

Youth and exclusion in disadvantaged urban areas: addressing the causes of violence



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FOREWORD

Addressing the issue of the integration of young people in deprived urban areas is no easy task. Firstly, one needs to define what the word “integrate” actually means. Then, the debate on the responsibility borne by each of the players involved (governments, politicians, voluntary organisations, mediators, families and young people themselves) in the different approaches and decisions is still ongoing.

Partnership, giving increased responsibility to the players, empowerment, etc. are increasingly put forward as solutions, providing a glimpse of the difficulties involved in attempting to restore some balance to relations and responsibilities between these young people and the (remaining) part of society: that which is open to consideration of the social and economic inequalities and the lack of recognition suffered by most of these young people and their families.

This is indeed a complex phenomenon. The urban “ghettos” of the countries of western Europe are often the result of policies to increase the spatial concentration of certain population groups. Here we find dilapidated housing – often the only housing available to immigrants, many single-parent families, many unskilled or unemployed people, etc. Some urban renewal schemes in city centres have led to displacements of poorer sections of the population.

Divisions have thus emerged between “difficult” neighbourhoods and the rest of the city: they manifest themselves in “invisible” walls of fear and distrust which frequently take the form of visual violence, gestures, words and actions from either side. The young people of these neighbourhoods, especially boys, are both perpetrators and victims of this “visible” violence. To cross these “invisible walls” you have to assert yourself: violence is one means of achieving this. But there are also other, less talked about forms of violence, such as that inflicted on girls. It exists, yet remains invisible most of the time.

This phenomenon of spatial divisions is less noticeable in the transition countries, but the privatisation of housing and the widening gap between rich and poor are likely to lead the cities of central and eastern Europe in the same direction. The existing urban enclaves in such cities as Sofia, Bucharest and Prague can be identified almost exclusively as neighbourhoods inhabited by Roma/Gypsies.

This Volume No. 8 in the “Trends in social cohesion” series, published in association with the Council of Europe’s Integrated Project on “Responses to violence in everyday life in a democratic society”, illustrates the scope of the debate on the issues of youth integration and violence in deprived urban areas. It contains two papers: the first, “The European context”, was written by Paul Soto and Sian Jones of Grupo Alba, and the second, “The transition from welfare state to stakeholder (welfare) society in the United Kingdom”, by Steve McAdam, Simon Hallsworth and Alex Allain of the Social Architecture and Regeneration Research Group.

The facts and ideas set out in these papers show that violence among young people is increasing especially in countries affected by war or where processes of legitimisation of a culture of violence are taking place. It is also increasing in countries where the economic transition has weakened institutions and thrown whole families into poverty, leaving them disoriented and with no future prospects. As United Nations statistics show, however, the figures are becoming equally alarming in the countries of the European Union: in England and Wales, the number of young people convicted between 1995 and 1997 is as high as in Russia. Germany has the second-highest youth crime rate among the EU countries, with just over half the rate of the country above it.

However, there is disagreement among political and institutional leaders and analysts over the relative importance of the root causes of increasing violence. Individual factors, such as the influence of biological and psychological characteristics on innate or acquired personality traits, or relational factors, such as the influence of the family, are often given priority in the design of strategies to tackle the phenomenon, leaving aside societal factors such as income inequalities, poor vocational skills, the lack of regular, decently paid employment, etc. This is especially alarming given that the discrepancy between the promises of success held out by international marketing or of advancement through education and the growing precariousness of everyday existence combined with increasingly obvious inequalities of status and opportunity between, in many cases, neighbouring areas generate repressed feelings of anger among young people and contribute to outbreaks of violence in deprived urban neighbourhoods.

There must be no stigmatisation, however. Not all boys, and not all poor people, are violent. What triggers violence is the breakdown of bonds of social trust, the loss of a sense of identity and the lack of future prospects.

Looking at the various national strategies for combating youth violence, we find that states juggle between “targeted” integration policies and “law and order” policies, placing particular emphasis on the offences committed and sometimes creating confusion between delinquency, individual responsibility and social phenomena.

