Youth and exclusion in disadvantaged urban areas: addressing the causes of violence
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Trends in Social Cohesion No 8

A report on violence and social exclusion in youth groups in disadvantaged urban areas examines the policies, processes and physical measures generated to overcome social exclusion with specific reference to new urban design processes, housing provision and urban prototypes.
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Youth and violence in disadvantaged urban areas


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STRUCTURE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This report on violence and social exclusion in youth groups in disadvantaged urban areas examines the policies, processes and physical measures generated to overcome social exclusion with specific reference to new urban design processes, housing provision and urban typologies.

The first chapter looks at regenerating social cohesion in disadvantaged urban areas and discusses the transition from welfare state to stakeholder society, from a UK perspective. It examines new socio-political and socio-economic structures devised to regenerate social cohesion in disadvantaged urban areas.

Chapter 2 places youth violence in its wider context and outlines the variables that need to be taken into account with reference to existing research and initiatives. It concludes with an outline of the substantive questions and issues to be addressed in tackling disengaged youth, and youth violence in disadvantaged urban areas.

Chapter 3 outlines a series of pan-European initiatives for the reintegration of youth, and for the over-hauling of criminal justice policies, with reference to the substantive issues.

Chapter 4 examines the emergence of a range pan-European urban typologies and holistic, community-led urban regeneration projects that offer templates for direct youth engagement, with reference to the substantive issues and Chapter 5 outlines next steps for the Council of Europe.
CHAPTER 1: BEYOND THE WELFARE STATE – A UK PERSPECTIVE ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL COHESION IN DISADVANTAGED URBAN AREAS

The UK’s difficult passage from welfare state to participatory democracy offers up some interesting and relevant lessons for policy measures aimed at rebuilding social cohesion in areas of high deprivation. During this ongoing socio-political transition, fundamentals such as social housing provision, healthcare, policing and even pension schemes required rethinking, with direct consequences on the physical and political constitution of British neighbourhoods and more generally, on their levels of sustainable social capital. Local government bodies became unable to maintain the deteriorating social housing stock for which they were responsible, and for which no sinking funds had ever been identified, during the course of the 1980s and 90s. The concentration of the urban poor in ever larger, crudely planned ‘council estates’ arose due to a lack of any other viable choice. As a consequence what has become recognisable as a generic series of actions was thereby set up. This would start with tenants transferring out of unpopular housing estates, wherever they could, thereby voiding the estate and contributing to dropping school ‘roles’ and falling GP\(^1\) client bases. As schools and GPs were financed in strict relation to their pupil or patient numbers, this would lead to funding cuts, and often to school closures and failing local surgeries. The estate, or indeed, whole areas would become stigmatised, effectively placing obstacles in the way of job-seekers.

Physical barriers also came to be closely associated with such areas of deprivation; a combination of rail infrastructures, urban trunk roads and abandoned parks effectively severing the area from the surrounding city. This isolation was often further heightened through under-provision of public transport facilities. These vulnerable areas were often further exacerbated through their designation as ‘sink estates’ and the invariable inward transfer of problem families. The social complex was sometimes further loaded through locating refugees in the area. Many disadvantaged areas were associated with such histories and with the familiar tale of structural failures in housing, health, education, crime control and employment. Where these estates were situated in areas of high unemployment, as was often the case, prospects of social integration receded yet further.

In the worst areas there was the dawning realisation that there had been a complete societal breakdown, and that people living in these areas had been ignored and failed by their government. At the same time high levels of policing had been provided to ensure civil order. The severity of the riots that exploded in Toxteth in Liverpool, or in Brixton, in London, during the early 1980s, though primarily a reflection of a total breakdown in race relations between the police and ethnic minorities, was also a consequence of the bottled-up rage of a much wider cross section of Britain’s young disadvantaged people. Lord Scarman’s report\(^2\), carried out in the aftermath of the Brixton Riots, called for improved relationships between the police and the community. It identified the need for improved inner city housing and the need to tackle unemployment. It was the first of many calls for a holistic response to inner urban problems.

Post welfare state regeneration

\(^1\) GP, General Medical Practitioner

\(^2\) LG Scarman Report: The disorders in Brixton, 1981
In the 1990s, and with a change of government, a raft of new regeneration initiatives was introduced. What particularises these initiatives, and lies at the heart of regeneration policies active in the UK to this day boils down to seven key factors:

- The projects are likely to be area-based and to work over considerable time scales (7-10 years);
- Cross sectoral and cross agency approaches are strongly encouraged;
- Particular targets and ‘outputs’ are required to be articulated and scheduled within delivery programmes;
- Outputs would relate to educational attainment, health, employment, etc as well as to physical environments;
- The project teams would consist local as well as professional partners covering a wide range of local knowledge and professional expertise;
- A multidisciplinary approach was required;
- A high level of community consultation was expected.

These regeneration methodologies are clear. Area-based initiatives would allow policy instruments to be focused on the particular dynamics of the site undergoing regeneration. Economic models would be similarly constructed, and the project would field useful data for future best practice.

In fact, so positive were the UK Government about this approach that the area-based, evidence-led model was adapted for use in education, health, and more recently, cultural development projects. Here the message is one of targeted, not blanket action, focusing regeneration thinking and the generation of new cross-sectoral, often community led or community focused approaches on failing or disadvantaged areas. Though the constitution of the lead partnership changed from project to project the combination of business and community or ‘user’ interests approximated a delivery strategy that reflected the emergence of the ‘prosumer’ approach as first described by political economist Alvin Toffler during the 1980s. Here, simply put, producers and consumers join forces to define the specification (and inter-alia the likely demand) for a forthcoming product.

Social housing

Area-based projects are driving many aspects of the change from welfare to stakeholder society. They may act in a stand-alone capacity or be part of a much larger, national programme. The first series of welfare to stakeholder changes, on a national scale, consisted of the stock transfer of social housing from the local authorities that once administered them, to housing associations or registered social landlords (RSLs). These housing transfers represent one of the biggest shake-ups in social housing since the first council homes were built. Large-scale voluntary transfers (LSVTs) as they are officially known, were introduced in 1988 but in fact transfers have only recently been taken up on a large scale.

*With this model social housing provision and its management effectively moves beyond the top-down control of local government and becomes, instead, an area for negotiation.*

Transfer can only take place if tenants of the homes involved vote in favour of the plan. As well as housing associations there are also trusts, co-operatives and companies that are registered as RSLs. The Waltham Forrest Housing Action Trust and Coin Street Co-op are...
two examples, both of which will be examined in more depth later in this paper. They are all run as non-profit-making businesses. Any surplus is ploughed back into the organisation to maintain existing homes and to help finance new ones.

The main incentive for transfer, for councils and tenants, is increased investment. There is an estimated repairs backlog of up to €30bn for council housing, which gives some idea of the low quality environments many tenants are currently living in. The public money available is unlikely to tackle this. Moreover, Britain's tough public spending rules mean councils can only very rarely borrow money against their assets, and then only through 'arms-length companies', slightly distanced from the local authority.

For all the large sums involved a non-corporate feature of housing associations is that, although the larger ones usually have paid staff, the board is made up of volunteers who have overall responsibility for the work of the organisation. A board might include tenants, representatives from local authorities and community groups, business people and politicians. There are more than 30,000 voluntary board members running over 2,000 housing associations in England, currently managing around 1.45 million homes and housing at least twice that many people. It is estimated that just under 3.0m homes remain in council control. At the rate of transfer now taking place, all council housing will have transferred within 14 years.

Health services

Vast, structural changes are also underway in the delivery of health services. After the controversy generated by the private finance initiative (PFI) for new hospitals, with their lengthy procurement routes, difficult contractual obligations and long pay-back periods the national health service (NHS) Local Improvement Finance Trust (LIFT) scheme is another attempt to involve the private sector in rebuilding primary care. Under the scheme NHS LIFT would own and lease new, or modernised, high street facilities, to replace the run down or negative equity GP surgeries of the inner cities. Long-term returns would be generated by the rent paid not just by GPs, but also by integrated community services such as social workers and non-medical retailers.

Procurement for health sector projects works at two levels - nationally and locally. Nationally, there is a registered company called Partnerships for Health (PfH), with the Secretary of State for Health and Partnerships UK (PUK) each 50% shareholders. The latter is itself a PPP\(^4\) that is 51% owned by the private sector and 49% by the Treasury and the Scottish Executive. The job of PfH is to provide financial and business advice to each local health community to help pull together their schemes. The PfH will put money into local LIFTs and, in return, will get a minority shareholding of about 15-20%. At the local level, each LIFT will be a registered company - a joint venture with a board of directors, including representatives of PfH, the local private investors and the NHS organisations. The local LIFTs will build, or revamp, and manage the centres. And local GPs will be able to take, or earn, an equity stake in the company.

At a community level the government has also prioritised the provision of ‘Healthy Living Centres’ (HLC’s), with capital being provided to successful applications, once again generated by local partnerships, through the New Opportunities Fund: One of the ‘Good Cause’ funds generated through the National Lottery. Funding will eventually be drawn

\(^4\) PPP – Public Private Partnership, a key aspect of new procurement and delivery systems in ‘Stakeholder Britain’
from ‘LIFT’ sources. These centres are attuned to the prevention rather than cure of health complaints, and have taken many different forms in reflecting the particular profiles of the areas represented. For many communities they are a resource, rather than an institutional outpost. They may provide classes on art as well as healthy eating and entertainment for children as well as target teen-age pregnancy and smoking. In effect the centres are more about ‘well-being’ than health, as it is recognised that well-being, and high levels of social capital counter conditions in which poor health can take root.

Crime prevention

There are also new measures being introduced to update the working practices and partnering arrangements to crime prevention underpinning new approaches to policing. The Police Reform Bill, 2002, falls within the strategic ambitions phrased by the recent white paper; ‘Policing a new century: a blueprint for reform’ (PN 312/2001, December 2001). These measures support police officers in fighting crime and, it is notable, anti-social behaviour. It includes proposals to tackle variations in detection rates between forces, give support staff some new powers to help police clamp-down on anti-social behaviour, and introduce an independent and transparent police complaints commission. The Bill recognises that management systems incorporated from the private sector, requiring constant evaluation, measurement and feedback, cut back officer’s effective time by as much as 40%, and has introduced much slimmer, local evaluatory systems. At a macro level, however, its introduction of the Police Standards Unit seeks to address variable performance across the police force.

Under the Bill the network of street wardens, neighbourhood wardens and security staff would be harnessed through accreditation schemes set up by chief officers at a local level to become accredited community safety officers. They would be co-ordinated by the police and would help to reassure the public that there is an additional presence in their neighbourhoods.

At a theoretical level there is still general agreement that crime prevention is the best means of fighting crime, as criminal justice agencies are increasingly failing to respond appropriately to crimes once they have occurred.

The traditional response to rising crime has been to devote more resources to law enforcement and to introduce tougher penalties in the hope of deterring offenders from committing further crimes. However, in recent years these so-called ‘offender-based’ strategies have become less prominent, as ‘get-tough’ policies involving harsher penalties failed to have the desired results. For these reasons, the focus in crime prevention research and policy has shifted from the actions and motives of offenders to the situation of victims and the reaction of the criminal justice agencies, with growing concern expressed about styles of policing.

For a crime to occur, both an opportunity and a motive is needed. It follows that if a crime is to be prevented, both the opportunity and the motive must be removed or addressed. There are various ways in which opportunities for committing crimes can be diminished:

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6 Ref. Unpublished work carried out by David Halpern for the Cabinet Office, 1998
• by altering buildings and streets to improve opportunities for surveillance and lessen the vulnerability of targets or victims, generally referred to as situational crime prevention;
• increasing citizens' concern over and involvement in crime prevention, and the neighbourhood in general community crime prevention;
• using the police to support the above.

Which approach is most relevant depends on the specific crime under consideration, as well as circumstances peculiar to the site where it occurs. Also, since crimes change, ways to prevent them must also adapt. Since 1965 all UK police forces have included a special crime prevention department, staffed by permanent officers.

In order to use limited resources most effectively, the nature and extent of the problem must first be established. A democratic and successful way of achieving this is to conduct a victimisation survey. Since police statistics are notoriously unreliable as indicators of crime, victimisation surveys that elicit information from the victims on their actual experiences as well as their attitudes and concerns about crime have provided a broader, and arguably more accurate, source of information of the extent and nature of crimes in a particular area or society.7

Most governments maintain a mechanism to record developments in criminal activity. However, as noted in the UN’s ‘Global Report on Crime and Justice’, "a country's open announcement in the international arena of the extent of its crime problem and its processing of offenders through the justice system is a major political event". The validity of data and the impression that it makes are often of great importance to governments at the national and international levels. National statistics on crime are, therefore, often criticised for reflecting not trends in crime per se, but the activities of the agencies that record statistics on crime. As a result, official statistics on crime tend to under-report true crime figures, leaving gaps, particularly with regard to types of crime that are not conventional. This may have a particular bearing on juvenile crime statistics, considering particular cultural contexts and their relation to concepts surrounding the status and tolerable behaviour of young people. In response to these concerns, many criminologists and government agencies have conducted self-report surveys and victimisation surveys, claiming that these methods give a more accurate picture of criminal activity. While the debate continues as to the merits of the various methods, a consensus has emerged that conclusions on the state of crime should be based on a set of indicators that can supplement each other.8

An important finding of such surveys has been that a relatively small number of victims experience a disproportionate amount of victimisation. This finding has important implications for developing crime prevention strategies, for if one recognises that victimisation is concentrated among certain sections of the population, who tend to be victimised repeatedly, and that the best predictor of future victimisation is past victimisation, it becomes possible to pre-empt possible forms of victimisation. Intervention can be thus be constructed to protect victims and reduce vulnerability. Although new, this approach promises to make an important contribution to the formulation of effective crime

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7 In this way, such surveys provide the basis for a democratic discussion about the significance of different forms of crime, and by implication the allocation and distribution of resources. This view is supported by the Sixth United Nations Survey on Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems (1995 - 1997) carried out by the United Nation's Office for Drugs and Crime.

8 For example, the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations, recently published a report containing profiles of countries in Europe and North America. (Kangaspunta/HEUNI, 1999). The report combines police figures with victim survey results, as well as other data sources such as those of the World Health Organisation.
prevention measures, for it provides an answer to the difficult question of how to target the most vulnerable victims and gives a basis for intervention which is potentially both effective and objective. Intelligence-led policing, drawing on local knowledge made available through new community partnership agencies, such as Housing Action Trusts or New Deal for Communities regeneration projects, has also shown great promise.

But the police are not solely responsible for preventing crime, since many of the conditions affecting the incidence of crime lie outside their control. Planning a crime prevention strategy involves a multi-pronged approach, ranging from crime analysis to programme development and implementation, and the evaluation of both impact and process.

In Britain a decision-making tool to aid law enforcers and facilitate a more co-ordinated and systematic approach to crime prevention activities has emerged in the form of a procedure involving the following steps:

- A thorough analysis of the situation in which the offence occurs to establish the conditions, opportunities, motivations and legislation that need to be met for the offence to be committed;
- The identification of measures which make it more difficult or impossible to fulfil these conditions;
- An assessment of the practicability, likely efficacy and costs of each of these measures;
- Selection of the most promising measures.

Crime prevention strategies can be crudely categorised as short-, medium- and long-term measures. In the short term, situational crime prevention programmes where the immediate physical environment is restructured in order to reduce the opportunity for crime have shown some ability to reduce property crime. These programmes do not rely on long-term social improvements, but rather on reducing opportunities for crime within a specific area. These measures which include target hardening, deflecting offenders, employee surveillance, target removal, removing inducements, access control, formal surveillance (such as cameras), natural surveillance, identifying property and rule setting can be easily integrated into the design of an urban environment, thus making situational crime prevention most effective in relation to property crimes against businesses and communities. However, the cost of protecting property can approach the cost of losing it or diminish its value by restricting its use, for the preventive measure may be ugly or socially unacceptable.

Medium-term measures for preventing crime include the formation of policing partnerships, as well as encouraging community and individual responsibility. Recognising that while the police and government should play a leading role in crime prevention, and that they cannot control or prevent crime by acting alone, these initiatives encourage the active co-operation of individuals, groups, and private, public and community sectors. It is here that the partnering approach is most clearly detectable. Since crime prevention is no longer the monopoly of a particular agency, programmes are implemented under the auspices of a wide range of agencies, including law enforcement, education, welfare, employment and training, transport, telecommunications and grass-roots community groups.

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10 Gladstone, Co-ordinating crime prevention efforts, p 8
Crime prevention is generally understood to be a long-term project as it involves addressing the causes of crime, thus eliminating motive from the equation. In the long-term, crime prevention proposals must confront the uneven development factors that underlie the correlation between inequality and crime. To this end, crime prevention planners with long term perspectives need comprehensive employment policies to cope with the dangerous consequences of structural unemployment as well as underemployment, which incorporates extremely low-waged work, occasional work, and no work at all. Clearly, job programmes that expand and upgrade the labour force, producing adequate housing, health care services, educational programmes and so on, have special relevance for crime prevention.

*New Deal for Communities*

The New Deal for Communities (NDC) projects are tackling multiple deprivation in the very poorest neighbourhoods and confronting social exclusion on a daily basis. The NDC projects target issues holistically. The problems of each area will be unique but partnerships must tackle five key issues: high levels of crime; educational underachievement; poor health; and problems with housing and the physical environment. The desire is to see outcomes that will bring real benefit to people living in the most deprived neighbourhoods.

NDC boards are constructed to favour local, tenant representation, but will also include local councillors, agency representatives, etc. The board will often be subdivided into panels tasked, for instance, with steering health projects, or community employment initiatives. Board approval is required before any particular project can proceed. NDC projects ensure that there are extremely high levels of community consultation to ensure equally high levels of ‘ownership’ of the whole process of change. On top of these goals, NDCs also have to ‘bend service delivery programmes’ to form the basis of future savings through savings of scale and ‘additionality’, that is, more effective action based on cross sectoral work. The government funding, typically around €75m. per project, is seen as ‘seed funding’ around which further private and public sector funding can accrue. Where stock transfer of social housing is to take place, the regeneration resources can grow considerably.

Another New Deal project is the New Deal for Employment. The Environment Task Force (ETF) is one of four options open to young people as part of the government’s New Deal (for 18 to 24 year olds). It promises to play an important part in getting young people off welfare and into jobs by equipping them with transferable skills and at the same time delivering environmental and community benefits.

