy this created was filled in

by new participants who wanted to join and to contribute to activities in their neighbourhood.

Socially involved role models
Young people that participated in the Young Leaders programme have gained awareness of the fact that they are an example for other youth, especially younger children in their surroundings. They started feeling responsible for the impact they have on other people and with the awareness came the desire to set a good example and spread a positive message. They put this into practice by fulfilling an active role in the neighbourhood. According to youth's reports and the professionals involved, this has functioned as a source of both self confidence and a sense of responsibility. The recognition they received as a role model plays a central part in that process. This is reflected in the words of a 19-year-old participant:

> We notice that we have really become a contact person in the neighbourhood. People come up to us. That's also because we are in the news and several papers are writing about us. We have become 'hood celebrities'. The other day one of the neighbours walked up to me to tell me about a group of youth who were causing trouble.
> Young people also ask us for help. They ask us to organising an activity or help them out when choosing a new school.

During the programme participating youth have come to realise that they can make a contribution to their neighbourhood. The awareness of the impact they can have on others, both positively and negatively, is an important motive for positive behaviour and making well-considered choices. Both young people and involved professionals indicated that the youth's social engagement and their enthusiasm to organise something for other people and be of importance to the community has been prompted and grown stronger. This element was also addressed in the continued coaching youth workers provided after the training programme had ended. Several participants continued volunteering in youth work facilities or other neighbourhood activities.

Young Leaders for a positive pedagogical neighbourhood environment
Now that a small-scale practical experiment with Young Leaders shows that the programme provides positive results, we would like to consider how this knowledge can contribute to the current system of youth policy in order to improve its effects on youth from disadvantaged neighbourhoods. We argue for wide use of pedagogical training programmes like Young Leaders as a structural element in the activities of youth facilities. This would also have implications for youth work education and in-service training, in order to

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prepare youth workers for a 'new' role as trainer and facilitator. Application of these programmes could improve their results not only through encouraging young people's talents but also through offering them a podium to inspire other youth around them and have an impact on their communities. This argument is supported by findings of Jönsson and Larneby (2018) describing a Swedish peer-to-peer programme developed in a youth work context in the municipality of Svedala in which young people organised activities for young refugees and other youth, evolving from a temporary project into an association run by a board of 'established' and refugee youth. They found similar effects for participating youth to those described in this paper, such as developed skills and increased awareness of strengths and capabilities, as well as the development of a sense of community. In Belgium and France, youth programmes that combine training for personal development and 'civic service' have shown similar results, although these studies focused on professional skills and employment (Kantar, 2013; PJS, 2014). Furthermore, a project addressing transitions of European youth demonstrated that young people combine both elements of personal aims, attributes and skills with collaborative techniques in their transition to adulthood and that they are deeply committed to contribute to their communities (Cuzzocrea & Collins, 2015).

These findings also call for continued involvement of youth workers and other coaches to support them in their involvement with the neighbourhood and the appeals that are made to them, particularly regarding complex issues beyond their influence. Further research into the effects of the programme should consider potential pit falls and opportunities for sustainable involvement of young leaders in the community and required coaching and support.

Although the initial participants of the Young Leaders programme have functioned as an inspiration for other youth to join their group, the size of this pilot has been too limited to address community effects such as improved social cohesion and experienced neighbourhood safety. It would be interesting to investigate these potential social effects when implementing the programme on a larger scale over a longer period of time. A connecting framework for initiatives like the Young Leaders programme that fits the current developments in the social field, is the concept of 'pedagogical neighbourhood programmes'. These programmes are based on the conviction that educating youth can only succeed as a communal pedagogical effort (De Winter, 2008). It takes a village to raise a child. It starts from the assumption that when a large part of the neighbourhood environment participates in their education, young people will run less social risks.

Such programmes might be an effective way to fill the pedagogical 'gap' in disadvantaged neighbourhoods from the bottom up. In practice most of these neighbourhood programmes focus on primary schools and establishing a relation with the environment outside the schools advances with difficulty (Horjus, Van Dijken & De Winter, 2012). A bottleneck with large implications is the fact that youth aged 12 years and older are usually not included in the programmes. The Young Leaders programme might serve as a troubleshooter, since it has proved effective in involving this age group. This might create opportunities to construct a solid pedagogical community among residents, including young people, who act with joint forces as a role model for 'their' youth and map out routes to a positive future.

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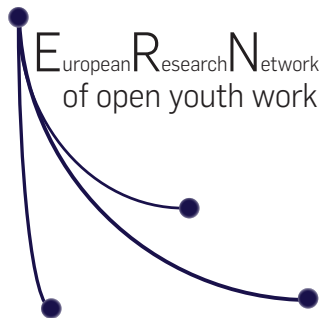
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