The two papers presented here illustrate these strategies and political practices. In particular, the first gives a fairly comprehensive overview of the different approaches and their application :

- “youth crime prevention” approaches ;
- approaches based on “employment insertion” or “ownership” of initiatives in the private sector (to provide a way out of public space, the only space that young people from deprived neighbourhoods occupy with their demonstrations of force, virility and opposition to authority ;
- “urban renewal” approaches.

The McAdam text illustrates the method and results of the “targeted” policy for “urban regeneration” adopted in the United Kingdom in the early 1990s. This policy combines actions in the fields of social housing, health care and crime prevention, as well as in those of educational achievement and employment. It describes the changes of context brought about in the country by “youth culture” : the influence of “brands”, consumption and lifestyles, erosion of social networks, socio-economic changes, and the changing role of the family.

While showing the difficulty of building a real strategy for addressing such a complex issue, both texts also illustrate a series of initiatives taken at EU level incorporating significant elements in terms of dialogue, recognition of identities, mediation of conflicts etc. However, all these policies paving the way for new approaches seek more to change the behaviour of young people than to launch debate on a central issue, one raised by Laurent Bonelli* : “...these approaches, although necessary, are very likely to be insufficient until a satisfactory solution is found to the central dilemma : what is the place of disaffiliated youth in our society ? The stakes are very high in terms of cohesion, equality and democracy : citizenship cannot be founded on social uselessness”.

* Statement by Laurent Bonelli on insecurity, and social and political exclusion in French inner-city areas : opposition and alternatives, at the Forum “Social cohesion or public security : how should Europe respond to collective feelings of insecurity ?” held in October 2003, organised by the Council of Europe’s Social Cohesion Development Division. His text can be consulted on-line at the following Internet address : www.coe.int/forum2003

This is a fundamental social issue: it concerns the pillars by which European societies will have to be underpinned in future. We cannot develop a sense of belonging when nothing belongs to us, and no democratic exercise is possible without a sense of belonging. The results of the last elections in France show, for example, that the rate of abstention in "difficult" neighbourhoods is at least 20% higher than the average. How can we address this issue without also calling into question impersonal education systems that leave each individual alone to fight for self-affirmation?

In order to deepen the debate on the nature of current integration policies, the Social Cohesion Development Division, in association with the Integrated Project on "Responses to violence in everyday life in democratic societies", has carried out this year a comparative analysis of integration policies in six European cities (Amsterdam, Barcelona, London, Naples, Moscow and Sofia), the results of which are to be published in 2004. On this basis, we also hope to make a further contribution to the debate by publishing a handbook on the development of policies to help young people in deprived urban neighbourhoods.

Gilda Farrell

Head of the Social Cohesion Development Division

I. THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

by Paul Soto Hardiman and Sian Jones, Grupo Alba SLC

1. Introduction

This report looks at the social integration of young people in disadvantaged urban areas. Chapters 1 to 3 provide the context by offering a broad overview of the situation of poor urban areas in Europe characterised by high levels of criminal activity, violence and unemployment, particularly among young people. The main recognised causes for the trends in urban deprivation and the role played by economic and social developments and by public institutions and policies are reviewed. Chapter 2 examines the extent and causes of urban deprivation in Europe and the main spatial patterns to be found in European countries. Chapter 3 examines the extent and causes of youth violence in Europe and how is this linked to urban deprivation.

Chapters 4 to 6 contrast the different strategies and approaches that affect the social inclusion of young people at the level of the European Union and national governments in Europe. They provide a series of local case studies to illustrate some of the main lessons that emerge from these approaches. Chapter 4 addresses youth and crime prevention, specifically approaches which focus on initiatives which link youth crime to other social and labour market policies. Chapter 5 on youth employment and training attempts to marshal the evidence on new approaches directed at increasing the social inclusion of young people specifically through employment. Chapter 6 on urban and neighbourhood renewal provides examples of more holistic urban territorial approaches which link issues such as youth crime prevention and employment to broader issues related to youth empowerment, partnerships and the building of social capital.