*Regional Development Agencies*

A regional strategy complimentary to the Neighbourhood Renewal programme was the establishment of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) in eight English regions on 1 April 1999. The ninth, in London, was established on 3 July 2000 following the launch of the Greater London Authority (GLA). The RDAs aim to co-ordinate regional economic development and regeneration, enable the English regions to improve their relative competitiveness and reduce the imbalances that exists within and between regions.
Regional Development Agencies have the following statutory purposes, as defined by the ODPM:

- the pursuit of economic development and regeneration;
- the promotion of business efficiency, investment and competitiveness;
- the promotion of employment;
- the enhancement, development and application of skills relevant to employment;
- the promotion of sustainable development.

The specific functions of Regional Development Agencies are:

- the formulation of a regional strategy in relation to their purposes;
- regional regeneration;
- taking forward the government’s competitiveness agenda in the regions;
- taking the lead on regional inward investment;
- developing a regional Skills Action Plan to meet the needs of the labour market.

Clearly the ethos of all these policy measures and projects is about partnerships of all kinds, about establishing bottom up systems of representation, or, as some describe it, ‘participatory democracies’. It is about ‘joined up thinking’ and additionality. Agencies are charged with the mission of coming together, sharing knowledge and establishing joint or shared protocols and responsibilities for effective and efficient engagement in an increasingly complex world. Policy measures are seen not so much as hard and fast instruments as flexible tools, able to be tested and refined by trial. The welfare state has given way to a stakeholder society in which each has a positive role and a set of responsibilities. The ‘silo culture’ of local governance is being replaced with cabinet structures to promote cross-departmental thinking, in some cases reducing dozens of council departments down to a handful of core service delivery and strategic teams. Last but not least, the rhetoric of open governance, transparency and accountability attaches to everything from government departments to local regeneration boards. Politics is again to be seen as a tool of and for the people.
CHAPTER 2 UNDERSTANDING THE CONDITION – SPECIFIC VARIABLES

Since the Second World War it is self-evident that there have been huge changes in world economies, in job markets, in society at large and in the value systems it operates by. It is, nevertheless, essential to consider some of these shifts and changes, in a little more depth, if we are properly to understand the current condition of youth in urban areas at the beginning of the third millennium.

Although armed conflict between nation states has receded as a threat in the developed world, with notable and regrettable exceptions, nation states have not been spared of the physical, social and economic impacts of corporate capitalism. Technological and organisational innovation have given rise to global enterprises whose annual turnover dwarf the GDP of many smaller nations, enabling them to cross national boundaries to buy out and close down spare or competitive capacity. National governments and domestic corporations have been powerless to intervene and have followed suit, acquiescing in the shedding of labour and the closure of redundant plant.

Though world trade has increased dramatically over the past half century, the effects are deeply asymmetrical. In fact the physical and social consequences of global capitalism have been, in particular locations, as violent as if war had taken place. Areas of older industrialised cities have been laid waste, economic capacity destroyed and local populations traumatised.

The speed of change is dramatic. The full unfurling of the forces at play has still some way to go. The new economy of short-term contracts and flexibility has changed the relationships between the employer and the employee. Mutuality whether in terms of loyalty or responsibility are replaced by uncertainly and short term contracts. This profoundly changes attitudes and relationships not only in the work place - where trades unions and apprenticeships are in decline, but also within the individual and his/her family. Households acquiesce in being moved, giving up their local networks in order to maintain employment without any guarantee of long-term commitment. In place of employment for life, portfolio employment patterns are emerging with major career changes along the way. It is highly disorientating and those that survive have little by way of advice to offer the next generation.

It is hardly surprising that such geo-political shifts have had a huge impact on disadvantaged groups, and, as a consequence, on youth themselves. This chapter outlines critical changes in youth culture, the effect of macro economics, the effects of shrinking social networks and social institutions, and the relationships between processes of exclusion and instances of violence.

The fabrication of youth culture

In “Hiding in the Light” Hebdige asserts that “…in our society, youth is present only when its presence is a problem, or is regarded as a problem”. In fact the whole category of ‘youth’ as articulated in the ethnographic research of Robert Park and his colleagues at the University of Chicago in the late 1920s, identified youth with trouble: “The high incidence of juvenile crime in inner city areas and the significance of group bonding in distinctive
juvenile gangs” was explained through the metaphors of “social pathology, urban disequilibrium, the breakdown of the organic balance of city life”. This tradition is largely responsible for establishing the equation, by now familiar in the sociology of youth, between adolescence as a social and psychological problem of particular intensity and the juvenile offender as the “victim of material, cultural, or moral deprivation”12.

So far as recent social history is concerned, the condition of youth and the specific transition from childhood to adulthood remained ‘concealed’ within the militaristic regimes that pervaded Europe for the first half of the 20th century. Thus it was only on the demise of militarism in Europe that young people were given the opportunity of ‘free’ expression, and then, in a highly industrialised world where they were brought into contact with marketing and media forces on a scale that had never before existed. In the absence of accepted rituals contemporary rights of passage were about to be rewritten. By the late 1950s the ‘teenager’ had truly arrived, whilst conscription, in most European countries, was fast disappearing. The unruly and rebellious nature of the teenage condition, something that was considered inherent, was celebrated in cult ‘movies’ like Marlon Brando’s “The Wild One” and James Dean’s “Rebel Without A Cause”, or in novels like Jack Kerouac’s “On The Road”, or Alan Sillitoe’s “Saturday Night and Sunday Morning”, later themselves translated into film. As with the protest songs of the 1960s, or still further, with rock & roll these forms of mass media dealt with a highly symbolic yet nevertheless deeply felt rejection of the values and life styles associated with capitalism.

Until recently the counter culture position of students and student bodies marked a high visibility area where capitalist values could be taunted, or rejected. The May 1968 riots in Paris (and elsewhere in Europe) marked the culmination of such rejection, and of students as a politicised and often angry group. Over the past three decades student militancy has given way to early adoption of consumer life styles, in turn accelerating the presence of branding, marketing and advertising in areas closely associated with personal identity. The penetration of marketed models – say, for instance, rap music in the UK and northern Europe, which refers not just to the consumption of music but to the acquisition of ‘attitude’, is sharper and harder than at any previous time. Marshal MacLuhan noted the inherent conflict between media figures and the authority of the family many years ago13. The intensity of this conflict has, if anything increased. According to European-wide consultation, only around 15% of youths aged between 18 and 25 consider political parties and religion to be very important versus around 44% for television. The depoliticisation of youth is a measurable long-term trend.

On top of the artificial pressures brought to bear on young people through marketing, media and branding, which we shall return to in a moment, it is clear that today’s youth are also exposed to high levels of ‘churn’14. It is highly possible that this mitigates against the establishment of clear value systems and exposes young people to situations that they are emotionally ill-equipped to deal with. In highly deprived areas few adults are in a position to act as role models or mentors. Their own exclusion through lack of education or employment all too often precludes effective action and puts near intolerable pressures on youth workers, who have to approximate this role. The loss of respect for symbols and actuaries of authority is a natural corollary of disaffection. In areas of high deprivation this lack of respect can be seen to spread beyond the family (of whatever constitution) towards teachers, policemen, political figures, and, in effect, most paternalistic systems. The only

12 Robert Park, On Youth and Social Pathology
13 Understanding Media; the extensions of man. (Ch. The Medium is the Massage) - Marshall MacLuhan – McGraw-Hill, 1964
14 Societal change and change in value systems
figures for whom disaffected young males, in particular, have any time appear to be either members of premier league football teams or members of hip hop or heavy metal bands. If political figures are unable to enter into discourse with youth, then it is possible that the needs and desires of young people will remain invisible. As youth are ‘without power’ and appear indifferent to party politics, they cut themselves off from formal systems of representation. Could this ‘self exclusion’ partly explain the prevalence of youth violence?

A measure of disregard for authority, and of reckless violence, is indicated in the following table. It plots cautions and convictions for 10 – 17 year-olds in England and Wales for crimes against the person and criminal damage, two areas strongly associated with delinquent behaviour.

**Table 1a: Police cautions as percentage of all those cautioned and convicted: 2000**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>% Violence against the person</th>
<th>% Criminal Damage</th>
<th>indictable offences thousands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England and Wales</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorkshire and the Humber</td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Midlands</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Midlands</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>South East</td>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>14.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td></td>
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<td>England</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<td>105.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>7.3</td>
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</table>

Source: UK Home Office, 2000. Table adapted by authors

It is generally considered that there is a close relationship between areas of high unemployment and local crime rates. The table below plots full-time employment percentages and percentages for structural unemployment (as a proportion of all unemployed) for the same regions as the juvenile crime statistics shown above. However, the correlation is not very high. Positionally the closest matches are SW/-7, NE/-6 and Yorkshire/-1. However, the lowest positional correlations; SE/-7, NE/-6 and London/-4, attach to those areas typified by high levels of structural unemployment. For instance, long-term unemployment stands at 35.33% in the North East, the highest ratio by far for all the regions. Yet this area has the second lowest indictment rates for juvenile crime at 8,600. The South East on the other hand suffers a high rate of juvenile crime (26,050) yet records the lowest level of structural unemployment (26.05%). It appears another model is needed to explain the intricacies of ‘social pathology’.

**Table 1b: Full time employment versus structural unemployment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area / Region</th>
<th>% Full-time employed</th>
<th>% Long-term unemployed (of unemployed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NORTH EAST</td>
<td>57.37</td>
<td>35.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH WEST</td>
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<td>31.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YORKSHIRE AND THE HUMBER</td>
<td>58.77</td>
<td>31.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST MIDLANDS</td>
<td>41.06</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST MIDLANDS</td>
<td>40.31</td>
<td>31.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST</td>
<td>42.61</td>
<td>27.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the EU15, the UK has by far the largest problem with juvenile crime. The figures are broadly comparable with those of the Russian Federation, where scale and social problems are of another level. Within the EU15 the UK is followed by Germany (at roughly half the rate of convictions, although the gap is closing) and then by Finland (at roughly 7% of UK figures). French figures were not available from this UN project.

Table 2 Juvenile crime rates – Europe and beyond

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<td>706</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>1184</td>
<td>1184</td>
<td>1162</td>
<td>745</td>
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<tr>
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<td>653</td>
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<td>1622</td>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>1571</td>
<td>1445</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>6078</td>
<td>5541</td>
<td>9783</td>
<td>10377</td>
<td>11802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England &amp; Wales</td>
<td>10583</td>
<td>10582</td>
<td>10712</td>
<td>116486</td>
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<td>120574</td>
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<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
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<td>1068</td>
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<td>3654</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
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<td>8642</td>
<td>8202</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>1881</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>1342</td>
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<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
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<td>63903</td>
<td>76018</td>
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<td>9967</td>
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<td>Greece</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>8900</td>
<td>9364</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
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<td>7609</td>
<td>7447</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>4349</td>
<td>3984</td>
<td>4023</td>
<td>20181</td>
<td>20525</td>
<td>19784</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


However, these trends are not replicated amongst statistics for adult crime convictions. Indeed, the second highest level of juvenile crime recorded amongst EU15 for Germany, slips to fifth position with 65 people per 1,000 of population for adults convicted and imprisoned. This is at just above half the level of adult imprisonment in Spain, which stands at 111/1000. Yet according to UN figures, Spain has the second lowest level of juvenile offenders within EU15. The point to be drawn from this is that, whatever correlations may exist within one European state, or region of a country, it should not be assumed that a similar set of conditions apply to an otherwise highly comparable state or region, or even to a direct subset of the social phenomenon observed, so far, at least, as youth are concerned. This suggests that trends in youth culture may reflect systems other than their own national trends. It would not be unreasonable, given the low levels of political and religious participation noted for the average European youth, to seek this within more global cultures.

**Branded youth culture**
The consolidation of corporate power in the global economic system that emerged after the collapse of the USSR has led, amongst other things, to the domination of media and information systems by an ever-shrinking number of multi-national media corporations. Time Warner, Disney, TCI, Bertelsmann, General Electric, Viacom, and Rupert Murdoch dominate global media in a manner that would have been unthinkable only ten years ago. One aspect of this has been the emergence, over the last seven years, of an apparently borderless youth culture. In her evaluation of youth culture Naomi Klein[15] cites the ‘New World Teen Study’, which revealed that the single most significant factor contributing to the shared taste of the middle-class teenagers it surveyed was TV—in particular MTV, which 85% of the sample group watched every day.

“By identifying with deeply cherished parts of a ‘manufactured’ culture, corporate brands approximate a transcendent quality. A transformation has taken place from advertising agencies and media companies as marketers of products to ‘meaning brokers’. They no longer just sell goods, but a way of life. It is a way of life that knows no barriers.”

The astronomical growth in the wealth and cultural influence of multi-national corporations over the last fifteen years can arguably be traced back to a single, seemingly innocuous idea developed by management theorists in the mid-1980s: that successful corporations must primarily produce brands, as opposed to products. According to the 1998 United Nations Human Development Report, the growth in global advertising spending outpaced the growth of the world economy by one-third. Given the weak bonds to infra-national behaviours for youth, and the low opinion they have generally expressed for political parties and religion it is difficult to imagine what values youth might be anchored by in the onslaught of advertising imagery, families aside. In some cases even this refuge disappears, and parents promote and support consumption, often as a consolation for time not spent with the family. In essence what we see here is the transition of an emotional contract towards materialistic exchange, of devotion towards ritualised consumption, and brands as a mediator of human relationships.

Sometimes this is at the cost of a real freedom of choice, or, in some circumstances, of personal safety and health. The non-governmental organisations from all over Europe that make up ‘Eurocare’ are intent on reducing Europe’s growing ‘binge’ mentality. Worries have grown as new patterns of consumption have emerged in a youth culture that transcends national boundaries, in this case, towards a more hedonistic attitude to drinking and, with it, a growing belief that the issue is one of global dimensions requiring global solutions. Current trends in alcohol consumption cannot be considered separately from developments in regard to illegal drugs and the emergence of what have been termed the ‘recreational drug wars’.

Where youth markets are targeted in a manner that stigmatises behaviour, and product placement uses, as a technique, traits that are assumed to pertain to that whole set known as ‘youth’ the branding market actually seeks to confirm and reaffirm illegal and sometimes dangerous behaviour.

In leaguing drug use across UK districts, for instance, it can be seen that the rates do not co-vary highly with either juvenile crime rate or structural unemployment mappings. Again this points us away from easy assumptions of conditions and regions succumbing to

[16] Op Cit
social pathology through high levels of deprivation alone. The variables and their interaction appear, in fact, to be far subtler, and work at much more local levels.

This suggests another form of policy intervention not only operating at a finer geographical scale, but seeking to apply corrective measures before real damage is done. This latter type of intervention, which can broadly be understood in ‘process’ terms, is commonly used in youth engagement projects. For instance, recent findings have tied truancy or exclusion from school to high rates of juvenile crime. Policies have been tuned to address this through ensuring better educational liaison (via social workers), stricter controls on expulsions, and legal measures around the parental responsibility of ensuring attendance at school.

The consumption of branded lifestyles

An ESRC-funded study carried out in three English cities – Newcastle, Leeds and Bristol by the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, has investigated the interplay between alcohol consumption, lifestyle branding and the urban environment. The study examined the changing identities and experiences of young people and in particular focused on the dramatic and forceful transformations of urban experiences over the past three decades. This has been characterised by a shift from the inner-city decay, crime and dereliction of the 1970s and 1980s, to more vibrant, yet still problematic, centres to live, work and be entertained at the turn of the century. The study points out that the ‘teenage condition’ or mentality has been significantly extended in many western countries due to disaffection or exclusion from the labour market, increased participation rates in further and higher education, lower marriage rates and greater dependency on the family household. This extended adolescence has fuelled an array of youthful consumption lifestyles and identities beyond those traditionally identified as youth. At an urban level, a distinctive part of this ‘return to the centre’ involves the promotion of the cultural economy, in which city centres have become leisure and entertainment hubs. Within this, it is now accepted that commercial nightlife activity is an important economic sector in its own right.

The report warns that while one might initially be quick to applaud the development of urban nightlife, especially as a tool for regeneration, crucial elements concerning cities and young people are being overlooked. In particular, promoters of urban nightlife say very little about who owns the night-time economy or that corporate ‘merchants of leisure’ are dominating and transforming city centre nightlife at the expense of smaller, local independent operators. This has a number of implications for individuality, identity, creativity and locally embedded economic development.

Where global markets are usually considered in terms of a kind of socio-economic hegemony, research carried out by Caspar Melville, a lecturer in Media and Communications at Goldsmiths College, London, points out that another effect is the production of cross-cultural hybrids. In the black townships around Johannesburg, South Africa, he identified the emergence of a new music culture among the youth. These youth punctured and deflated the over-simplified analysis often surrounding Afro-diasporic music. The classic model whereby paths are traced from African origin—the music’s ‘authentic roots’ — through to its re-articulation (‘whitening’) or commodification in the

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17 Economic and Social Research Council
18 Study carried out by Dr Paul Chatterton, Dr Robert Hollands and Ms Meg Aubrey of the Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, Department of Sociology and Social Policy, between July 2000 and July 2001
modern western metropolis, falls apart in places like these townships. “There youth adopt music with Afro-diasporic roots (house music, for instance, which was born in the black-latino urban gay clubs of the U.S.) but routed through the cities of northern Europe. For these young people, it represents a highly valued link to the west—much as their heavily logoed jeans and baseball caps function as status symbols. But is their rejection of Afro-jazz for Euro-house a subtle form of reverse appropriation?”

Instead of delivering easy answers, these music scenes raise critical questions that pertain to many other issues: is globalisation a sign of the world’s unification or cultural imperialism? Is youth culture just another example of one-way globalisation—vinyl singles being exported from the First World to the Third along with Coca-Cola, designer jeans and other markers of conspicuous consumption, in the endless cycle of seduction and exploitation? Or is this the story of creative adaptation—youth as cultural bricoleur, mixing and matching various symbols to create their own, autonomous subculture? We can never know for sure, but in Western Europe, consumer lifestyles apparently leave less time for engagement in creative endeavour. As pointed out by a recent Eurobarometer report: “It must be underlined that (in Europe) there is a high proportion of people not having acted (94%), not having played a musical instrument (86.8%), not having practiced activities such as sculpture, painting, drawing, etc. (83.5%) or not having written (83.3%)”.

If these generic trends suggest anything it is the correlation that seems to exists between high levels of consumer spending and low levels of individual creativity. This, however, can only be regarded as broad conjecture, as no surveys have been carried out to adequately assess this, so far as the authors are aware.

The shifting socio-economic context

The shrinking job market brought about by increased efficiencies in production and the global dynamics of cheap labour has had a heavy impact on areas that previously depended on manual, industrial skills. Across Europe dockers, miners and production line workers found themselves not only without a job, but also without a trade, and in a very short space of time. In such areas men who had relied on a particular trade for their livelihood rapidly became surplus to market requirements whilst women often proved more flexible and more willing to learn the new skills of the service sector employment that so often replaced the industrial job market.

The failure of European economies to provide adequate levels of employment for the potential labour force presents a critical policy problem. It represents a major loss of output that—if avoided—could significantly raise domestic standards of living or provide resources for other purposes, such as international development aid. It also exacerbates fiscal pressures on account of lost tax revenue, transfer payments to the unemployed, and high rates of taxation for employed persons to finance transfers to the jobless, which contribute to distorting incentives. And it is a major source of inequality, both in current income and in opportunities for human development, which in turn threatens social cohesion.


Eurobarometer survey on Europeans’ participation in cultural activities, April, 2002
While work has been harder to come by for those without education or training, leisure has now become an expensive commodity. The city street is no longer considered safe, nor, from another perspective, appropriate for youth. But those that do not have access to money have, literally, nowhere else to go. Fuelled by media hyperbole parents fear for their children, and try to prevent them from going, unsupervised, out into the city thus further voiding underused public spaces, and preventing the self-policing and confidence that busy streets can provide. Those that populate residential enclaves at night are often stigmatised as hooligans or members of an underclass.

In heavily deprived areas it is clear that there has been an abandonment of education. The pointlessness of schooling in a world unable to provide employment, as it appeared to many marginalised communities, was a recurring theme. Such perceptions further cut off disadvantaged youth from the possibility of entering the job market.

The erosion of social networks

There has been a very rapid decline in the number of quasi-military or faith based organisations that once instructed children and youth. Such groups essentially provided another layer of control and a mechanism for producing disciplined youth, as well as a series of overlapping social networks. This decline has been matched by a loss of faith in social services and an ongoing decline in the relevance of religion to many young people in an ever more secular society. All of this reflects the fact that the ‘hidden agenda of schools’ – to prepare for economic activity in an repetitive, predictable, cyclical, industrial era, which boiled down to learning obedience, punctuality, submission, authority, selflessness – is now beginning to be out of step with the requirements of new western economies, where independent and self motivated thinking, and ‘attitude’ is important, and often highly desirable. The social infrastructures and educational strategies applied to youth and the young sometimes appear out of step with economic requirements and the dynamics of newly emerging job markets.

Though schools may have to change the ways they teach they can and do still act as one of the few remaining institutional mechanisms for building and maintaining social networks over a number of years. Though this in itself is positive, it has the effect of greatly burdened school staff who in some cases can spend up to 50% of their time in discussing or resolving social issues. This well spent time is, sadly, not yet properly reflected in the (Offsted) systems used to monitor and league school’s performances.

Table 3 Teenage births, income inequality and school drop-out, 1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Teenage birth rates</th>
<th>Income inequality index</th>
<th>% 15-19 years olds not in education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>6.6</td>
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<td>Denmark</td>
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<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Teenage Birth Rate</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Norway</td>
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<td>Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>34.4</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Countries are ranked in ascending order of teenage birth rate. Income inequality index calculated as per Gini Coefficient.


Schools also play an important role in building social cohesion among their pupils and their immediate families. Where young adults are excluded from school, a very powerful medium of socialisation is lost, often with dramatic consequences for the ex-pupil. As Table 3 shows, there is a fairly strong correlation between incidences of teenage pregnancy, and rates of school exclusion. This tails off where countries with inherently strong family values are concerned, for instance, Greece and Spain. Table 3 also plots the income inequality index for each country. Where school exclusion rates and the income inequality index are both high (in the shaded areas of the table), the rate of teenage birth is also high, without variation. This is the position with respect to the United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and Hungary, which at 29.8, 30.8 and 52.1% consecutively are all well above the EU15 average for teenage birth rates (approximately 12%). The highest EU15 figure for teenage pregnancies is just over 21% for Portugal. At a wider scale there is an interest in ensuring continuity of education within particular urban districts for all age groups.

**Curriculum change and social cohesion in conflict-affected societies**

At a wider scale still, there is a growing awareness among international educationists of the multiple ways in which school education relates to social cohesion. This is most clearly addressed in debates about the dialectical relationship between schooling and violent conflict. A better understanding of the multifaceted articulations between education and violent conflict are also increasingly informing educational policy and development. Such understanding appears crucial to curriculum renewal that is at the heart of educational reform in all societies.
UNESCO research underscores the importance curricular content has for the development of social cohesion in general, and for a grounded understanding of the moral and ethical issues surrounding the practice of good citizenship. At a time when violent criminal activity by youth is on the increase across Europe as a whole, and a certain blindness has developed, in young people, around an appreciation of acceptable behaviour, such a programme could have a critical contribution to make. At the same time there is the fast dawning realisation that schools need to do more to retain the children and young people most at risk of dropping out of school and adopting anti-social or criminal patterns of behaviour. To this extent it is not uncommon to see senior political posts created to focus on these problems, for instance Ministers of State for Children or Young People in England and Wales, and Scotland. 32

**Exclusion and violence**

Family life is the foundation on which our communities and our societies are built yet across Europe there are increasingly divergent ideas of what actually constitutes family. At the same time there is now widespread acceptance of different forms of family life: cohabitation, lone parenthood, same sex partnerships as well as heterosexual marriage. The total adult population in Europe is steadily rising whilst the total number of single and divorced people is increasing by around 30% per decade. In comparison, the married population fell by 10% over the same period. As a result of this trend, it is quite possible that married people will become a minority of the adult population within the next 10 years. For the UK, this will come sooner, and indeed, may already have arrived. This heralds a new era where support for children and young people is critical.

The rapid structural changes in family life have been caused by a number of factors, some positive and some negative. These include the declining influence of the church and traditional religion, increasing individualism, changing attitudes to marriage and its commitment, the consequences (often unintended) of divorce reforms, the wide availability of reliable contraception and abortion, the liberalisation of sexual and moral values and attitudes, changes in the roles of women, economic trends in female and male employment, increased mobility and the disintegration of community life. However, irrespective of the changes family structures are undergoing, adequate parenting has been in decline over the past decade, often leading to a withering of family support for its younger members. Lack of parental authority, a typical measure of inadequate parenting, can be attributed as much to parental absence brought about by the pressures of work in double income families as to the inability of those families living on the margins to provide ‘respectable’ role models or forms of mentoring. As the cost of living escalates in Europe’s western cities, the pressures of required double income, longer travel to work for poorer families, childcare costs where nursery provision is absent and the pressures on lone parents is often reflected in parental exhaustion.

Another indicator of family stress is the particular dynamics of a member country’s economy and their relative rates of contribution to social care (Table 4). As might be expected, the northern European countries contribute the highest proportion of their GDP to social care, and of this, the highest rate of contribution to family and child care (Sweden and Denmark are the highest). The southern countries contribute the least (Portugal, Greece and Spain, all at roughly half the rate of the northern countries). But the southern countries still retain stronger family structures than those of western Europe, and, arguably, a more active set of faith groups, providing traditional methods of support. It is those
countries which are starved of both traditional and state care that are likely to see family structures erode, and they are concentrated in western Europe.

As can be seen from Table 4 below, most of the EU15 countries prioritise family and children above unemployment benefit, the Netherlands and Spain being the two exceptions. Most of the EU15 expend the largest proportion of their social benefits package on old age survivors, Ireland being the only exception.

Table 4: Percentage UDP expended on social care and how distributed in EU15 countries between 1996 and 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EU 15</th>
<th>Expenditure per capita EU15=100</th>
<th>Per Capita % growth 1995-2000</th>
<th>Distribution of social benefits in 2000 by group of functions (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>28.6</td>
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<td>Denmark</td>
<td>126</td>
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<td>12.9</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source, Eurostat. E&OE. Table adapted by the authors.

Family friendly policies

Family-friendly policies are defined as those employment-oriented social policies that facilitate the reconciliation of work and family life by fostering adequacy of family resources and child development, increasing optimal allocation of labour market resources, and promoting gender equality in employment opportunities. Three main policy objectives seem to dominate the family-friendly policy debates, these are to:

• Promote independence and self-reliance;
• Ensure adequacy of resources available to families with young children;
• Enhance policy coherence in implementation of family-friendly policies among institutional actors.

But many questions of a high relevance to youth opportunities and behaviour remain to be considered. Do existing policy measures (fiscal measures, cash and in-kind benefits) provide families with adequate support which fosters child-development? How can programme design and financial incentives for a cost-effective administration improve the delivery of benefits to families by the various institutional actors: different government agencies, social partners, and private sector organisations? Do existing policies stimulate labour market participation of parents while fostering gender equality in employment
opportunities? How do existing policy measures alter incentives to work, affect labour market outcomes and the distribution of hours worked among parents in families with young children? What levels of parental care are permitted for older children? When does a family become an ‘uneconomic’ form of child-care?

Though these questions remain, the focusing of policy at the family level is one of the few ways national governments can steer social cohesion at this level. A properly resourced family is likely to inhibit violent behaviour from its younger members, and to instil sound value systems. These invisible benefits must also form part of the calculations, though as yet, there is insufficient information to properly inform decisions.

Yet it is clear that EU governments are offering greater support for families generally. Over the period 1995-2000, per capita social protection expenditure increased in real terms in nearly all member States. The sharpest rises were in Greece (+42.6% between 1995 and 2000), followed by Portugal (+27.1%) and Ireland (+21.4%).

Though family-friendly policies offer an avenue for the consolidation of family life as an economic entity, it is difficult to see how they could rebuild community life. They avoid, for example, the effect of to-day's communication and entertainment technologies in the shape of satellite TV, video, CD Rom, the home computer, et al, which confers a level of independence, rather than interdependence on families, with consequential disaggregation at a social level. This amongst other things, has led to a breakdown in trust and ‘social capital’, damaging a neighbourhood’s ability to tackle problems effectively. In disadvantaged areas, particularly where industrial jobs have been wiped out and male unemployment is high, cases of domestic violence have risen, sometimes quite sharply. Though not part of this background paper, we have to recognise that domestic violence does impact on youths through displacing them from their homes or introducing them to bad models of behaviour early in their lives.

**British crime study**

People’s perceptions of their local neighbourhood gives an indication of the strength of community spirit and neighbourliness. Since 1984 the British Crime Survey conducted by the Home Office has asked adults in England and Wales the following question: “In general, what kind of neighbourhood would you say you live in? Would you say it is a neighbourhood in which people do things together and try and help each other or one in which people mostly go their own way?” In 1984 the proportion of respondents to the British Crime Survey who perceived their neighbourhood was one in which “people go their own way” or one where people “help each other out” were broadly similar, roughly 40% each. However, in 1992 there was a sharp increase in the proportion who perceived that people “mostly go their own way”, to 49%. At the same time there was a corresponding fall in the proportion who thought that most people “help each other” to 31%. This illustrates a decline in community cohesion.

Since 1996 the proportion who perceive that people in their neighbourhood “help each other” has risen slowly again to 36%, while those where people are perceived to “go their own way” remained stable. Another indicator of social capital is social trust. This declined from the late 1950s to the early 1980s and then stabilised. In 2000, 45% of adults
interviewed in the British Social Attitudes survey (BSA) agreed that “most people can be trusted”. The BSA also identified a fall in political trust between 1974 and 2000.

Age was closely associated with the majority of the social capital indicators. Younger people tend to be less likely than older people to exhibit the positive traits of social capital and more likely to exhibit the negative indicators. People aged 16 to 29 were the least likely to feel civicly engaged, 12% compared with between 18% and 22% of other age groups. Doing a favour for a neighbour was lowest for the youngest age group; 57% compared with around four fifths of those aged 30 to 69.

**Table 5. Social capital as a measured by civic engagement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons aged 16 and over Great Britain: 2000</th>
<th>Civicly engaged</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Involvement in a local organisation and whether action taken</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Involvement in local organisation during the past 3 years:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involved, with responsibilities</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involved, without responsibilities</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not involved</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action to solve a local problem:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Took action</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No action taken</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weighted base (000's) ~100%</td>
<td>34,951</td>
<td>7,761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unweighted sample</td>
<td>6,365</td>
<td>1,490</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results from the social capital module of the General Household Survey 2000

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Source: GHS/ONS The General Household Survey (GHS) is a multi-purpose continuous survey carried out by the Social Survey Division of the Office for National Statistics (ONS) which collects information on a range of topics from people living in private households in Great Britain. The survey started in 1971 and has been carried out continuously since then.

Table 5, drawn from the social capital module of the 2000 General Household Survey, further probes levels of social cohesion. The nature of the questions here directly seek to uncover evidence of the respondent’s civic activity in the form of local action, membership of a local organisation or other evidence of undertaking “stakeholder duties”. The experiential and psychometric dimension of the required information points to a new approach to the assimilation, and later resolution of social complexes. It is an approach which seeks to understand the qualitative as well as quantitative aspects of the condition surveyed. It reflects, in a curious way, the victim surveys now beginning to be carried out by the criminal justice systems of a number of European countries, in preference to reliance upon conviction statistics, for an understanding of the problem. This is a shift of considerable interest, suggesting new forms of socio-political activity.

The social capital surveys reveal that in disadvantaged areas levels of fear grow, confining the elderly and, in some cases women of all ages to their homes during nightfall. The space
outside becomes curiously ‘demilitarised’, yet contested. Young gangs prowl, or make
underage motorbike or scooter rides at high speed. To avoid boredom and peer group
humiliation they may get into drugs. They may fight other gangs. They may get into street
crime. They may break into a local shop to steal some cigarettes. It is a generic story but
none the less saddening. There are points at which intervention might have worked, may
yet work, but this is not scientifically provable. With youth the only predictable behaviour
becomes unpredictability. Sometimes trying to shock becomes their way of
communicating. Sometimes they really are violent.

Denied or denying themselves any other means of belonging, gang-land culture offers
much to youth; identity, prestige, a degree of emotional support and mutual respect,
possibly ill-gotten gains and thrills, money and hence mobility, and, of-course, perceived
‘ownership’ of territory, sometime violently claimed against rival gangs. Contrast this with
the short-term appeal of the ethical path and it is clear that at some very real level, there is
no contest. Where a young individual has abandoned their education, and this is not
untypical behaviour in highly deprived areas, there is no other way to gain status. Young
people out of education and training experience multiple and complex problems. They are
more likely to be unemployed or to become homeless, more likely to become involved in
crime, and more likely to be in need of social care. The combined effect of these problems
is to drive young people further away from mainstream society. If young people can be
retained in education and training, they are more likely to gain employment and eventually
to become active members of society.

In the bigger picture the effects of unemployment upon exclusion are operational across
the whole fabric of society; socially (nowhere to go, no-one to know), economically (no
financial independence, restricted mobility, and lack of access to public facilities), and
culturally (youth are always ‘bad’ – youth without money are irredeemable). These
preliminary, often prejudiced forms of exclusion can and do lead to serious transgressions
–property damage, criminal offences, drug misuse, teenage pregnancy, all further
fracturing societal bonds. Though uncared-for youth (as well as youths from ‘ordinary’
families) do ‘roam the streets’ and sometimes get involved in criminal activities,
perceptions of fear around youth presence appear out of proportion to the real level of
threat being encountered. Until youth are given a place in society and within the cities they
come from it is likely that they will continue to be prejudiced and to roam.

To summarise we therefore have, on the one hand, families unable to cope with their
primary responsibilities (their children) and an ineffectual society or neighbourhood in
terms of self policing or mentoring. On the other, we have a series of exclusions likely to
push a certain sector of youth into areas where criminal activities and violence are the
only ways of retaining a perverse sense of self worth, measured against a world that seems
to care, increasingly, only for material benefits. The combination of these two sets of
conditions can produce deadly outcomes.

Substantive Questions and Issues

As we have seen there are many overlapping processes and policies that have a direct or
indirect bearing on youth integration. Some of these are targeted at the family, and may be
supportive; family benefit payments or credits for instance, or constraining; anti-social
behaviour contracts for example. Others tackle youth disengagement problems head on,
through various intervention projects using one or a mix of education, skilling, sports, creative involvement in the arts or music and direct involvement in area based regeneration projects. Institutional safety nets in the shape of schools, after school clubs, sports training, away day visits are also a possibility. Punitive system are on hand, usually, if harder edged responses are needed: fines, bails, cautions, incarceration (youth offender institution), and various charters and contracts (that can lead to families being evicted).

In concluding this chapter we have set out some of the substantive questions and issues surrounding youth and violence in disadvantaged urban areas. These form the criteria and baselines against which various projects can be held up and compared.

**Crime prevention / intervention projects**
- The relative successes of the incorporative versus coercive system of control.
- Bench marks for over-policing and under-policing.
- The effect (or otherwise) of neighbourhood wardens.
  - Youth intervention projects, their desired effect / outcome / type and duration.
  - Mapping the domain of deprived areas and areas of disturbance.
  - Criminal justice system and policy generation difficulties.
  - Drugs and alcohol, self discipline, individuation, the post industrial economy, family break-down and lack of routine/s.
  - Disaffection and loss of regard for authority, the police, parents, teachers, political figures.
  - Welfare versus stakeholder forms of youth integration.
  - Diminishing social networks, lack of opportunities, lack of bridging social capital, economic depression.

**Social intervention / building networks**
- Youth and low levels of social capital, citizenship, neighbourliness. Counter measures that could be / are being adopted.
- Youth as a de-politicised, secularised, and ‘borderless’ culture?
- Youth and ethics, loss of clear value systems, high symbolic exchange values.
- Other networks of belonging, belief systems, comfort.
- Electronic society.

**Institutional intervention / retaining networks**
- Youth and school exclusions, mechanisms and controls.
- School curricula and social cohesion.
- Diminishing disciplined peer group activity versus (say) sport revival.

**Skilling, employment, direct project engagement**
- Loss of work, pride, gender issues.
- Means of making work attractive, digital cultures, multimedia, expressive urban arts.
- New apprenticeships.
- Work and attitude.
Family structures / social change

- Change in family structures, less time spent as a family, parental exhaustion and financial pressures.
- High levels of societal churn, lack of parental (or other) role models.
- Speed of change of contemporary society, difficulty of assimilation, disengagement, loss of social protocols.
- Family friendly policies, youth benefits, easing the strain.
- Cost of leisure, loss / cost of public realm, youth consumption rather than ‘civic use’ of space.