Each chapter starts with an analysis of the background to the issue under review, followed by a comparison of different strategies (EU and national) and ends with a series of local case studies.

Chapter 7 looks at lessons learnt from the main conclusions of the previous chapters and chapter 8 provides a series of recommendations for the future work of the Council of Europe.

1.1. Analytical framework

This section provides an initial methodological framework for organising and analysing the lessons from a series of policies and practical initiatives which take different but closely interrelated approaches to the social integration of young people in deprived urban areas. The framework does not pretend to provide a global theoretical overview of a vast and extremely complex area; it simply aims to create a series of useful categories or pegs which the Council of Europe can use to draw useful conclusions for future policy development. The framework can be broken down into a series of steps or working premises:

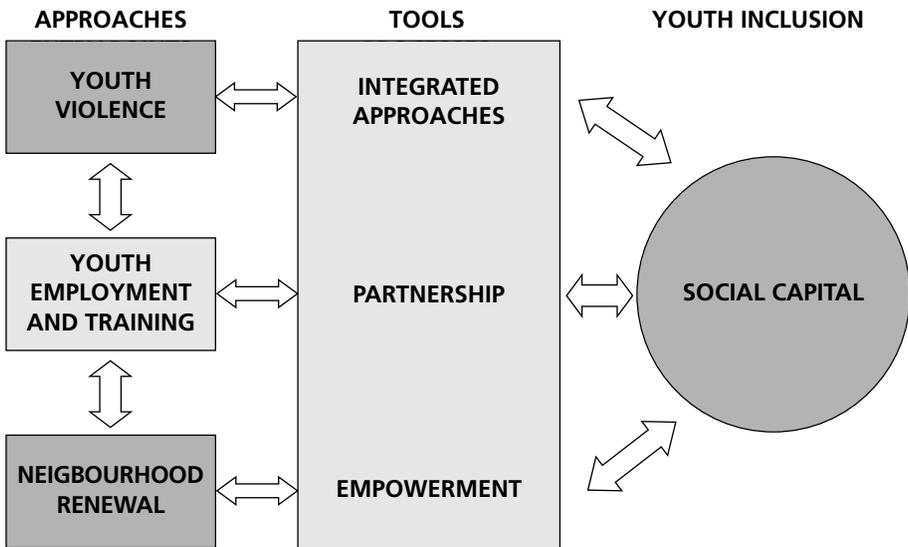
- the objective or target variable to be analysed is the social integration of young people, and not youth crime, employment creation or neighbourhood renewal in themselves;
- approaches which attempt to increase social capital are placed at the centre of the analysis as "social capital is a concept that attempts to measure such community integration".(World Health Organisation);
- the review of the literature dealing with the social integration of young people distinguishes a number of major approaches or entry points. These strategies focus primarily on one of the following:
 - the prevention of youth crime and violence;
 - youth employment and training;
 - youth involvement in urban and neighbourhood renewal.
- the review of the policies and many practical initiatives leads to the conclusion that all three approaches are exploring a number of key processes and tools. Three of the most important are as follows:
 - Integration, interpreted both horizontally as in building links between different sectors or departments (youth, crime, employment, the culture, built environment) and vertically between different levels (neighbourhood, city, national, etc.);
 - Partnership, as an operational tool for involving the stakeholders representing different levels or sectoral interests;
 - Empowerment, understood as a process which can start at the level of information and follow a spectrum right up to control by the community or the so-called "beneficiaries".

Different forms of contracts are often used as a tool for formalising, funding and managing the roles, rights and responsibilities of the partners and other actors. However, it has not been possible to collect information so systematically on this aspect. The same applies

to other key questions such as the definition of pertinent territorial boundaries.

- Finally, these processes and tools are interpreted differently and given different weights depending on the entry point, the context and the level at which the action takes place. Moreover, new concepts are constantly being invented. The aim of this study is not to try to condense reality into the scheme above but simply to use the scheme to highlight these differences and draw lessons for policy development.

The methodology is presented schematically below :



For example, in neighbourhood renewal approaches integration has often taken the form of incorporating economic and social concerns into traditional concerns about housing and the built environment. However, the most advanced projects also insist that the conditions for thematic or sectoral integration at a local level involve a clear commitment to joined-up government at higher levels.

Similarly, many of the projects focusing on youth violence focus on individual, family and institutional actors (for example schools). With certain important exceptions the partnerships tend to involve institutional representatives rather than the young people themselves. But the spectrum of partnerships ranges from ad hoc committees concerned with inter-agency co-ordination to the full blown youth involvement in decision making in the design and implementation of programmes.

The concepts of empowerment and social capital provide the motor for putting young people at the heart of new strategies as active change agents within their communities.

1.2. Empowerment

Building young people's social capital depends to a large extent on the clarity of methodological principles focused on youth empowerment. Key European programmes working on youth inclusion and employment (Youthstart, Integra, Now and the Council of Europe's Youth Strategy) focus clearly on the need to give back the power to young people. However, the term empowerment is often used indiscriminately and interchangeably with other forms of youth consultation, participation and involvement. These really pose radically different strategies around youth involvement and often mark the difference in the type and quality of the outcomes in this field.

According to Bengt Starring, Professor of Social Work, University of Karlstad, Sweden: "Not being the subject of a community's efforts, but making your own changes, this is the foundation of empowerment".¹ Empowerment involves a double-edged process which aims to fundamentally change the balance of power. On the one hand it aims to enable excluded people to take initiatives, make decisions and acquire more power over their lives. At the same time, it forces social, economic and political systems to relinquish some of that power and to enable excluded people and groups to enter into negotiation over decision-making processes thereby playing a full role in society.

The key characteristics of empowerment are:

- It is primarily a process, aimed at a change in power relationships, whereas consultation and other participation procedures aim at "involvement" and maintenance of the status quo;
- It works at individual, group and community levels;
- It implies two-way change: from the target group – young people – and from the centres of power;
- It demands a change in professional and institutional theory and practice;

1. "Empowerment: a new way of looking at inclusion and strategies for employment". Joint Working Document of the Adapt and Employment Community Initiatives, EEC, 2000.

- It needs to be part of a comprehensive integrated approach which deals with a person's total needs: psychological, social, cultural and economic;
- It implies different approaches to lifelong learning, giving a central place to interactive methodologies and learning by doing;
- It implies non-traditional approaches to conflict management and resolution;
- It recognises that the exercise of power requires the management of tensions between co-operation and competition.

1.3. Social capital

In recent years the concept of social capital has gained increasing importance and has moved to the centre of the strategies for urban renewal and social inclusion of youth and other disadvantaged sectors of society. One of the most prominent authors in the field, Robert Putnam,² has described social capital as networks, norms and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives. This definition has also been endorsed by the World Bank, OECD, Kawachi et al, MacGillivray, etc.

A broader definition has been chosen by the Performance and Innovation Unit of the UK government³: "networks, norms, relationships, values and informal sanctions that shape the quantity and co-operative quality of a society's social interactions." The unit distinguishes between three main types of social capital which are extremely useful for analysing different approaches towards the social integration of young people in deprived urban areas:

- Bonding social capital (horizontal linking involving trust and self esteem among individuals, the family, and peer groups);
- Bridging social capital (horizontal bonds between groups, for example between young people and groups from different ethnic communities, different ages, gender, etc.);
- Linking social capital (vertical links between classes and levels of society, for example links with authority, local government, power structures).

2. "Bowling alone, the collapse and revival of the American Community", 2000 and "Bowling together", R. Putnam, *The American Prospect*, 11, February 2002.

3. "Social Capital: A discussion paper": Performance and Innovation Unit, Cabinet Office, UK Government, April 2002.