Branding and identity

- Branding and behaviour, marketing and acquisition, the highly symbolised ‘have’ and ‘have nots’, lack of choice.
- Youth and selfishness.
- Youth without political representation, no ‘voice’.
- Stigmatisation of youth.
- Reclaiming space.

Public Space

- Increasing privatisation & market-led approaches to management of public space, displacement of disempowered groups including youths.
- Consumption of ‘branded space’.
CHAPTER 3: PAN-EUROPEAN INITIATIVES FOR THE INTEGRATION OF YOUTH: OUTLINE CASE STUDIES

European Union White Paper

The chapter outlines key EC policy development for the social integration of youth. To build an understanding of the range of approaches undertaken across Europe to fulfil this objective, we will first consider a number of trans-national youth organisations, of particular interest to this paper. We will then describe and compare a range of specific, nationally-based projects in the context of differential approaches to youth justice. The case studies are arranged to reflect a gradation moving from social measures and policies of youth intervention and engagement through to participatory projects dealing with physical, urban environments.

After enlargement to a total of 27 countries, the European Union will have some 75 million people aged between 15 and 25 years. The EU White Paper will try to establish links to the youth of Europe and try to involve them in developing Europe. The paper seeks to stimulate young people, get them involved in European integration, help them participate and contribute more closely with future policies, all of which will concern them. The European Commission made a point of insisting that the drawing up of such a document should not be done behind closed doors. A wide-ranging process of consultations was launched at all levels: with young people themselves through national meetings, European gatherings and a Eurobarometer survey; with national officials in the youth field, with researchers, and with non-governmental organisations, especially involved with the youth society.

There are a number of priority themes that the Commission is putting forward under the White Paper including new ways of enabling young people to participate in public life. The EU and local authorities wish to look into ways of giving general encouragement to successful initiatives run by national and regional youth councils. A broader-based EU Youth Forum is to be established and the Commission will provide backing, from 2003, for projects designed to encourage youth participation. The White Paper proposes a co-ordinated approach towards youth information involving member States and the Commission. A new EU Internet portal was launched in 2002 to give more young people access to reliable information on European integration. Encouraging voluntary service is a further priority theme. The White Paper calls on member States to develop voluntary service schemes and eliminate national obstacles to mobility.

European-wide organisations

Since 1 January 2000, the European Youth Foundation (EYF) of the Council of Europe has been able to provide financial support to pilot projects carried out in the form of meetings between young people or activities other than meetings (documentation, research and publications). This facility has been introduced in order to enable the EYF to provide as effective a response as possible to the priority objectives of the Council of Europe's youth policy which, by their very nature, call for means of action which are not subject to excessively rigid rules, conditions and criteria. These priority objectives are: to help young people, particularly disadvantaged young people, deal with the challenges facing them and fulfil their own aspirations; to encourage new forms of youth participation and
organisation; to make a contribution to social cohesion, including through the fight against exclusion and the prevention of phenomena affecting young people more particularly, and to adapt and broaden programmes and structures in line with changes in society.

The European Youth Observatory (EYO) has expanded to become an organisation which would wish to become an international resource for information on best practice in youth projects. The website offers comparative data on cities so far involved, which include Barcelona, Turin, Köln, Turku, Modena, Rotterdam, Brussels and most recently Birmingham. The Observatory is significant for its ambition to promote research and evaluation on an international basis, whilst realising the importance of local conditions.

Various projects under the auspices of EYO are underway, particularly a music project which is a common culture across Europe. Another project, also emphasising the pan-European ambition of the organisation is the ‘Europe on wheels’ bus. Young people will tour round Europe, visiting cities and reporting back on a variety of issues, such as city-policy (youth-policy and recent problems), spare time activities for young people and tips for young tourists.

A similar organisation, the European Youth Forum, is a platform of one hundred youth organisations in Europe, promoting the interests of young people to the institutions of the European Union, the Council of Europe and the United Nations.

The Joint Council on Youth Questions, one of the decision-making bodies in the Council of Europe's youth sector, will, in the context of the above objectives, identify a specific field of action for the funding of pilot projects. Priority would first go to projects in Southeast Europe. A typical example would be support for youth outreach such as the Interactive Youth Participation training programme, which aims to raise awareness of the role of active citizenship, to discuss active participation, and its experiences to identify different working methods and to experiment through direct action. One such project is currently running in Albania.

Across Europe we can thus expect to find initiatives that are broadly compatible, that share similar problems and similar goals, yet which are prevented from establishing dialogue or providing a solid basis for comparative research due to the different methods of measurement applied in each country. For all these differences, convergence will also be discovered, as suggested by a recent publication comparing the ways in which different European countries react to crime committed by minors, and investigating what is done to prevent crime among children and young people:

“Every country has developed its own system for dealing with juvenile crime, and is struggling in its own way with the tension between two opposite accents in it: offering support, assistance, education and assuming that this will bring about more commitment to social values and norms, versus controlling and punishing, while safeguarding elementary legal rights. There are nevertheless some general lines discernable. As public pressure became more strict and defensive, authorities had to take more seriously public security on a short term. In prevention, as well as in juridical reaction, two key words seem to become more and more apparent: community and accountability. Community is involved in all kinds of preventive initiatives, for giving support as well as for providing informal social control.

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23 http://www.diba.es/eyo/index.html
Accountability is the essence of the emerging attitude towards juveniles who offend. Increasingly, the way they have to account concretely for their acts is focused on restoring in community. Their offence is considered as an intrusion to life in community, with the concrete victim and with the broader environment, and they have to do gestures of restoration towards them. It may announce the emergence of a broader tendency in dealing with crime, the restorative justice approach.\textsuperscript{24}

The notion of ‘youth justice’ is a modern phenomenon, a concept that emerged from the increasing urbanisation produced by the Industrial Revolution and evolving globally defined attitudes towards the understanding of crime and the place that young people occupy within society. Since the late 70s, the problem of crime in society, and its perpetrators has moved away from the concept of dealing with the individual to a more societal context, a movement which spawned the so-called “4 Ds” (diversion, de-judiciarisation, de-institutionalisation, due process)\textsuperscript{25}. In a sense this reflects the nature / nurture argument.

**Approaches to reducing crime**

Throughout Europe there are great variations in the types of measures aimed at crime reduction. These tend to follow national policies that reflect regional and cultural differences. However, in simple terms, there are two main approaches: the first sees crime reduction primarily as the job of the police while the other sees it as the responsibility of everybody and therefore fosters a more multi-agency approach.

Many countries strive to influence crime reduction through social policy. For some, such as the Czech Republic, which experienced a three-fold increase in crime between 1989 and 1993\textsuperscript{26}, and Greece which has experienced increased urbanisation in recent years, it is still early days. Portugal has tended to deal with crime prevention in the past through punitive measures, although in recent times a more integrated approach has been taken in Lisbon. In Hungary attempts to establish preventative measures fell foul of a lack of public involvement and therefore support for activities carried out by crime prevention councils. Since the political changes and economic crises at the end of the 80s the country has adopted a more holistic approach; although the police still have a central role, other government departments and bodies are involved. The emphasis is on family protection, providing information and advice, improving physical security, as well as social measures including self-defence organisations and ‘neighbourhood watch’ type organisations. Other countries in Eastern Europe are more advanced, such as Estonia where the Council for Crime Prevention involves a multi-agency approach covering social, economic, educational, and design measures. The Council also contributes to the international debate.

Denmark has lead the way in tackling the causes of crime, being the first country to set up a national Crime Prevention Council, in 1971\textsuperscript{27}. It represents all aspects of Danish society and its primary functions are to offer information on crime prevention, and establish initiatives while promulgating research projects through universities. Emphasis is on a “co-ordinated, researched, multi-agency approach to crime prevention which is implemented at

\textsuperscript{24} “Confronting Youth in Europe – Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice” edited by Lode Walgrave and Jill Mehlbye, August 1998, AKF
\textsuperscript{25} Danish Institute of Local Government Studies (AKF) website http://www.akf.dk/eng/8/juvenile.htm
\textsuperscript{26} http://www.uwe.ac.uk/fbe/commsafe/info.htm
\textsuperscript{27} http://www.uwe.ac.uk/fbe/commsafe/euden.htm
a local level and where individuals are involved and share joint responsibility”.

It argues for ‘complete communities’, i.e., that local communities should not be bound in advance by the views of institutions outside the community and that all voices in the community should be heard.

The scheme is based on educational programmes that “look at ways of making children and young people feel responsible for their local area.” It is running in five municipalities, and involves various projects such as improved playing facilities for children, providing facilities for young people, the unemployed and pensioners, as well as establishing democratic bodies comprising, for example residents, or children and young people. Other schemes promote social integration across the generations with “quick service schemes where children and young people offer help to the elderly with their shopping, gardening, etc.” An essential part of these schemes is the establishment of a methodology for evaluating their success. Norway, although suffering from relatively low crime rates, has adopted neighbourhood watch schemes that differ from their British counterparts in that their aim is to make the neighbourhood “a better and safer place”, rather than merely concentrating on surveillance.

Belgium has adopted a range of measures such as:

- Transit centres offering temporary accommodation for drug users;
- Parking watchers using young people deployed to prevent car crime;
- Fan coaching to reduce football stadium violence;
- Neighbourhood contact committees have been set up to increase social cohesion and problem solving within a neighbourhood;
- Civic wardens with a comparable role to other neighbourhood warden schemes to be found throughout Europe.

Like Denmark, Sweden was an early developer in Europe of crime prevention strategies, with a reputation for research and evaluation and a long-term body of experience that is available to all through the National Council for Crime Prevention. Good practice is based on tried and tested methodologies, and partnerships delivering initiatives, though multi-agency, tend to be locally specific in composition to reflect local demands. Measures taken also reflect diversity — there is no definition of crime prevention — the aim is to reduce crime, and importantly, the fear of crime. In order to assess projects each initiative follows the same model of four stages: mapping of crime and existing prevention measures, planning, implementation and evaluation.

The Stockholm Project which began in 1989 demonstrates how a rigorous methodology is applied to the development of projects to provide invaluable information for assessing success. Local action groups recommend measures which are then implemented by a general action group co-ordinating measures over a wider area. This allows a constant monitoring of factors which might influence the outcome of projects such as variations in housing types, population, leisure, work, etc. Projects that are running reflect this research based approach to dealing with crime, and are looking at:

- Delinquency and the urban structure;
- Delinquency in the city centre, local centres and public transport;
- Neighbourhood, socialisation and propensity to crime;
- Schools, housing and juvenile delinquency;
- Delinquency in residential districts with a high proportion of immigrants;

28 ibid.
• Social instability, residential districts and juvenile crime;
• Women, crime and the city environment;
• Crime structure and the working methods of the police in different types of urban environment.

In France the Droit de Cité programme established in 1992 has also proved to be progressive in developing strategies for preventing crime. The principle is one of inclusion rather than exclusion, and developing “a whole range of creative interventions with young people”29 A pragmatic approach was taken centred around an on-the-ground methodology for dealing with problems, drawing on the specific knowledge of those who work in the field. Measures taken include:

• Housing and emergency shelter;
• Illiteracy programmes;
• Establishment of community service schemes;
• Development of social, cultural and sporting activities in prisons;
• Victims assistance;
• Drug addiction programmes;
• Recreation programmes for juveniles during the summer.

France continues to invest in developing strategies for preventing crime at its roots including funding projects for immigrants, children, young people and families; urban planning and housing strategies aimed at improving quality of life and action plans to oversee urban social development of areas, assessing their strengths and weaknesses, and seeking to address social, moral and cultural integration, literacy, work and social equity.

Germany is equally progressive, recognising the societal responsibility for crime prevention resulting in a great many community-based, educational and recreational projects particularly aimed at the aspirations of young people. It has a national Action Programme against Aggression and Violence aimed at those young people who are prone to become involved in anti-social activities or gangs. Educational measures such as the Challenging Violence project provide a manual full of advice on how to avoid or deal with conflicts. It emphasises the fact that violence is common to society in general, and need not only be solved though policing. The voluntary White Ring organisation aims to reduce the victimisation of the elderly and provides information and advice, as well as promoting respect for the elderly.

KICK, in Berlin, is a sports project which while providing activity for young people also offers education, advice and support. The aim is also to build trust and raise aspirations. “KICK summarises its learning process as follows30:

• to teach young people to live peacefully and to have respect for others and their environments;
• to teach young people to better themselves through co-operation with others;
• to encourage young people to develop themselves into co-operative, non-aggressive individuals;
• to get young people to take responsibility for themselves and others;
• to get young people to know the limits of their behaviour.

29 ibid.
30 ibid.
In Ireland the role of preventing crime is primarily that of the police which has a community relations section, in partnership with voluntary organisations. Here, however, there is also a significant contribution from the private sector in the form of sponsorship by, for example, private security companies, of neighbourhood watch award schemes.

Although at the forefront of discussion of penal reform regarding activities often associated with youth crime, such as squatting, drugs, etc. the Netherlands has nevertheless suffered from a higher than average crime rate for Europe. This realisation led to the development in 1985 of the governmental plan called Society and Crime which established a holistic, multi-agency approach to crime reduction. Typical of this approach are the 25 local projects launched by the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture aiming at the social integration of disadvantaged young people. For example, in response to rising levels of crime on the Bijlmermeer Estate in Amsterdam, initial design and security measures were only partly successful until a second swathe of measures targeting social, training, and on-site management, including neighbourhood wardens, were introduced. The success of projects led to the establishment of the Directorate for Crime Prevention in 1989 with a particular remit for:

- promoting crime prevention by local authorities and businesses;
- supporting police crime prevention initiatives;
- co-ordinating victim policies;
- regulating the private security industry.\(^{31}\)

In 1995 the Dutch government made a formal agreement with some of its major cities to establish “a long term programme to improve the quality of life and safety in these cities”. They concluded that “crime prevention needs an active promoter - in the Dutch case, the Ministry of Justice - to convince decision makers in the criminal justice system of the need to supplement ineffective criminal justice policies with well funded and imaginative crime prevention policies.”\(^{32}\)

In general Spain has moved in recent years away from crime prevention through the criminal justice system to a strategy that combines police intervention with situational and social methodologies for prevention. However, Barcelona has reinforced its standing as a model for urban living by taking a slightly more radical approach to crime prevention, in the form of the Consell de Seguretat Urbana which was set up in 1984 to co-ordinate crime prevention on a multi-agency basis. Operating on a district basis these bodies are active in ensuring participation of social services, the police, the private sector, trade unions and communities. They “embrace crime prevention in its fullest sense; virtually every aspect of life has a prevention element in it”, including involvement in planning urban regeneration, traffic measures, and advising tourists on crime prevention. An example of this approach can be seen in the Ciutat Vella initiative, where measures to address high levels of crime and increasing isolation of the area included promoting investment in the area and encouraging public services to move in. The ultimate aim was to increase the flow of people through the area, and to alter the social balance on the streets.

**Active roles for youth**

The Youth Observatory project began in Turin in the 1970s with the aim of providing “a guide for public service practitioners and community volunteers working with young...”\(^{31}\) ibid.

\(^{32}\) ibid.
people and a ‘clearing’ house for those who are addressing youth-specific problems at various levels.

It has emerged as a key planning instrument for the development of policy construction at both city and district level. It also acts as a forum on juvenile issues, and encourages a bottom-up, community based approach to programmes, demanding social integration rather than punitive measures and support from young people themselves for the objectives of projects. As in Denmark and other countries prominent in this field, evaluation and demonstrable success are key factors, as well as projects that involve all age groups.

Particular projects include the Fantasy Fair project, which involves a space in a public park being provided for young people to trade in home made products. Profits are used to fund another project aimed at improving the physical environment of other parks and squares. A community mapping exercise is also being piloted which looks at areas perceived as unsafe. 2002 also saw the BIG Torino Youth Arts Biennale, a well branded and innovative arts fair, which adopted the Internet as its guest country, thus expanding its scope globally.

The approach to supporting and encouraging young people to get involved in cultural industries can be found across Europe, from the adaptation of youth centres in Bologna into creative centres for artisanal crafts, to artist Andy Goldsworthy’s involvement in reviving the traditional skill of dry stone walling in Cumbria in the UK. Cultural industries offer opportunities to young people, reflecting local cultures and developing new uses for old building types such as warehouses. Examples of this have sprung up all over Europe, for instance, Trans Euro Halles in Paris, the Cable Factory in Helsinki, and the Custard Factory in Birmingham.

In Barcelona, a project called Good Evening Barcelona will address the issue of how young people use the city at night. It will cover:

- Growth and diversification of night time socio-cultural activities;
- Improvement in public transport at night;
- Citizen night time pact.

The need for an international resource is reflected in an initiative with a global ambition emerging from progressive urban planning practice of Australia and catalysed by the International Young People and Social Exclusion Conference held at the University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, Scotland in September 1999. Yspace is an organisation with a similar remit to the Youth Observatory, with a particular slant on young people and public space. The specific aim is to “foster and support the development across nations of youth inclusive policy and practice in the design and management of public and community accessed spaces.”

The website also aims to expand and be updated, to become a resource, and already contains a broad selection of material that looks at the relationship between young people and public space. There are sections on, for example pedestrian malls, citing an example in Brisbane, Australia which is designed to allow young people to hang out, rather than taking the usual approach of excluding them. The network also provides information, and

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33 ibid.
34 http://www.bigtorino.net/english/index.htm
35 http://www.yspace.net/
to some extent commentary, on issues arising such as the potential corporatising of youth space through involvement of the private sector in sponsorship (e.g. “Coke Space”) and more general information on urban planning and public space design.

The UK Government has also introduced proposals to tackle the causes and the symptoms of social exclusion amongst young people. Funded by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), the Neighbourhood Support Fund (NSF) has been set up to support work with the most disaffected young people in the 40 most deprived local authority areas in England. The Fund totals €100 m. spread over three years, and has been allocated to projects running from 2000-2003.

The aim of the NSF is to explore innovative ways of working alongside existing services to find the best ways of reconnecting disengaged young people with learning and employment. It is investing in young people by tackling disaffection and non-participation to enable young people to make a success of adult life by engaging in education, training or employment. The Fund is an important part of the wider Connexions strategy that will support young people as they move from adolescence to adulthood. The Connexions strategy aims to increase participation in learning up to the age of 19, to help improve learning achievement, to provide practical support to overcome personal, family and social problems and to promote social inclusion.

The NSF and Connexions are assisted in delivering the services discussed above by a number of agencies. INCLUDE is one such agency. It is part of the CfBT group and is a national charity dedicated to tackling the crisis of social exclusion among young people. INCLUDE’s mission is to secure the inclusion of all young people in full-time, mainstream education, training and employment, to enable them to become full members of their communities. The mission is to be delivered through a three-tier strategy: providing services for young people; developing inclusion in practice and contributing to policy development. INCLUDE is the largest single provider of services for excluded young people. This year up to 1,000 young people will be students on their projects, and they are working in partnerships in 27 local authority areas. The agency takes a multi-disciplinary approach in order to tackle the multiple difficulties that disaffected young people experience. They work in partnership with education, youth offending teams, Learning Skills Councils (LSCs), Connexions partnerships, police, businesses, social services and health authorities. An alternative intervention project works with young people aged 14 to 16 who are permanently excluded from school or are long-term non-attenders. They also work with young people up to the age of 19 who are not gaining access to further education or training. Full-time bridge courses consist of education in further education colleges or with training providers, personal development programmes and work experience. Primary intervention projects work with children, schools, parents and carers, educational psychologists, education welfare officers and social workers, focusing on the causes of exclusion and non-attendance, in order to reduce or remove the need for later reintegration or alternative intervention. All these services are delivered under contract to local authorities and LSCs.

Other mechanisms for re-engagement include the Youth Inclusion Programme (YIP), a joint Home Office / Youth Justice Board €30 million project, with half of the funding coming from the Crime Reduction Programme. First launched in 1999, seventy projects were in operation by July 2001, each receiving €110,000 of grant funding per full financial year matched from other local or national sources. The programme seeks to reduce
offending, truancy and exclusion in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Projects do this by providing targeted assistance and support to the 13-16 year olds at most risk of offending, truancy or exclusion. Local Youth Offending Teams, or their statutory or voluntary sector delivery agents, manage the projects, connecting with local agencies such as the police and schools to obtain appropriate referrals of young people at risk of offending. Local residents and voluntary organisations are encouraged to get involved in managing, designing and delivering the schemes. Recent evaluation results demonstrate significant success across the programme, with 74.6% reduction in arrest rates between January and March 2002. The Youth Justice Board is seeking government funding to sustain the existing projects and to expand the programme.

Millenium Volunteers is a British initiative for young people who are asked to volunteer their time to help others doing something that they enjoy. Young people aged between 16 and 24 can be a Millennium Volunteer (MV). The scheme encourages volunteers to get involved in local issues they care about, such as sports coaching, environmental issues, youth leadership, music and dance. Volunteers gain some hard skills that employers value, such as working as part of a team, learning to solve problems and developing initiative. Those completing 200 hours voluntary activity in a year receive an Award of Excellence, signed by the Secretary of State for Education and Skills. The initiative is supported by ‘MV Ambassadors’, celebrities from media, sport, music and entertainment, who have been involved in volunteering themselves.

There are over 50 leading employers who endorse and promote the MV programme. To date there have been 65,000 Millennium Volunteers on the scheme since 1999 and there are over 20,000 current volunteers. 16,000 have gained Awards of Excellence (for completing 200 hours of volunteering). 60% of Millennium Volunteers have never volunteered before and 7% of Millennium Volunteers have a disability.

There are also, of course, harder and sharper forms of coercive control. The next two projects define the full range of measures for youth integration. The first is top down and punitive in nature, the second, bottom up and participatory.

Acceptable Behaviour Contracts

A scheme originally piloted in Islington in Northeast London, looks directly at the concept of acceptable behaviour and one’s obligations to society. Islington community officer Paul Dunn discovered in the course of his work that many parents were unaware of what their children were up to when they were out of the home. Furthermore they had little understanding of the impact that so-called anti-social behaviour has on communities. The young people themselves often simply did not understand what by most standards constitutes acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Dunn pioneered a new approach to adjusting the behaviour of young individuals, over 10 years of age, through a form of policing which involves not just the police force, but the Local Authority’s housing department, the young person and their family in agreeing what those standards are. The scheme takes the form of a contract, an ‘Acceptable Behaviour Contract’ (ABC), which is drawn up by the youths in question in the presence of their families, a police officer and a housing officer.

http://www.quest-net.org/
The intention is, in the first place, that all parties understand the impact the young person’s behaviour is having. The seriousness is brought home by the implied threat of breaching the contract. It is not a legally binding document, but a serious breach can lead to the eviction of the family. Thus the family is brought into the loop of responsibility for the child’s behaviour and the child has to face up to their responsibility to their family. Phraseology is carefully chosen so that the families do not feel like victims of the police: “At the beginning of such an interview where ABCs are being drawn up the police should say “how can we help you from being evicted?””. There is even a reward system available in the form of non-materialistic benefits such as trips or training opportunities. It is also understood that the principle can be applied to all sectors of society – not just youth, and be equally effective in school situations. Those who breach are not automatically excluded, it is acknowledged that young people will test the boundaries. However, in the rare case of repeated breaches, the ABC can be replaced with an Anti-Social Behaviour Order (ASBO) which can bring up to a five year sentence if flouted.

The scheme emphasises the need for multi-agency partnership, and that the young person should be involved in determining the parameters of the contract and thereby have some sense of ownership or control of the process. These contracts have also been used to exert peer pressure by targeting ringleaders whose behaviour influences other members of the group. It is deemed useful for bringing to light other factors which contribute to deprivation and social exclusion, such as overcrowding and unemployment. Their apparent success has attracted a €75,000 grant from the home office to establish an anti-social behaviour unit.

The ABC represents an interesting attempt to address the issue of youth. It faces the idea of behaviour in the public realm head on, not as a side effect of being involved in socialising, educational, sporting, creative or other types of supposedly healthy activities. It acknowledges the complex relationship between home and family life, authorities, what public space means, what acceptable behaviour means, who defines its meaning and how we can go about agreeing it. It is an urban policy which by implication requires a family to be in social housing. Without the threat of eviction, the intricate mechanism of the contract falls apart. There have been discussions about the involvement of mortgage companies, but the implications for this are more complex.

Youth parliaments

Fermanagh District Council Shadow Youth Council is a project which illustrates the opposite, incorporative approach. It treats young people politely and involves them directly in defining their own futures. The project is the only one of its kind in Northern Ireland. It has been highly successful and will no doubt act as a model for the development of other youth parliaments across Europe. With the changes proposed in the planning system in the Urban White Paper, it is likely to gain even greater significance.

"In Fermanagh we have created a unique Shadow Youth Council of 29 Councillors to shadow our own Council. A full proportionally representative election was undertaken last year, (1998) including all 8,000 post primary school pupils in the County across the religious and community divide, a first in Northern Ireland. Some members were nervous of the initiative and the prospect of 'young Turks', to pardon the expression, but corporately accepted the risk to great results. At last our young

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37 http://society.guardian.co.uk/societyguardian/story/0,7843,543407,00.html
38 The following abstract is drawn from a paper presented by the Chief Executive of Fermanagh District Council, Aideen McGinley, at a conference on the subject of Social Entrepreneurs facilitated by the University of North London (Now London Metropolitan University) in November, 1999.
people have a voice and are proactively making it heard. It required courage to share power and to let go and enable creative and innovative things to happen.” This was risk-taking of the highest order involving over 1,000 people, 150 meetings and nine working groups to create our People and Place Strategy 2010 (Fermanagh District Council, October 1999). The 13 programmes, 43 themes and 377 actions and their associated outputs and targets will be delivered and monitored through partnership and ownership of a unique annual reporting system. The actions included our flagship Higher Bridges Project - a collaborative partnership of over 50 organisations creating an Interactive Technology Centre and, on the Enniskillen Bomb Site, a centre for community action in which our Community Action Network (CAN) will be based. This €7.5 million capital project has 18 funders."

The success of the Fermanagh Shadow Youth Council, as judged by a 2001 BBC programme, appears to offer up ideas that could be relevant to many European cities and towns. All sixteen post-primary schools in Fermanagh plus its Agricultural College, College of Further Education and Government Training Centre were invited to take part in the election. The County was divided into six electoral regions for the election and voting took place in each participating institution on Election Day (November 18, 1998). Voting was by single transferable vote and by secret ballot. Authentic ballot papers were specially printed for the election. A count system identical to the normal election procedures was staged centrally in Enniskillen Town Hall and results were posted live on the Internet as the count progressed. Thirty youth councillors were elected to the first Fermanagh Youth Shadow Council. A chairperson and vice-chairperson were elected at the first formal meeting of the Youth Shadow Council (December 7, 1998). Sub committees were formed around specific interests and issues to develop policy and take action when required. These sub committees meet more regularly than the full Youth Shadow Council. Ongoing workshop, training and personal development sessions are held for elected youth councillors. At the moment there are 29 shadow councillors and 31 delegates. Six shadow councillors from the 1998 elections are also still involved in the project. So far the current Shadow Council has been contacted by over 200 organisations, attended over 330 meetings and been in the press (TV, radio, local regional newspapers) over 20 times.

The success of the SYC can also be measured by the involvement, commitment and idealism of youth and their elected representatives. The hopes and the ambitions are best summed up in the words of one of the Youth Councillors:

"When young people feel that they are part of the system and that their views are being listened to and that they are taken seriously as players, young as they may be, then they will truly realise that there is something worthwhile in being part of governments. That's the role that Mandela, Mahatma Ghandi and others played - they were involved in politics at a very early stage and that is why today they are the best role models and we do need other Mandelas , we do need other Mahatma Gandhis."

Youth schemes in the England, Wales and Scotland

Splash is a scheme funded by the Youth Justice Board (YJB), established under the Crime & Disorder Act 1998 to promote reform of the youth justice system. The schemes were originally targeted at 13-17 year olds on deprived estates, and aim to provide constructive
activities, which are also intended to “keep them out of trouble over the holidays”\(^{40}\). During the summer of 2001 The YJB reported that ‘Nuisance crimes dropped significantly’ while the project was running. The activities combine educational, life classes such as sex education, sports and creative activities, including drama, video, DJing, etc. A total of 150 schemes were run, and expanded the horizons of some of the young people involved from local to global: a Gateshead group took a play to the Edinburgh International Arts Festival, while a group from Cardiff went to work in an orphanage in Belarus. The schemes have involved an estimated 30,000 young people – or as the YJB website phrases it “kept off the streets”. This latter element is a benefit that is acknowledged by local residents and police forces.

The Splash projects have been deemed so successful that in 2002 hundreds of Splash Extra schemes were launched by Culture Secretary Tessa Jowell, with additional funding from the New Opportunities Fund (a National Lottery fund) and a substantial level of input from volunteer workers. These schemes also include an expanded age range of 9 – 17 year olds. It is to be noted that the success of the schemes is defined by levels of crime reduction in the areas where the schemes were running, rather than by other criteria. The YJB claimed “in areas where a Splash scheme ran last year, juvenile nuisance fell by just under a fifth and drug offences by a quarter... motor crime also dropped by 11%”.

However, caution should be observed in the assessment of this success. An article the Guardian of Wednesday July 31, 2002\(^{41}\) claims that a Home Office report contradicts these findings. Whatever the truth behind the statistics, there appears to be no assessment at any point of the value, enjoyment, knowledge, skills, social or other experiences that the young people might have gained from the schemes. The schemes are judged on short-term solutions to problems that affect the public realm, rather than the long-term causes of exclusion. Other projects are more open about the value they place on the activities involved.

Positive Futures\(^{42}\) is a project aiming to divert vulnerable young people away from drugs and crime into sports programmes and new activities. It is a powerful example of success in the Home Office area supporting the objectives of another. Funded by the Home Office Confiscated Assets Fund and Sport England it was launched in March 2000 as a partnership between the then UK anti-drugs Co-ordination Unit (now subsumed into the Home Office’s Drug Strategy Directorate), the Youth Justice Board and Sport England.

Twenty-four projects were set up around the country providing sporting programmes for youngsters. Projects also provide training and mentoring schemes and educational programmes around positive attitudes, healthy lifestyles and leadership skills. The feedback from the first year of the project was extremely good with indications of reductions in criminal activity, better attendance at school, healthier lifestyles and increased involvement with sports. Every project has developed a link with at least one local sports club.

As part of the 2001 budget package, “Communities Against Drugs”, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced €7.5m. over two years for the expansion of Positive Futures and, in November, 2001, Positive Futures announced that they would be setting up an extra 31 projects around the country. The Football Foundation has also joined the scheme recently.

\(^{40}\) http://www.youth-justice-board.gov.uk/view_pr.cfm?PRID=85
\(^{41}\) http://society.guardian.co.uk/Print/0,3868,4472256,00.html
as a main partner, and has earmarked €3m. over 5 years to support football-based Positive Futures projects.

**Youth music projects**

The Basement Studio, a youth music project based in Bristol in the Southwest of England, is notable for propounding its approach to the arts and youth work not as policy, but as a philosophy – a belief system: “We wish to demonstrate through our work that artistic and youth work goals are not mutually exclusive, but inextricably linked”\(^44\). The project is partly funded by Bristol City Council Leisure Services, although it came to some degree of national notice in 1997, when Mercury Music Prizewinner Roni Size announced that he would be contributing the bulk of his €30,000 prize money to the project for the support it had given him in the past\(^45\).

The project offers young people the chance to get involved in all forms of music production: DJing, radio, as well as sampling and creating original tunes. The team take a stance on the context and understanding of youth culture, community arts and their relation to commercial cultural industries. The website states openly that for young people the attraction lies in music, fashion, TV, not in the ‘establishment’ worlds of community arts. Furthermore, any notion that the benefits of the scheme are that troublesome youths are kept off the street is implicit rather than explicit. In fact the suggestion is that the journey from exclusion to inclusion may involve traffic going the other way, or to be more succinct that it is not the behaviour of the young people ‘on the margins’ that needs to be addressed, but rather the image of them that exists in broader society: “We need urgently to challenge the negativity of the nineties and work with young people to move away from the model of them as passive consumers and towards one where they are critical creators”\(^46\). The success of the scheme is perceived to be very effective, according to Marius Frank, Deputy Head of Fairfield school in Bristol: “Its influence is quite profound. One of the most efficient delivery systems I have come across in terms delivering both social and arts education”. The Studio has now come under the auspices of a new, three-year national scheme that has been set up by the National Foundation of Youth Music, The Youth Music Action Zones.

*Youth Music Action Zones*\(^47\)

The appeal of music as an intrinsic aspect of young people is not to be treated lightly; musicians act as some of the few effective role models for many young people, and notions of pop celebrity fuel their aspirations. The significance of music has been recognised in a national scheme throughout England to be delivered by an independent charitable body, the National Foundation of Youth Music. Youth Music Action Zones (YMAZ) echo the model of Action Zones for Health (HAZ) and Education (EAZ) and will be largely funded by €45 million of Lottery money. Twenty YMAZs were launched in 2002 to run until 2005, and target an age range from 5 – 18 years old, and, by extension, their communities. Their stated intention is that “Action Zones will, through music develop personal and social confidence, … set achievable goals and encourage ambition, drive and focus.” Again, the emphasis is not on keeping trouble makers off the street, but on promoting

\(^{43}\) http://www.electricdecember.org/99/pages/boxes/basement/about.htm
\(^{44}\) http://www.digitalbristol.org/members/basement/
\(^{45}\) http://www.techno.de/mixmag/97.11/RoniSize.b.html
\(^{46}\) http://www.digitalbristol.org/members/basement/
\(^{47}\) http://www.youthmusic.org.uk/news/index.htm
opportunities for young people in deprived areas to get involved in creative activity, on channelling or enhancing the innate creative energies of young people. The multi-agency, partnering approach is emphasised, as is demonstrating local demand and support. The YMAZ is a limited scheme, inasmuch as no new action zones are expected to be inaugurated. However, it remains to be seen whether their potential success will lead to similar schemes after 2005.

**Informal labour market (ILM)**

For many youths lack of money excludes them from places, facilities and organisations. This can cramp their experiences and use of urban space. However, there are other systems that can be used to alleviate this problem.

Local Employment Trading Schemes (LETS) offer a model of productive interactivity in the absence of disposable capital. There are over 24 large scale LETS operating in the UK and around 74 operating across continental Europe. They work by trading skills, rather than by buying services. This can be of immeasurable benefit to those without employment and, through building a local trade network, can have desirable effects on the local social capital. LET’s were the forerunner of Time Banks and Community Banks, both of which allow ‘credit’ to be earned, and later expended in kind. For instance, a plumber fixes a neighbour’s leaking tap. The neighbour responds by providing baby-sitting services. The informal economy also has something to offer in developed market economies. For instance, tax free income generated through skilling and subsequent employment as part and parcel of large-scale regeneration projects is now fairly commonplace. However, according to the World Bank, the informal economy of some transitional countries is already at too high a proportion to allow such a model to be considered universal in its application:

“In the former Soviet Union (FSU) countries (excluding the Baltic states), the labour markets are characterised by a degree of informality that changes their nature. The size of the informal labour market in some FSU countries is larger than the official economy and in most of the countries of the region it constitutes more than one-quarter of the total labour market. Characteristic examples of informality in this part of the region are survival activities that are created by coping strategies developed by families to compensate for low wages or wage arrears in the formal sector – such activities as subsistence farming, moonlighting or second jobs, part-time jobs, casual jobs, multiple job-holding, short-term jobs.”

Other models of employment are also under discussion. These are as relevant to youth as to any other age group that otherwise suffers the indignity of unemployment. The following text is an excerpt from a paper written by Dr. Anton Hemerijck for the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies:

“In order to maintain the universal and rights-based conception of social citizenship, changes are necessary in the design of social security. In particular, the paradigmatic shift in the world of work and the world at home in a globalising economy implies a refocusing on achieving a new balance between flexibility and

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48 World Bank
49 Dr. Anton Hemerijck is an Associate Professor of Policy and Politics in the Department of Administration at Erasmus University in Rotterdam. He is also a visiting researcher at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies.
security. On both sides of the Atlantic, social policy has to respond to universal downward shift in the demand for low-skilled work, especially in the internationally exposed sectors, as a consequence of economic internationalisation and technological change. Two policy options which may help to increase the employment opportunities for low-skilled groups are relevant. First, policies geared towards improving the quality of the workforce, through vocational training and education, are likely to reduce the number of less-skilled workers. However, increasing the employability of disadvantaged groups through training and education is not a solution for everyone. A truly positive-sum solution also requires a concerted policy effort to increase the chances of low-skilled workers in the regular labour market by making less productive work, especially in the domestic service sector, economically viable. The proposals of Fritz Scharpf for the use of targeted employment subsidies through the tax and social security system could play a major role here. Although gainful employment is no guarantee for a good life, targeted employment subsidies do constitute a significant step towards economic independence, self-respect, and social integration of low-skilled groups.”