Young people's investment in social capital can be seen from diverse angles:

- A young person's lack of social networks can seriously inhibit their access to jobs, housing, etc. For example, most people access employment through social contacts. (This has been backed by numerous studies, including a recent US study⁴ which showed that 80% of whites used personal networks to gain their employment compared to 5% of blacks.);
- Wider social relationships based on mutual reciprocity also provide tangible assistance and help to create well-being and a feeling of belonging. These relationships help to build a sense of affiliation and security which bolster a young person's sense of identity and perception of their own social status, whilst helping to integrate them into the broader community;⁵
- The loss of social capital reduces the process for passing on social norms: young people grow up disconnected from norms and values and cut off from the educational aspirations which promote educational attainment. The reduction of their affective networks reduces the diversity of learning experiences and the possibilities of engaging with adult mentors capable of passing on specific skills, values and interests.
- Strong community ties provide sanctions against those who transgress accepted norms of behaviour, acting both as a deterrent and an effective structure for surveillance and community control (what is known within criminology as social control theory). Juvenile offences peak as the bonds to parents and families weaken but before the young person has new bonds to a family, workplace and neighbourhood of their own.⁶

4. "Offering a job: meritocracy and social networks", Petersen T, Saporta I, and Seidel M, *American Journal of Sociology*, 2000.

5. "Liberty, fraternity, equality – a commentary on Rodgers G.B. Income and inequality as determinants of mortality: an international cross-section analysis", "Population Studies", 1979, *International Journal of Epidemiology*, January 2002.

6. "Youth crime and conduct disorder: trends, patterns and causal explanations", Smith D J: in Rutter M and Smith D. *Psychosocial Disorder in Young People: time trends and their causes*, Wiley. 1995.

2. Urban deprivation

2.1. The extent of urban deprivation

Although there is no single, internationally agreed definition of urban deprivation there is a considerable amount of consensus on its main components. The OECD defines deprived urban areas as “portions of cities or their suburbs in which social, economic and environmental problems are concentrated”.⁷

Table 1 – Principal characteristics of urban deprivation

Element	Characteristic
Demography	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Population instability and high turnover• Immigration/migration• High levels of single parent families
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Low qualification levels, high rates of truancy
Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Higher unemployment levels, particularly youth and long-term unemployment
Poverty	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Higher than average levels of poverty particularly child poverty
Income	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Low average income with high proportion of population receiving social assistance
Mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• High proportion of households without a car
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• High premature mortality / disability rates• High incidence of tuberculosis and other preventable diseases
Social Cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Breakdown in community relations, support systems in the family and between groups based on age, race, gender
Crime/Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• High crime rate, drug and substance abuse, growing sense of civilian insecurity

Source: Integrating Distressed Urban Areas, OECD, 1998, adapted by author.

7. “Integrating Distressed Urban Areas”, OECD, 1998.

Unsurprisingly, perhaps, the fact that approximately 80% of the population of the European Union lives in cities leads the European Commission to report that “cohesion policy needs to be focused on the towns and cities of Europe where an increasing proportion of the people live and which are the location of the most severe problems of social deprivation and exclusion”.⁸

However, not all people who suffer disadvantage live in deprived neighbourhoods and not all urban areas suffering from physical disadvantage like bad housing are focus points of deprivation. In fact, traditional definitions of urban deprivation have shifted since the 1950s and 1960s from an emphasis on the physical characteristics typified by the inner city slum areas to a broad consensus that a complex combination of economic, social and environmental factors in specific urban areas creates negative spirals of deprivation and exclusion which seem to be resistant to most traditional policies. In other words, when a series of individual or sectoral problems are concentrated in particular communities and places they reinforce each other in a negative way.

The available evidence suggests that in most developed countries the problems posed by these urban concentrations of deprivation are both extremely large and have been growing at least until the mid-1990s. For example, in their study mentioned above, the OECD found that between 7 and 25% of the urban population live in relative urban deprivation in specific deprived areas (accounting for 20 million persons out of a total urban population surveyed of 175 million). They noted that there are broad similarities amongst these deprived areas in terms of socio-demographic variables and economic conditions and that the conditions suffered are significantly higher than the national aggregate statistics thereby implying a considerable degree of segregation/polarisation of life prospect between and within urban areas.