“The current predicament of structural inactivity not only adds to the fiscal crisis of the welfare state, it reinforces labour market segmentation. By contrast, ‘employment-friendly’ welfare policies that provide men and women with job opportunities, help households to harmonise work and family obligations and train the population in the kinds of skills that the modern economy demands, strengthen, in the words of Marshall, the 'loyalty to a civilisation which is a common possession' (Marshall 1963: 101). If the underlying normative criterion is to counter involuntary inactivity and poverty, there is every reason to support rights-based policies which are likely to result in an increase of labour force participation in persons and a decrease in hours worked, which in due course could foster a more generalised, less gendered and more nuanced work ethic. This, in turn, could help to reconfigure the moral integrity of the welfare state - in short, citizenship.”

Electronic communities

Finally, it should not be forgotten that we are in the early stages of forming electronic communities that are both interest based and economic in nature. In both cases an avenue for integration can be defined. In the former case there are already interesting examples of web sites being used to propel social agendas. One (www.swarming.org.uk) gently curates a series of events on the Thames shoreline in central London on (roughly) the last Saturday or Sunday of each month. As the tidal pattern changes, and the event can only be held at low tide, the timing and nature of the occasion, and the instructions given on the web site change too. It may be a mid-day barbeque, or late night rave. At the last event, over 600 people attended. This curation of event and the high degree of sociability suggest a new type of public space – one that is run by the public.

The economic potential of digital work should not be underestimated. Work can now effectively travel over the wires. In information-based economies these wires become our industrial infrastructures. Where it is possible for people to work part time, from home in such a manner, their employment prospects are much enhanced.
The EU15 average for use of computers stands at just below 35%. In Sweden this rises to nearly 66%, with a quarter of all Swedish businesses using a computer every day. There is little doubt that this is a trend that will grow across Europe. There are few non-vocational jobs that can now completely do without the use of a computer. Indeed, some businesses are forced to adopt their use by clients, or for fear that they would otherwise loose their competitive edge.

As computer use grows so to does the world’s e-commerce. The ‘dotcom’ failures of last decade are rather more likely to point to a failure of over confidence on the part of the venture capitalists and banks rather than a withering lack of demand. We now know that the market was saturated with new web-based traders, and that consumers reacted with confusion. Digital purchasing is something consumers have to get used to in their own time. However, the youth of today generally see computers as an indispensable tool and toy and they are unlikely to have any such qualms. New generations of users are likely to use more computers more often. Thus, with email and web sites, work can be traded easily across nation states or simply from wherever the computer users choose to be. As well as use for business, computers and email have a growing communication role. This allows easy attachment to existing social networks or communities of interest.

As digital technologies coalesce, dvd, digital picture capture, digital video, and music can be created and interwoven digitally. Media and multi-media work has taken off in many cities, and young businesses have grown quickly. These types of business are highly connected electronically but rather detached physically, perfect conditions for starting late and working into the night, a practice usually picked up in student-hood. These businesses have, under the generic banner of ‘cultural industries’ had in increasing impact on their local economies and have driven many inner city regeneration programmes. This is a trend which should be carefully nurtured.
CHAPTER 4: NEW URBAN TYPOLOGIES AND HOLISTIC REGENERATION: OUTLINE CASE STUDIES

This chapter studies a number of established and emerging urban typologies at a socio-institutional and spatial level. It outlines not only new building types and urban spaces, but innovative programmes associated with such environments which seek to deliver a joined up service and enhanced quality of life. A series of UK-based, holistic urban regeneration projects are outlined towards the end of the chapter, and examined from the point of view of youth engagement. In this manner both the social and physical terrain of urban environments, and processes being designed to enhance their satisfactory procurement will be studied.

The chapter begins by examining a number of regional or individual examples tackling new approaches to neighbourhood design. It then studies a range of emerging, pan-European socio-urban typologies. The chapter concludes with an account of some UK-based, holistic regeneration projects, foregrounded and contextualised through a discussion of new policy instruments set against OECD and World Bank objectives.

Regional and individual examples

Avedore

As with many Danish schemes, the emphasis is on a holistic approach to crime prevention. Avedore is a housing estate with 15,000 inhabitants and a high number of immigrants and young people. A local community worker has organised various schemes for young people which include renovating for free public usage unclaimed stolen bicycles, donated by the police, carrying out odd jobs, and restoring and selling old furniture. The estate also has schemes for language courses, a crèche, educational programmes, a second hand shop and health projects.

Egebjerggard

Egebjerggard is a new urban quarter on the edge of Copenhagen, a development of 850 homes with a supporting infrastructure of shops, schools, business premises, etc. The project makes a point of implementing design measures aimed at creating a good quality of life. Some of these are related to environmentally friendly design, others to reducing the opportunities for crime, such as clearly demarcated thresholds and boundaries, and natural surveillance of public space, qualities which are often overlooked in modernist approaches to urban design.

The Click

The Click (youth & training centre) was developed by Waltham Forrest Housing Action Trust as part of their regeneration scheme for the Waltham Forrest area. There are a high proportion of young people in the area, and it was felt that there was not enough for them to do. The idea of a youth centre with information technology and media...
training was developed through discussions with local people. Local young people wanted the centre to feel modern and they were very interested in the idea of a cybercafe. The HAT wanted the new building to be inspiring and different enough to stand out and transform the feel of the area. Throughout the design process the community were consulted to ensure that the building image was attractive to them and that there was a sense of ‘ownership’ from the start. The site marked the entrance to a new park. The architects van Heyningen and Haward were appointed to design the building. Waltham Forrest HAT defined the brief for the building, organised the community consultation and commissioned and funded the project. The building is now owned and operated by ‘O-Regen’, a local community development trust.

The oval form of the three-story block is dramatic, elegant, and distinctive. The ribbon glazing to the ground floor perimeter, bright white colour of the rendering above and use of metalwork make the building feel modern and different from the rest of the high street, in the way the young people wanted. The young people also defined the name for the centre and the logo design, giving them a high level of ownership.

The glass front of the building creates a shop window effect, so that people can easily see what the centre offers. The cybercafe is on the ground floor, media and general purpose training, meeting and administrative offices are on the first and second floors above. Activities in the centre now include an Internet café, employment and training advice for unemployed people, training in IT, and IT support for small businesses. In December 2001 the Centre was selected as runner up for the prestigious national British Urban Regeneration Association (BURA) award for Best Practice in Community Regeneration.

The Centre cost €1 million and took 14 months on site. It has become a local icon and has been used in newspaper and magazine articles to illustrate the area.

*Iroko Housing Co-operative, Coin Street, London.*

The housing was developed by Coin Street Community Builders, a not-for-profit community housing developer on London’s South Bank. The project was for 59 new homes, to be run as a co-operative for individuals and families in housing need. Tenants either apply directly or are referred by their local authority. Now that the housing is fully occupied responsibility for its management, and the management of its exterior spaces, lies with the tenants. All tenant members attend quarterly meetings, with the day-to-day running of the co-op overseen by an elected management committee of 15 people.

The housing was developed on a site which had been occupied by warehouses and was temporarily being used as a car park. The developers wanted to provide high-density housing, with a mix of large family homes, as well as homes for smaller households. All houses have individual gardens, all other homes have terraces or balconies, and there is a central garden shared by everyone. The developers also wanted to keep a car park on the site because of the income it generated, and to plan for a new neighbourhood centre. The housing was designed by architect Haworth Tompkin. It was their first new-build housing scheme. The construction process took 22 months from October 1999 to August 2001. The whole project cost €22 million. Funding came from the Housing Corporation, Single Regeneration Budget, subsidy from Coin Street Community Builders and a building

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53 IT – Information Technology
society loan. The Iroko Co-operative is a fully mutual ownership co-op. This means that the members of the co-op collectively own the housing and manage it on a democratic basis, and that all tenants are members of the co-op.

Local pride and local ownership have both been achieved in this project through the provision of a high-quality and well-designed environment and the required stewardship of co-operative management. The joint ownership of the shared spaces and facilities has ensured that they are well cared for by a clearly defined community.

**Socio-spatial design: current best practice**

*Foyer Schemes*55

In the early 1990s an alliance of concerned individuals from a variety of organisations and agencies adopted the *foyer* concept (developed in France at the end of the Second World War), to provide centres of excellence for disaffected young homeless people to receive training and accommodation. The idea received broad support from central government, the private sector, housing associations and groups in the voluntary sector. The international business conglomerate Grand Met provided initial finance to establish the programme and the homeless interest-group Shelter promoted the idea and contributed their own expertise. There are 40 projects in the UK and the 38 projects in the pipeline. All projects are affiliated to a national Foyer Federation who encourage innovation and diversity and monitor quality. The Foyer Federation seeks to encourage partnerships between foyers and other organisations that may help to provide better all round support to residents. Foyers take a joined-up approach to face a complex problem, drawing together a number of different but inter-related disciplines. This is reflected in their capital and revenue funding which draws on a complex package of government and European funds, commercial income, grant aid and donations. A number of capital funding sources are available for Registered Social Landlords.

Three statutory sector partnerships are currently being developed to target and refine foyer services: social services, criminal justice and health. Connexions, the new youth support service, will be a crucial player in the lives of younger foyer residents.

*Cohousing*

Another movement that stretches housing delivery into a more social set of considerations is the co-housing movement. This started in Denmark almost 35 years ago and now accounts for 10% of its housing programme. The movement has spread through western Europe, the U.S., Canada, and Australia and is arriving in Japan. It is growing twice as fast in the U.S. as it did in Denmark, with 60 established communities and another 100 in various stages of planning and development.

"In cohousing, individuals and families typically own and occupy private spaces that are complete with kitchens, bathrooms, bedrooms; in effect, everything that you would expect in a single-family home. This space, however, tends to be sized down by eliminating things like guest rooms, family rooms, separate dining rooms, sometimes laundry facilities. Instead, many of these features and others, like a kids' playroom, an exercise room, a large kitchen and dining room, 55 See [http://www.foyer.net/theff/main.htm](http://www.foyer.net/theff/main.htm)
workshops, studios, offices, are shared by a group of co-operating neighbours in
the common house. This space and the pedestrian streets, central greens and
courtyards that make up the common space in these self-contained residential
communities are qualitatively different, however, from what we typically think of
as both private space on the one hand and public space on the other”. For most
people hearing about cohousing for the first time, it is clear that the private space
is not much different from what we are all used to. When you talk about common
space, however, people still wonder how it is different from publicly owned space
like a community centre or a park or privately owned public space like a church or
café, or a condominium clubhouse, for that matter. The difference is in how you
use and manage the space. In cohousing, you use the common house and green
areas as an extension of your individual home or yards, and you jointly manage
the community with your cohousing neighbours. You typically share meals
together with your neighbours in the common house three or four times a week.
You often hang out in the common house or at gathering nodes along the
pedestrian street running through the community. You can work out in the
exercise room, fold clothes in the shared laundry, and work in the community
garden, shops or studios with your neighbours.

Home zones

The home zone concept, called “woonerf”, was pioneered in the 1970s in the Netherlands. Since then many countries have successfully transferred the core concepts and created their own safe areas. Home zones are an attempt to strike a balance between vehicular traffic and everyone else who uses the street; the pedestrians, cyclists, business people and residents. Some see home zones as a way of "reclaiming" local streets from a traditional domination by neighbourhoods that are becoming overwhelmed with speeding traffic.

Home zones work through the physical alteration of streets and roads in an area. These alterations force motorists to drive with greater care and at lower speeds. Many countries support this with legislation allowing the home zones to enforce a reduced speed limit of 10 miles an hour. The benches, flower beds, play areas, lamp posts, fences and trees used to alter the streets and roads offer many additional community benefits to the home zones and are considered to enhance the beauty of an area and increase the housing prices.

They are the new safe streets where children can play without fear of speeding cars - but they have no humps, no speed signs, no road markings and no railings. They do not even have pavements. Fourteen pilot projects throughout Britain have turned received road safety wisdom on its head by stripping streets of all the traditional protection offered to pedestrians. Instead, the home zones use a combination of urban design, engineering and behavioural psychology to slow traffic to less than 20 m.p.h.

There are no lane markings or yellow lines, just large swirling patterns, created by local artists, to indicate to drivers that they are not in a ‘normal’ road and force them to "react to the outside environment". The entrance to the street is marked by a gentle ramp and, in the only concession to conventional signals, a sign saying simply: "Home zone: please drive carefully.” Houses in the middle of the four parallel home zone streets are being knocked

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down to make room for a ‘green street’, a meandering car-free area with trees, plants, benches and a children's playground.

Ben Hamilton-Baillie, an urban design expert advising the government on home zones and involved with a project in Bristol, said: "For years road design has been based on the need to separate cars and people with traffic lights, zebra crossings, barriers and warning signs. Home zones end the presumption that the road is just for drivers, because there is nothing to mark the divide, so the street becomes a shared space for cars and people."57

So far home zones have been limited to residential areas but Mr Hamilton-Baillie believes that the same principles could be applied to town centres, shopping streets and busy intersections. In Friesland, northern Holland, traffic controls have been removed at busy junctions, and the number of deaths and injuries has fallen by 50% without any effect on traffic flow. Similar results have been achieved in many parts of Denmark. Motoring organisations support residential home zones but expressed concern at suggestions that they could be used in places where there was heavy traffic.58

Affordable housing

Since the mid-1990s, UK and European government policy has regarded the need for affordable housing as a material consideration. If there are identified needs in local areas, planning policies are incorporated in development plans and suitable sites are available, these authorities can require an element of affordable housing in all larger residential developments, using Section 106 agreements (financial agreements with local government planning authorities). In certain circumstances this requirement can be met through commuted sums. Planning authorities may also choose to allow additional developments in rural areas so long as these ‘rural exception sites’ provide only affordable housing. Eighty-nine percent of authorities in England and Wales have affordable housing policies in their development plans, suggesting that these policies are now embedded in the local development plan and development control process. A higher percentage of rural authorities (98%), have affordable housing policies compared with urban authorities (83%).

New housing models

CASPAR - City-centre Apartments for single people at affordable rents

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation59 (JRF) has become convinced that the UK's major conurbations will face continuing decline at around 90-100,000 people a year, as per the trend of the 1990s, if the inner city does not offer up some new housing models. Currently only those poor enough to secure council housing / social housing or rich enough to afford high-priced apartments for sale can be accommodated. If people on middle incomes shun the big cities, then these areas face a bleak future.

The growing number of single person households may offer a real resource for reviving city living. This group is less worried than young families about schools, safe play areas,

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57 http://www.homezones.org/concept.html
No kerbs, no humps: this is how to make roads safer for children. By David Harrison, Transport Correspondent for the Daily Telegraph (Filed: 10/03/2002)
59 A major social research organisation based in the UK
etc. They have the spending power, energy and creativity that makes cities succeed. For social and economic - as well as environmental - reasons, the JRF decided to invest two CASPAR developments to inspire investors who want a good return, local authorities who are responsible for urban regeneration, and, most importantly, the future residents of these schemes. CASPAR is based on the following premises:

- Lord Rogers' Urban Task Force has demonstrated that an urban renaissance must include well-designed homes in the centres of our major conurbations to reverse the urban exodus;
- The development of brownfield urban sites reduces the necessity of building on greenfield land and destroying countryside;
- Living close to work saves daily commuting and reduces traffic congestion and pollution;
- The presence of more middle-income single people in the inner city helps achieve the economic and social aims of urban regeneration. It is those with resources who have tended to leave.

**Apartments for single people**

Although most existing housing is for families - as is most new building for sale - government projections show that some 80% of all the extra households in the period up to 2021 could be made up of single people. The homes of tomorrow need to reflect this changing profile. For many of the growing numbers of single people - who marry later, or not at all, or who divorce or separate - living in family-sized homes in the suburbs may not appeal. For those moving around for job reasons and not yet ready to put down roots, it is easier to move in and out of renting without the responsibilities of maintenance, gardening and DIY. Those not in a fixed relationship will not yet wish to take out a mortgage in two names. Divorcees may have other financial commitments which make buying their home a problem. Recent graduates with loans to repay may not be ready for mortgage debts. Single people in work - but not in high paid jobs - face a trap. They are not likely to qualify for subsidised social housing but may not be able to afford to buy a home where they want to live.

**Lifetime homes**

In 1991 the Lifetime homes concept was developed by a group of housing experts and social researchers. Lifetime homes include design features that ensure new houses or flats will meet the needs of most households. The accent is on accessibility and adaptability: a teenager with a broken leg, a family member with serious illness, or parents carrying in heavy shopping and dealing with a pushchair.

In the mid 1990s the UK Government decided to extend Part M of the building regulations, which deals with accessibility for the disabled, to cover houses as well as public buildings. New regulations came into effect in October 1999. Lifetime home design adds to the provisions now required under Part M features that make homes easy to adapt as peoples' lives change. Unnecessary expenditure is prevented, saving approximately €8 billion over sixty years. These savings come from reduced expenditure on adaptations and reduced need to move people to residential care. There could be further savings in health care and re-housing costs. Organisations building homes subsidised with government money from
the Housing Corporation have to meet scheme development standards that cover similar areas to Lifetime homes.

When designing new homes, it is now necessary to take account of three sets of requirements:

• The first is Part M of the building regulations;
• The second is the Housing Corporation’s Scheme Development Standards, which all housing funded by the Housing Corporation must meet;
• The third is ‘Lifetime homes standards’, which most commissioning clients and local authorities require.

The policy driving lifetime homes is an example of the application of new costs assessments which take account of the lifetime cost of a project, not just its initial capital costs. In effect, the costs of maintenance and management can, if projects are not designed with a longer-term commitment, amount to many times the initial capital – this varied between a factor of three and six. Lifecycle costing clearly articulates this, and requires designers to take into account the likely evolving needs and maintenance regimes over the life of the project.

New governance models

Tenant Management Organisations

There are around 200 Tenant Management Organisations (TMOs) managing around 85,000 homes in 53 councils in England. These are made up of groups of council tenants who take over managing their estate, and often achieve high quality services at reasonable costs whilst contributing greatly to regenerating areas they manage and live in. Despite TMOs operating on estates with histories of under-investment and poor services, many outperform their local council on a range of performance indicators. Tenants who live on TMOs are usually more satisfied with their housing service in terms of repairs, re-lets, and rent collection compared with council tenants as a whole (77% compared with 67%).

In addition, contrary to the views of some observers, TMOs are not a soft touch on either rent collection or tenancy management and tend to act sooner, combining the assertive approach with preventative work, such as involvement with credit unions and activities for young people.

Public governance and management

The OECD is one of a growing number of organisations that realises the relevance of community-led regeneration and participatory design to the success of the final outcome. They refer to principles of good governance: respect for the rule of law; openness, transparency and accountability to democratic institutions; fairness and equity in dealings with citizens, including mechanisms for consultation and participation; efficient, effective services; clear, transparent and applicable laws and regulations; consistency and coherence in policy formation; and high standards of ethical behaviour. Cutting edge approaches to urban design seek to incorporate such practices and it is for this reason that one must consider the process of the design, as well as the product itself, for its contribution to innovation.
“The OECD seeks to analyse and develop solutions to the common challenges and needs of governments, and to promote good practices that enhance the effectiveness of democratic institutions. Work on public governance includes activities on e-government, regulatory reform, public sector budgeting and management, sustainable development, citizen participation in policymaking, and fighting corruption.”

Community Driven Development

According to the World Bank ‘social capital’ refers to the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. Increasing evidence shows that social cohesion is critical for societies to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together. Participation is a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them. Decentralisation transfers the authority and responsibility for major public functions from the central government to sub national and local governments, civil society and the private sector.

Community Driven Development (CDD) is the exercise of community control over decisions and resources directed at poverty reduction and development. The aim of CDD is to promote security, opportunity, and empowerment for all community members through:

- strengthening of accountable, inclusive community groups;
- supporting broad-based participation by poor people in strategies and decisions which affect them;
- facilitating access to information and linkages to the market; and
- improving governance, institutions, and policies so that local and central governments and service providers, including NGOs and the private sector, become responsive to community initiatives.

The benefits of CDD for poverty reduction are that it can:

- Complement market and public sector activities – by filling a gap in poverty reduction efforts that market-driven operations and national public sector programmes alone cannot cover, and by achieving immediate and lasting results at the grass-roots;
- Make poverty reduction services demand-responsive and enhance their sustainability – sustainability has been shown to be enhanced when communities control investment choices;
- Enhance efficiency and effectiveness of services – studies and practical experience suggest that CDD can improve effectiveness and efficiency of services in many sectors and contexts;
- Take poverty reduction to scale – when poor communities are trusted in their capacity to drive development, significant resources can be devolved simultaneously to very large numbers of community groups;
- Make development more inclusive of the interests of poor people and vulnerable groups – representative community groups can provide voice and empowerment to people who are typically excluded from the development process;

OECD publication ‘Public Governance and Management’, 2000
Empower poor people, build social capital and increase poor people's voice in governance – by devolving resources directly to community-based organisations (CBOs), community-driven approaches empower poor men and women and enhances networks of social capital.

National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal

Neighbourhood renewal will only work if all parts of government that affect deprived neighbourhoods work together. To get results, key national strategies and targeted policies must work effectively in those areas. The National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal identifies two long-term goals: to improve outcomes on worklessness, crime, health, skills, housing and the physical environment and to narrow the gap between the poorest neighbourhoods in England and the rest of the country.

One way of tackling deprivation at a national level across government departments is through tough new floor targets. All relevant departments are responsible for meeting these targets (sometimes referred to as public service agreements). So for the first time they will be judged on the areas where they are doing worst – not on the national average.

The Whitehall co-ordination team within the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit works across all government departments. It has a central role in bringing together key departments to ensure that the neighbourhood renewal agenda is being implemented effectively across government. In doing this, it is also responsible for monitoring the achievements of various departments against their commitments in the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal and Policy Action Team reports (PAT reports).

Mainstreaming – redirecting the allocation of mainstream resources such as the police and health services to better target the most deprived areas – is crucial to the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal. Other action based on the following common principles is deemed to be essential:

- Re-shaping services to ensure they can benefit deprived areas by removing any blockages to deprived areas receiving an increased level of support;
- Joining up different of programmes to avoid gaps;
- Developing and running policies that target the needs of deprived people or areas;
- Learning from best practice.

Local Strategic Partnerships

Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) are central to the delivery of the New Commitment to Neighbourhood Renewal - National Strategy Action Plan (National Strategy). They are non-statutory bodies, which aim to bring together at a local level a range of stakeholders - from the public, private, voluntary and community sectors. Local partners working through a LSP will be expected to take many of the major decisions about priorities and funding for their local area. A key element in the National Strategy is the improvement of mainstream services to produce better outcomes in the most deprived areas and contribute to sustainable development.

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61 The 17 Policy Action Teams assembled by the Social Exclusion Unit to advise on policy driving the ‘National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal’ were constituted by a range of academics, experts and politicians. The PAT reports tackled a range of subjects from unpopular housing to the potentials offered by ICT.
LSPs will give communities a greater say in the running and delivery of public services by drawing the key service providers into a single partnership with which the community is actively engaged. A combination of organisations, and the community, working co-operatively has a far greater chance of success. To improve services and narrow the gap between the 88 most deprived local authority areas and the rest, additional resources have been made available through the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF). This special grant can be spent in any way that tackles deprivation in the most deprived neighbourhoods, particularly, but not exclusively, in relation to the government's national floor targets. LSPs will also be key to improving social cohesion, the relationship between different communities in an area and their relationship with statutory authorities. They will also strengthen connections with and between public sector agencies, local government, the voluntary and community sectors, businesses and local residents. Overall, LSPs will ensure public services work better and are delivered in ways that meet the needs of local people, and that economic, social and physical regeneration is sustained in both deprived and prosperous areas.

LSPs will also provide a single co-ordinating framework to prepare and implement a Community Strategy, with the aim of improving the economic, social and environmental well-being of an area and to bring together local plans, partnerships and initiatives. In the 88 local authority areas receiving Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF), they will develop and deliver a Local Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy to secure more jobs, better education, improve health, reduce crime, target better housing/physical environment, and work with local authorities that are developing local Public Service Agreements (PSAs) and help them devise appropriate targets.

LSPs should cover a wide enough area to allow strategic choices and match local authority boundaries, though they may also cover more than one authority. They should operate by consensus in order to reflect and retain buy-in from partnership organisations. Members of the LSP should decide who takes the lead. It may be the local authority, but it does not have to be - any partner could lead it.

**Neighbourhood Renewal Fund**

The Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF) aims to enable the 88 most deprived authorities, in collaboration with their Local Strategic Partnership (LSP), to improve services, narrowing the gap between deprived areas and the rest of England. Following the 2000 National Spending Review, the government set targets for improved outcomes by public services in deprived neighbourhoods. The targets mean that government departments, local authorities and other service providers are being judged for the first time on their performance in the areas where they are doing worst - not on the national average.

"A New Commitment to Neighbourhood Renewal - National Strategy Action Plan" sets out the government's policies to tackle deprivation wherever it occurs in England. A key element of the strategy is the improvement of mainstream services to produce better outcomes in the most deprived areas. This means increased employment and improved economic performance, reduced crime, better educational attainment, improved health and better housing.

Where service quality is at risk or requires improvement, funding will go to mainstream services, such as schools - provided the funding benefits the most deprived areas. The
money can be used to support not only local authority services but those of other organisations, including other members of the LSP. As detailed NRF spending plans are determined locally, eligible Local Authorities neighbourhood renewal teams define allocation procedures.

**Neighbourhood Management**

Neighbourhood Management (NM) is an important part of the National Strategy Action Plan and follows on from the work and recommendations in Policy Action Team 4. It is a way of helping deprived communities to improve things in their community by working with service providers to improve local services so that problems identified by the community can be dealt with. NM could be one of the best ways of making improvements, making a real difference in deprived neighbourhoods.

NM is likely to make use of neighbourhood wardens who will:

- provide a uniformed, semi-official presence in a residential area with the aim of improving quality of life;
- promote community safety, assist with environmental improvements and housing management, and also contribute to community development;
- street wardens provide highly visible uniformed patrols in town and village centres, public areas and neighbourhoods;
- they are similar to Neighbourhood Wardens, but their emphasis is on caring for the physical appearance of the area; they tackle environmental problems such as litter, graffiti and dog fouling;
- they also help to deter anti-social behaviour, reduce the fear of crime and foster social inclusion.

These and various other types of warden are co-ordinated and funded by the various regional government offices drawing a total package of treasury support in the region of €110 million.

**Community Forum**

The Community Forum was launched on 23 January 2002. Its purpose is to act as a sounding board for ministers and the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit and provide a grass-roots perspective on neighbourhood renewal strategies. It will help stimulate new ideas to make government policies more effective and ensure they meet the needs of community groups and residents in the most deprived areas. There are 20 members of the Community Forum with direct experience of living or working in deprived areas. They include residents who are active in their own communities, and people from professional agencies, membership organisations and a wide range of voluntary and community sector organisations. Joe Montgomery, Director General of the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, is the Chair of the Forum. At a two-day induction programme at the end of March, the members identified a work programme for the year ahead. It is structured around five themes:

- A watching brief on the Spending Review 2002;
- identification of the barriers to community involvement and volunteering, created by the benefits system. They want to explore the potential for greater recognition and reward for community engagement in regeneration;
enhanced community involvement in LSPs, the strategic use of NRF, the potential for innovation and increased participation, the accreditation process, and the likely impact of LSPs on local democracy;

- challenging mindsets and structural barriers to inclusion;
- ensuring participation by young people and that every LSP has a young person’s strategy. It will make sure that the voice of young people is heard in Community Forum discussions.

Skills and Knowledge programme

The National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal requires a change in the way we work in and engage with communities in deprived areas. Residents, policy makers, practitioners, professionals and organisations all have a role in neighbourhood renewal, but it is felt that many may not realise what is being asked of them. New skills and knowledge for neighbourhood renewal are needed if such widespread involvement is to succeed. The Skills & Knowledge programme is committed to bringing about a step-change in the level of skills and knowledge for all involved in Neighbourhood Renewal and ensuring that everyone involved in neighbourhood renewal has the support they need to improve neighbourhoods. This programme intends to put in place a comprehensive learning and development strategy for neighbourhood renewal. Its 23-point action plan targets everyone working to transform England's poorest areas: residents, professionals, regeneration practitioners, councillors, local and central government officials. It acknowledges that gaps in neighbourhood renewal skills and knowledge need filling in different ways at national, regional and neighbourhood levels, and identifies a framework of skills, knowledge and behaviours needed for delivering effective neighbourhood renewal.

Business Improvement Districts

The UK Government are planning to introduce legislation to support the creation of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs). The scheme will help councils and local businesses work together to improve their local environment through the funding released via additional business rates agreed together by local businesses and councils. The funds will help pay for new projects such as making streets and other public open spaces safer and cleaner, benefiting both local businesses and the wider community.

The scheme is similar to the successful US examples where local businesses help pay for projects that improve their local area. BIDs will enable local authorities and local businesses to enter into contracts to provide additional services or improvements, funded by an agreed additional business rate. The approach is to be based on consent and on partnership. Only where a majority of businesses agree with a proposal will councils be able to raise the extra revenue required to fund it. An improvement scheme will be proposed either by councils or businesses and agreed by both parties - with local businesses having a say.

The recent Modernising Local Government Finance bill consulted on proposals for a supplementary business rate and whether it could be used to fund Town Improvement Schemes proposed in the Urban White Paper. Both businesses and councils welcomed the idea of working more closely together to improve their communities, but had concerns about the details of the proposed supplementary rate. The new BID scheme has been developed following further discussions with them.
Many of the details of BIDs will be left to local agreement, including the area to be covered, the amount to be raised, what it will be spent on and the local council/business partnership for implementing it. Councils or businesses could initiate proposals for a BID scheme. Ratepayers in a BID area would know in advance how much the rate would be and how it would be used. They would vote in a referendum on the proposed scheme. If a majority voted in favour, all ratepayers in the area would pay, but if a majority voted against no additional rate would be raised.

Though the scheme has great potential to unleash environmental improvements, a question arises concerning the implied custodianship of public space. A scenario whereby local businesses paying for environmental improvements develop concerns over public use, and seek to impose restrictions and limitations, is not unlikely. In fact, this has already taken root within another environmental improvement initiative which revolves around urban management.

Town centre management

Within the past ten years some 300 Town Centre Management partnerships between the private and voluntary sectors and local government have developed in England. In most cases, town centre management partnerships augment their income from membership contributions by a variety of entrepreneurial activities that seek to increase both their sustainability and the level of service provision. The Association of Town Centre Management published the outcomes of a research project into the whole area of sustainable funding for town centres in October 2001. The research demonstrated round support for the initiative in financial and physical environmental terms. A local level of leadership is crucial to the success of the project to ensure that a generic management approach is not adopted at the cost of tackling real, situational problems.

There are now a number of projects that demonstrate that town centre management can be successful, particularly in commercial terms. With additional funding to be released through BID schemes, the momentum is likely to develop further. Yet it remains to be seen whether such collaborations can deliver benefits to local people, particularly those who live in disadvantaged areas. The ethos of these projects do not yet address such concerns but it would seem fair that large development projects could and should consider the potential benefits of supporting local communities.

City Academies

The City Academies programme raises educational attainment by establishing a new kind of school in disadvantaged urban areas. These will be publicly funded independent schools, with sponsors from the voluntary sector, business or faith groups, partnerships involving business and voluntary sector sponsors and local education partners. City Academies may replace one or more under-performing schools or they may be new schools where there is an unmet need for places.

Typically the sponsor would contribute around 20% of the capital cost of the City Academy, up to around £2 million. DfES\(^2\) contribute the balance of the capital costs and recurrent funding. The first three academies, opened in September 2001, are in Brent, north

\(^2\) DfES – Department of Education and Science
London - specialising in sport - and in Lambeth, south London, and Liverpool where academies will specialise in technology. The programme can allow crucial placement of a secondary school to prevent the pupils haemorrhaging out of the area, with consequent drop in social cohesion and community self-identity.

A nursery – to secondary level (4-17) academy structure is also being investigated in North Huyton, Liverpool. The Education Secretary, David Blunkett, believes that city academies will build on the success of specialist schools, which have pushed up exam results. They will also build on the experience of city technology colleges, introduced by the previous Conservative government.

Area based regeneration projects

The Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust

The Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust (WFHAT), set up in 1991, was a comprehensive, tenant-led urban regeneration initiative. It was classified as a Non-Departmental Public Body (NDPB), set up under the terms of the 1988 Housing Act to tackle the structural and social problems of four geographically separate housing estates formerly owned by the London Borough of Waltham Forest.

WFHAT took over the four estates from the local authority in April 1992. Its main tasks, as set out in the 1988 Act, were:
- to repair or improve the housing;
- to make sure the housing is properly managed and used;
- to encourage tenants to choose from a range of different landlords and forms of ownership;
- to improve the living conditions, social conditions and the general environment of the area.

WFHAT was a limited-life organisation and wound up its activities in March 2002. Residents of what were four housing estates now prefer to describe where they live as neighbourhoods. They have changed beyond recognition, from ‘concrete nightmares’ to ordinary streets with houses.

O-Regen is an independent community development charity, serving the London borough of Waltham Forrest, established in 1997. It evolved from the community and economic development department of Waltham Forest HAT (now Community Based Housing Association, CBHA) and its mission is “working with communities to fulfill their aspirations”. O-Regen has a mix of income from transferred commercial / community assets and capital endowments as core funding for its varied work in the community. Its work includes community development, work with young people, employment advice, vocational training, management of community centres / buildings and support for community groups.

It was founded as part of Waltham Forest HAT’s exit strategy, with the aim of creating a sustainable regeneration trust, to continue its community development work. The HAT was wound up in 2002. Its management board contained local people, key stakeholders including residents of social housing providers, local councilors, local businesses, the health service and people chosen for their wide range of expertise. All too often
regeneration projects have been unable to continue their community development work beyond the rebuilding of estates, due to lack of resources, with the risk that the momentum of social and economic regeneration initiatives will be lost. This is an example of a successor company building on the extraordinary success of a time limited, not-for-profit company.

*Kings Cross Central*63

Kings Cross Central is a large-scale (25 hectare) inner city, mixed use development anchored to an international transport interchange that will serve the Channel Tunnel Rail Link. The site is bordered by a number of highly disadvantaged areas, composed of run down social housing estates, failing shops and poor quality public environments. Extensive community consultation and dedicated youth liaison projects are currently underway. Goals are to assemble a clear brief for a wide set of responses to evidenced youth requirements. The parameters of the brief include generic spatial structures, management approaches, training and employment opportunities along with service delivery mechanisms.

Various participatory tools of engagement and analysis were used to collect information from individuals, agencies, schools and clubs ranging from interviews with expert groups to direct involvement in the assembly of a specially filmed video charting on-the-ground use of urban space by local youths.64

A range of professionals involved in youth work who were interviewed in connection with the project felt that youth should be given an active role in defining and creating their own, non-institutionalised environments through the mechanism of, for instance, a youth forum. Drugs (open dealing in daylight streets), teenage pregnancy, exclusions from schools, boredom, low expectations, gender exclusion, and perceptions of poor community safety were specifically identified by all interviewees as recurring issues stemming from the lack of a vital and engaging menu of youth activities and places in the area. Additionally, the lack of youth club to career path linkages, and a lack of facilities for Bangladeshi children were mentioned. The deep-seated need for self expression in the context of situations that all but ignore youth often leads to flouting the law. Dubbing, tagging and graffiti are another outlet, though this is now far from the province of youth alone. Where racial abuse was mentioned, it was principally in the context of gang activity. The depopulation of city streets and the anxiety associated with the public realm in the mind of adults and youths drive a demand for highly localised provision of youth facilities. Better connections, safe routes, and easier / secure transport, it was felt, could help counter this, and the economic difficulty of project duplication.

The consultation work carried out at Kings Cross is to be referred to in terms of best practice by the ODPM in their forthcoming guidance on Community Strategies, a reference to the clear policies that Strategic Local Partnerships (SLPs) are required to assemble before Government ‘Neighbourhood Renewal Funding’ will be committed. Consultation actively supports interaction with the setting up of a development forum, a kind of ‘people’s parliament’, empowering and politicising local individuals and organisations, and giving them a place at the table when it comes to negotiating planning approval for large schemes in their neighbourhood.

63 Action Research Project on Youth Engagement carried out by Fluid for Developers Argent St George, published July, 2002
64 The toolkit can be viewed at www.kxc21.co.uk
Fluid were commissioned by Derby’s Derwent Community Partnership (DCP) in February, 2002, to lead the consultant team, consisting Fluid, Space Syntax and Tanc, and to produce a robust neighbourhood plan for Derwent NDC, an area covering just under 4,000 homes and 10,000 people. The team was responsible for focused community consultation, for analyses of movement, connectivity and exposure using an integrative model and digital geographical information systems, and for the assembly of an overall neighbourhood plan (NP). The team’s intention was to build an accurate picture of a place, its needs and desires, and then to generate a particular spatial framework to accommodate change. At all points community representatives, stakeholders and members were consulted to ensure ownership and accuracy.