8. Proceedings of the Second European Cohesion Forum, Brussels, 2001, p.14.

Table 2 – Disparities (expressed as a ratio) between disadvantaged areas and the urban average according to a range of socio-economic variables

Country	Unemployment	Population under 15	Population over 65	Lone parent families	Educational attainment	Rental housing level	Immigration level
Canada	1.9	0.81	0.84	1.72	0.80	1.1	1.4
Finland	1.4	0.89	0.88	1.23	0.67	2.2	1.67
France	1.9	1.27	0.81	2.35	0.52	3.8	2.11
Ireland	2.1	1.07	1.10	1.50	0.51	2.0	
Spain	1.6	1.05	1.00				1.2
Sweden	1.4	1.10	0.63	1.55		1.8	
U.K.	2.8	1.25	0.79	2.75	0.76		
U.S.	1.6	1.13	1.14	2.44	1.57	0.44	1.3

Source: OECD Secretariat: Neighbourhood level data survey and OECD, 1996.

As can be seen from the table, deprived urban areas are characterised by a concentration of young people, single parent families and immigrants occupying low-quality rented housing. These groups generally experience higher levels of unemployment, lower educational attainment rates and greater child poverty levels than the urban average.

Similarly, in its Second Report on Economic and Social Cohesion,⁹ the European Commission found that “urban areas are also those where social and economic disparities are most marked and certain districts have high levels of poverty and exclusion ... In cities like Hamburg, Toulouse, Naples, Genoa, Glasgow or Edinburgh unemployment rates can vary significantly between districts, being up to ten times higher in the worst affected parts than in the least affected. The same is true of dependency rates.” The EU urban audit found that around 23.2% of households in the cities surveyed received less than half the national average household income and 19.4% were reliant on social security.

However, there are virtually no comparable European figures on the concentration of urban deprivation at a neighbourhood level. To obtain a picture of the seriousness of the situation it is necessary to fall back on national statistics. For example, the UK Social Exclusion Unit produced the following sobering figures:

- In the 10% most deprived wards in 1998, 44% relied on means-tested benefits compared to a national average of 22% ;
- In the 10% most deprived wards in 1998, over 60% of children lived in households that relied on means-tested benefits ;
- In 1998-99, the employment rate in Tower Hamlets (inner London) was 55% compared to 7.4% nationally ;
- In 1998, only 11 of the 488 schools with more than 35% of pupils on free school meals attained the national average level of GCSE passes ;
- During 1999, 26% more people died from coronary heart disease in the 20% most deprived health authorities than in the country as a whole ;
- 43% of all housing in the 10% most deprived wards is not in a decent state compared with 29% elsewhere ;

9. “Unity, solidarity, diversity for Europe, its people and its territory”, *Second Report on Economic and Social Cohesion*, EC. Vol. 1 and 2, 2001.

- The domestic burglary rate in North Manchester was 24.8‰ population compared with 8.7‰ nationally. Violence against the person was 37.8‰ population compared to 11.4‰ nationally.

Although the pattern of both social exclusion and urban deprivation varies considerably across Europe, most countries could produce similarly worrying statistics.

2.2. Trends in urban deprivation

Cities, since their conception, have always had poor areas. The rise in deprivation is not just about a rise in poverty, although this is verified in most countries. It relates to the explosive mixture of increased disparity between income levels, often in the same or adjoining spatial zones, the decline in stable employment combined with a deterioration of the physical neighbourhood and a loss of social cohesion in the local community.

However, just as there are no comparable neighbourhood statistics to provide an overview of the extent of the problem in different countries, it is also difficult to quantify the trends. Nevertheless, international and national reports tend to confirm the statement on distressed urban areas made by the OECD that “the process of segregation and polarisation on the basis of income and employment is a general one across the OECD, and that these inequalities have increased since the beginning of the 1980s”.