The research found that the entire neighbourhood is detached from the city and suffers from a lack of identity. The River Derwent, the Midland Mainline railway, and the A61 and A52 trunk roads are responsible for severe physical severance. The outer-lying edges of the NDC area appear unused and socially and economically stagnant including Racecourse Park in the west and a small industrial estate in the south - projecting an image of isolation and abandonment. Within the NDC area growing perceptions of criminal activity (usually youth and/or drug centred) have resulted in the abandonment of public spaces and streets further heightening levels of fear. Many people, particularly the elderly, feel trapped in their own homes and consider the police to be an ineffective force (particularly as a local station recently saw a drastic reduction in police numbers). The topography of the area splits uphill and downhill communities. In addition there are a number of areas where the standard of housing is unsatisfactory - these areas coincide, more often than not, with resident’s perceptions of ‘no-go’ areas.

The basic strategy of the Neighbourhood Plan is generated by two complimentary approaches to regeneration. The first seeks to establish ‘active edges’ in physical, social, and economic terms, building an image fit to express Derwent NDC’s growing confidence and sense of identity. The second is concerned with developing neighbourhood centres, based on inherent potentials and major routes of connection.

Project prioritisation and delivery will be carried out on a neighbourhood centre basis, for which particular multi-agency and tenant-led groups (actor networks) will be responsible. Environmental design and delivery will be continually reviewed to meet the changing needs of the place and its people.

There are three key components of the ‘Active Edges’. The first is Racecourse Park, a large and generally underused facility on the NDC site’s western edge. The projects in this area generally seek to support a better set of uses for the park, or to support and develop existing uses. The second is the site of the former Racecourse Grandstand (for the ‘straight mile’ track that has long since disappeared). Here a cluster of youth and sport-focussed projects are proposed, forming a sports village around which a set of training and community support facilities (e.g. - community transport headquarters, crèche facilities, healthy (youth) café) are arranged. The third site is the industrial estate immediately to the south of the NDC area. Here a range of projects tackling economic regeneration are

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65 NDC – New Deal for Communities, a £2 billion Government initiative to alleviate high levels of deprivation faced by many Neighbourhoods. Derwent NDC is one of 39 area-based projects in England.

66 A spatial a programmatic master plan for the area’s 10 year development programme.
proposed ranging from business start-up units and community builders to a possible home for DCP’s successor organisation - Derwent Delivers.

These projects build social capital and capacity at the same time as they form the urban spaces and building designs. Design becomes, once again, a social construct. The produce is highly ‘owned’ and, for that reason, tends to get looked after better. Youth can and have been involved in such projects. They can contribute by doing and making as well as by contributing specific local knowledge or a user’s perspective on the design.

*Leyton Orient Community Sports Programme – The ‘Score’ Project*

A current initiative with some highly original thinking around football, social networks, health and lifestyle is being piloted in a London suburb working with a first division football team - ‘Leyton Orient’. Partners include the Primary Care Trust for the borough, local teachers, council officers, housing association managers, commercial sector organisations, health officers and Single Regeneration Budget managers.

The Leyton Orient Community Sports Programme (LOCSP) has the goal of delivering sport and leisure opportunities to socially excluded inner city communities. The success they have achieved in terms of numbers worked with, and the communities involved, is due to the diverse professional and community networks they have created and the wide range of funding they have been able to attract. Smaller meetings are also held between residents, youth workers, local vicars and schools. The holistic approach (working in schools, after school clubs, youth clubs, running holiday and weekend sessions, meeting with residents and professionals and training) is vital for the effectiveness of the programme. Being a charity and an organisation financially and administratively independent of the football club has made this community work possible, mainly because they can attract funding from trusts, local authorities, business and regeneration agencies and then set their own agenda and not that of local club directors, whose priorities may change.

In recent years LOCSP have been developing an innovative new idea called Sports Club Orient (SCORE). The concept is for a community owned and managed club attracting social groups and individuals traditionally excluded from mainstream leisure and education provision - in particular young people, girls and women, single parents and carers, ethnic minorities, over fifties and people with disabilities.

The project has been developed in partnership with O-Regen, a local community development charity, and the Local Authority. SCORE is being developed as a new not for profit organisation to own, manage and deliver a broad range of community and local economic development services from the new facilities.

SCORE is concentrating on capacity building individuals and local clubs and organisations, providing support for volunteers, and offering top quality sports coaching and access to the priority local target groups at affordable prices.

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67 SCORE - Sports Club Orient
68 O-Regen grew from Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust. WF HAT. The HAT were bequeathed a dowry of some land in addition to all the housing on the estate. This allowed the HAT to secure loans from the private sector and to get grants from central government. O-Regen are, today, a highly successful Charity that continues to regenerate the areas around Leyton.
A recent Lottery award, and matching funding from the Football Foundation, Inner Cities Indoor Tennis Initiative, Health Authority, European Regional Development Fund, English Partnerships and Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust, has provided an opportunity for SCORE to develop a €7.5 million community and sports complex offering a social venue, indoor and outdoor sports facilities, a community health centre, crèche, after school and holiday childcare and play schemes, homework clubs and access to employment and training services. The scheme’s potential for the re-engagement and social integration of youth is of a very high order.
CHAPTER 5: NEXT STEPS FOR THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

The paper has been conceived and presented as a background paper on the issue of youth violence. Data collection has been carried out in a number of overlapping manners, in particular desk-based research of UK policy and practice, web site research of EU policy and practice and relevant experience gained through active research projects by the research team and associated Social Architecture and Regeneration research group members.

However, this process has revealed a number of variables in the way that the issues raised by youth and violence are understood and dealt with by various cultures across Europe. The corollary of this is a lack of a firm basis on which to understand and evaluate responses to the subject matter. The intention should be to establish, and illuminate with practical examples, a robust framework to facilitate a structured discussion of potential policies, strategies, interventions and a methodology for gathering and evaluating information.

Developing a methodology

It is clear that the study and evaluation of work carried out in the field that this paper covers is currently hampered by the two primary factors of a lack of agreed terms and definitions and a lack of agreed models for comparative analysis and evaluation.

The paper brings together three areas of enquiry: youth, violence and disadvantaged areas. All three are major areas of research, policy and intervention in their own right. Each has its own national discourse, structures and methodologies established over a long period. Even so there is significant variation in approaches to and interpretation of concepts and definitions within each area and across the EU as a whole. For example, the United Nations defines youth as people between the ages of 15 and 24, while youth policy in Belgium covers ages 0 to 25 and in Sweden ages 13 to 30. These concepts and definitions are also subject to change - albeit slow and incremental - which means that convergence is yet some way off. Before a full evaluation of these three domains is possible, an appropriate definition will have to be agreed that uses criteria other than age, perhaps relating to educational or personal development. The definition must also necessarily be ‘fuzzy-edged’, as many policies and projects cut across boundaries of age, and for that matter behaviour and areas of deprivation.

Bringing youth, violence and disadvantaged areas together also raises other important issues:

- There are many more young people outside disadvantaged areas than there are within them – what are the commonalities and differences?
- Violence is not something particular to young people – how does it differ from the violence expressed by other sections of society?
- Most young people living within disadvantaged areas do not exhibit violent behaviour – what factors separate young people exhibiting violent behaviour from those who do not?

These factors should also be monitored to broaden the understanding of the context of the study.

69 http://www.infoyouth.org/UDIP/GB/GB_2_0_org_gouv.htm
A model for comparative analysis and evaluation

The driving force behind the majority of projects described in this paper is the desire to create an environment that is at the very least inclusive, stable, and within a shared set of values about how to live together. The concepts of exclusion and inclusion or integration define the two poles that describe a person’s relationship with that desired state. The projects we have discussed are in one way or another able to guide young people on the journey between those two poles, from exclusion to integration.

A way of evaluating the success of projects could be by adopting the matrix shown below. This matrix indicates, on its x-axis, the stages of the journey described above from complete disengagement to full integration. This axis is closely related to socio-political methodologies that range from top-down, coercive control to bottom-up, proactive engagement, or, to put it another way, from the treatment of symptoms to attempts to deal with underlying causes. This axis is split to allow for a binary consideration in terms of process and physical environment. The stages along the x-axis are described as detached, outreach / intervention, engagement and integration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage in ‘journey’</th>
<th>Detached</th>
<th>Outreach</th>
<th>Engagement</th>
<th>Integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Project Information</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>Process</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Through plotting the desired outcomes of each project, a model of this type could be used to explore ‘best practice’ and to interrogate each of the projects identified through the data collection stages, ranging from discrete initiatives to area-based projects. This would allow researchers to relate projects running in different contexts and at different rates and scales which, none the less, have operational similarities.

The matrix could also provide additional information mapped in three distinct manners:

- Audit of all projects relating to the subject matter on a country by country basis;
- Geographical projects located on a European map;
- Indexed according to recurring issues.

Coupled with additional information for each project relating to physical qualities of the environment, funding, policy and governance, the plotting of specific data in this manner could identify:

- key issues;
- causes of exclusion;
- levels of success in terms of the project’s own targets and of integration achieved;
- gaps in the procurement processes and physical environments considered.

It is our belief that the parameters set out above would provide a framework for continuing detailed study.

This background paper also highlights the fact that there are innumerable projects operating at a range of scales from extremely local to global in outreach. It is essential that the agency responsible for continuing study carries out an extensive audit of the reach of each project and identifies suitable partners with established networks to avoid duplication.
of studies already carried out. It is also recommended that the study examines measures adopted in comparable urban areas across the globe.

As our survey of initiatives indicates, there is currently a considerable amount of innovation and experimentation occurring across Europe in relation to youth crime and violence. As we have noted, while individual initiatives vary between states and indeed between different locations within member states, there are nevertheless a number of common features which suggest the formation if not of an identifiable regime of regulation then perhaps the beginning of one. In this vein, for example, we would suggest, a common focus on attempts at engaging young people through the development of incorporative strategies designed either with the intention of engaging them in the labour market or intervening in ways designed to reduce entrenched patterns of exclusion and alienation. This is a common feature of provision in most areas even if the precise way incorporation is thought or engineered differs considerably at the point of practice.

While such incorporative initiatives mark the development of non-repressive modes of engagement, such initiatives also exist uneasily in relation to more repressive law and order policy responses. These more traditional and often far more populist and reactive responses indicate that while young people can at one level be considered a vulnerable at-risk population, they can also be considered, at another, as a unitary suspect population that requires coercive regulation and control. Rising prison populations and, in some places, the development of highly coercive policing styles, indicate that these more repressive solutions still occupy a significant role in attempts to address the problems posed by young people.

As we have also indicated in this survey, recent change reflects not only the development of new initiatives but also new ways of forging youth policy and delivering it. Across Europe we can now observe a common focus on developing bottom up solutions to youth crime. It is also possible to observe a common commitment towards multi-agency partnership working between actors who until recently would have worked in relative isolation from one another. These new complex and fluid networks flow across older institutional divides and represent new possibilities for engaging with excluded young people. They also pose and raise new difficulties with regard to developing a mode of provision which is also integrated and coherent.

In a period of experimentation and volatility in policy development, there is an urgent need to consider in far more detail than has been accomplished here, just how the emerging constellation of interventions this report has sought to document operate within different localities. There are three reasons which justify such enquiry: first, there is a need to confirm just how far it is indeed possible to talk about what could be identified as an emerging regime of regulation in the field of youth crime policy. The evidence of change is certainly stark but the evidential basis is by no means as robust and secure as it needs to be. Second, while the search for commonalities remains important, this also needs to be accompanied by an investigation into manifest differences that can also be observed in such provision. Is there, for example, a distinctive Scandinavian model of regulation and if so what distinguishes this from policy responses in the UK or France? Finally, and on a more normative note, we need to engage in such enquiry in order to understand far better than we do what works and what works in ways that most benefit young people. We need to know this in order better to understand how to disseminate best practice in ways that allow all member states to learn productively from each other.
Towards a comparative study of youth directed policy within selected localities across the European Union

To accomplish this a research programme should be initiated at the European level focussed directly at studying the changing ecology of youth crime prevention in a comparative context. Ideally research should be initiated across a number of different urban centres in different member states. These will then be studied in relation to ascertaining:

- emergent and common patterns of regulation that unify these locations;
- disparities in provision along with the reasons that might best explain them;
- what forms of intervention operate most successfully.

Collectively the aim of enquiry should be to establish in a holistic manner the social mode of regulation at play within specific designated localities across the EU.

To provide a common framework for investigation we would propose that each centre/locality selected for analysis share a common set of identifiable problems. Rather than select a locality the size of a town it is perhaps more useful to select specific areas within different urban settings and study the ecology of security and processes of control or engagement within these in detail. The areas selected ought also to possess a number of things in common. They could for example be areas characterised by high rates of crime and high patterns of social exclusion and poverty. The reason for this is that these areas pose the most problems and it is within them that we are likely to witness the most innovative policy responses.

Investigation could consider these selected localities in relation to the following research strands:

1. **Identifying problems posed by and to young people within each locality**
   This strand of research would identify at both a qualitative and quantitative level the problems posed by and to young people from crime and anti social behaviour. It would involve mapping local crime rates and identifying the forms of violence and anti social behaviour in which young people engage. These would then be studied in relation to relevant demographic and social economic data in order to account for the problems identified. In effect an audit of social problems within the area is what this strand of analysis would seek to develop.

2. **Identification of incorporative strategies within each locality**
   These could include the study of forms of intervention that are designed with the aim of incorporating young people considered at risk or of danger of engaging in youth crime and violence. The focus here would be upon studying social policies designed to enhance employability skills, stimulate local labour markets or which are designed to reduce the alienation of young people through non repressive and proactive interventions in their life. At issue here is what is being done by and for young people within each locality and assessing its measurable impact upon their lives.

3. **Identification of law enforcement responses within each locality**
   Research could also be directed towards establishing how the illegalities in which young people are engaged are more coercively managed within these localities. Research here...
would investigate policing styles, and the way in which the criminal justice system is evoked to regulate young offenders. This strand of research would also investigate developments in situational crime prevention and the use of technology for crime prevention and detection purposes. To this extent the research agenda here involves both a consideration of offensive strategies (such as zero-tolerance policing) as well as more defensive ones (as in the ‘target hardening’ of a particular high crime area or estate).

4. Identifying the governance of security within each locality
This strand could investigate the way in which problems posed by young people are discursively constructed and on the basis of these representations made amenable for the purpose of intervention. Research in this strand would investigate how interventions made with regard to young people are designed and would study the constellation of policy networks at play in their formulation. To what extent, this research strand would seek to establish, are policy networks open or closed? Who sits at the table of policy formation and who is excluded? Is provision directed in relation to an agreed common strategy or is provision more loosely organised and more fragmented in its application. Finally it would consider how efforts are directed both spatially and in relation to the balance between incorporative and more coercive interventions.

5. Identifying intermediary structures in the labour market, in education and in new ‘social infrastructures’
The work would identify successful regimes of integration and would field comparative data on specific contextual variables, and their effect on the overall process of integration.

6. Cataloguing urban typologies and social capital
This strand would test a range of new urban typologies in terms of housing provision, healthcare, education and public domain and establish levels of social cohesion relating to the deployment of the specific typology

Research methodology
To develop such a comparative model would require partnership working between research teams located in different member states. Each would undertake study within a locality specific to their country of origin and would contribute to supporting the effort of other research teams in order to exchange experiences and expertise. As interventions directed at working with young people vary considerably, it would be important that the research teams were themselves multi-disciplinary in character.

The research itself would make use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Recent and relevant documents should be studied and reviewed. Numerical data such as crime statistics would be profiled and where relevant mapped. Extensive interviews would be conducted with young people and with those involved in various youth related projects. These would be supplemented by direct observation of projects where relevant.

To enhance knowledge exchange a series of meetings or workshops could be arranged by participating project members in their respective test case areas. This would enhance the definition and refinement of a Europe-wide set of practices and techniques. Such collaboration is also vital for the definition of future policy frameworks. As previously mentioned, explicit definitions, systems of measurement and means of evaluation over the short, medium and long term would need to be carefully assembled.
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Subject: A Symposium on Youth Policy Responses to Everyday Violence

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  - Subject: United States Surgeon General Dr. David Satcher on youth violence prevention

- **1193 problem.doc**
  - Source: http://www.infed.org/about_us.htm
  - Subject: informal education organisation paper - good on problem of ‘youth’

- **1193 us youthgangs.doc**
  - Subject: National Criminal Justice reference service American take on youth issues

- **1193 sheffield.doc**
  - Source: http://usitweb.shef.ac.uk/~lwp98ncs/y&c.htm
  - Subject: Various social sciences material from sheffield university

- **1193 jrf findings.doc**
  - Source: http://www.jrf.org.uk/knowledge/findings/socialpolicy/432.asp
  - Subject: Rowntree findings of survey of students
Youth initiatives

Document: 1193 curriculum and cohesion
Source: http://www.ibe.unesco.org/Regional/social_cohesion/schome.htm
Subject: UNESCO educational programmes combating violence

Document: 1193 springboard.doc
Source: Interview
Subject: Educational Youth programme in north London

Document: 1193 - Positive Futures.doc
Subject: Home office website (intervention scheme)

Document: 1193 - splash.doc
Source: http://www.youth-justice-board.gov.uk/view_pr.cfm?PRID=85
Subject: ‘Splash’ schemes and Splash Extra info.

Document: 1193 confronting youth.doc
Source: http://www.ukf.dk/eng/#juvenile.htm
Subject: Danish website about social context of juvenile crime – judicial approach

Document: 1193 crime reduct youth.doc
Source: http://www.crimereduction.gov.uk/youth1.htm
Subject: The National Youth Agency

Document: 1193 sport 2000.doc
Source: http://www.sport-2000.co.uk/what_is.html
Subject: Derbyshire’s initiative for sports

Document: 1193 - youth-justice-board.doc
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Document: 1193 - Youth InclProg.doc
Source: http://www.rcu.gov.uk/abi/results/abi_result.asp?searchID=43
Subject: About the Youth Inclusion Programme

Document: 1193 - youth-action.doc
Source: http://www.youth-action.org.uk/
Subject: Youth volunteering

Document: 1193 - nacyp.org.doc
Source: http://www.nacyp.org.uk/index2.htm
Subject: National Association of Clubs for Young People – brief intro.

Document: 1193 - include.doc
Source: http://www.include.org.uk/
Subject: Charity tackling the crisis of social exclusion among young people.