In the United States, the OECD found that per capita income in poor urban areas fell from 52% of the urban average in 1980 to 38% in 1990. At the same time, the number of people living in urban areas of concentrated poverty almost doubled. In Europe, cohesion policies rightly claim major success in the reduction in income disparities between countries but according to the Second Report on Economic and Social Cohesion “disparities between regions have narrowed by less, partly because the gaps have widened between regions within certain member states” (for example Spain, Portugal, Greece, Italy and, more recently, slower growth among the new German Länder). As a result, regional income disparities are still far greater than in the United States. The average income of the 10% of the population living in the most prosperous EU regions is, for example, 2.6 times greater than of the bottom 10%. Regional unemployment and employment disparities are even greater.

The same report also states that “disparities between social groups and the overall dispersion of income seems to have widened in the 1980s and

early 1990s...The trend seems to have slowed down or even reversed itself since the mid-1990s but disparities between social groups remain unacceptably high." In 1995, 18% of EU citizens had an income below the poverty level (60% of median national income).

Once again the priority given to the reduction of national and regional disparities in EU social cohesion policy leads to a statistical and policy blindness at the level of the local dimension required for analysing the general trends in deprived urban areas across Europe. However, there are two sources of evidence that effectively suggest that the problems posed by deprived urban areas did effectively become worse, at least until the early 1990s. The first kind of evidence comes from national reports on the subject. Again the UK provides a graphic, if possibly extreme, example:

"Past Social Exclusion Unit reports have documented how the gap between poor neighbourhoods and the rest widened over the 1980s and into the 1990s. Over this period, communities became less mixed and more vulnerable with poor people more likely to be concentrated in the same places. Places that started with the highest unemployment often saw the greatest rise in unemployment. Health inequalities widened. The proportion of people living in relatively low-income housing more than doubled between the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1990s. Child poverty more than trebled between 1979 and 1995-96"¹⁰.

The second kind of evidence of a deterioration of the situation comes from analysing the processes and causes that lead to the creation of deprived urban neighbourhoods. In most cases these underlying processes have taken a negative direction for these areas. It is vital to understand them in order both to gain an insight into the links between urban deprivation and youth violence and develop effective strategies for reducing the social exclusion of youth within these areas.

2.3. Causes of urban deprivation

Despite the complexity and the interconnected nature of the processes leading to the creation of deprived urban areas it is possible to separate out three main underlying trends: economic and labour market, social trends, and trends in public policy. It will be seen that this division is also helpful in analysing policy response and the links with youth violence.

10. A New Commitment to Neighbourhood Renewal: National Strategy Action Plan, Social Exclusion Unit, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. UK Government, January 2001.

Economic causes

At an economic level the key factors causing deprivation are the combination of the growth of long-term unemployment and precarious employment on the one hand and growing wage/income inequality on the other. This is exacerbated by the weakening of the financial safety net previously provided by the family, and the state (see next sections).

At a macro level, the decline of traditional manufacturing and the opening up of the service sector has shifted the demand to skilled, often technologically based labour, and away from unskilled or low-skilled jobs. Globalisation of markets has exacerbated the problem by encouraging the relocation of firms in the search for flexibility in wages and conditions. According to the OECD,¹¹ countries which have fought to maintain a high minimum wage and have opposed flexibilisation have seen, as a result, a steady growth in structural long-term unemployment. Sections of the population have been forced into non-employability and the prospect of intractable long-term employment. On the other hand, countries which have opted for more flexible labour and wage conditions as a response to free market demands have incurred an alternative problem of a significant growth in precarious or intermittent employment.

This has contrasted with the premiums given to the new knowledge-based jobs, widening wage and income inequality and ultimately the gap between the haves and the have-nots. A classic example of this situation can be seen in the inner London Borough of Tower Hamlets where the decline of traditional port related industries and textiles has led to an unemployment rate of 20.7%¹² just walking distance from the financial centre of the City of London, one of the most vacancy-rich areas in the world. Many of the new service jobs are located in suburban or greenfield sites. This means that traditional working class neighbourhoods, that were heavily dependent upon the old industries, face both a skills and a distance barrier.

Social trends

Traditional working-class communities generally offered a relatively stable social environment despite high poverty levels based on traditional and extended family models linked to a vibrant community network. However, in most northern European countries, the growth of the welfare state has

11. Ibid.

12. "Local enterprising localities: area-based employment initiatives in the United Kingdom", *Regional Development Studies*, No. 34. EC, 2000.

taken place in parallel with a weakening of the traditional role of the family, leading to the loss of its key financial, social and psychological support roles.

The post-war period of the 1960s and 1970s also witnessed changing gender roles in the family and at work as an extension of the disjuncture of the war period, crucially undermining the assumption of women's primary reproduction role in the family. The breakdown of the social support structures characterised by the rise in divorce rates, the growth of single parent families, the number of people living on their own and the level of homelessness has heralded the emergence of a new type of underclass, unsupported by family or local community and marginalised from normal society. Rising income disparities on a global scale have also increased the pressure of immigration from developing countries. Many of the immigrants gravitate towards areas of rented accommodation in run-down urban areas.

Countries like Finland, the Netherlands and, to a certain extent, Sweden which continued to support both the new gender roles with the strengthening and extension of the welfare state safety net function, managed to reduce some of the worst impacts of these changes. However, in other European countries such as the UK, France and Ireland the welfare state was systematically weakened during the 1980s and early 1990s.

Similarly, whereas southern European countries still avoid the worst effects of this breakdown through the continued strength of the extended family networks, the current evidence shows similar trends to those of northern European countries. A particularly worrying development given the more pronounced economic vulnerability of southern cities in terms of high levels of unemployment.

These social problems are all serious enough on their own. However, when urban planning and public housing combine to divide traditional communities and to concentrate the most vulnerable groups in certain areas, the overall result is an increase in fragmented relations offering few social and psychological resources as a defence against increased economic pressure. In these areas, individual vulnerability takes on a group force leading to wider processes of marginalisation, and the loss of social cohesion.

Public policy

The role of the state has often had a definitive impact on the creation and location of deprived urban areas. Its effects can be seen in key areas: changes to welfare systems, housing policy, transport and other infrastructures.

Changes to welfare systems

Welfare systems obviously play a key role in the prevention and amelioration of poverty when faced with the systemic problems of unemployment mentioned above. However, during the 1980s and 1990s there was a growth in concern over both the cost of these systems and the dependency that they can create by weaning individuals away from already weakened family and community support structures.

In most EU countries there has been an overall growth in relative poverty levels before social transfer. However, some countries have been more successful than others in creating an effective safety net without excessive stigmatisation. Belgium and Sweden, for example, managed to lift over 80% of the poor out of poverty through transfers. This proportion has been roughly maintained despite large increases in poverty in Sweden. The benefit system also absorbed much of the massive increase in poverty in the UK.

Table 3 – Change in% of people below the poverty line (50% of average equivalent income) 1970-1992

Country	Years compared	% below poverty line before social transfer	% below poverty line post social transfer	Trend before social transfer
Belgium	1985	33.6	5.8	+2.6%
	1992	34.5	5.5	
Sweden	1975	30.4	5.2	+42.4%
	1992	43.3	6.0	
Germany	1978	24.5	8.2	+ 6.9%
	1983	26.2	8.0	
France	1979	35.9	13.2	+ 7%
	1984	38.4	11.9	
UK	1974	20.1	11.4	+85%
	1986	37.2	13.0	

Equivalent data not available for similar periods:
Source: adapted by author from OECD 1996.

Even more significantly, the structure of poverty has changed. There has been a decline in poverty for the over-65 age group, particularly in France, Germany and the UK due to increased pension benefits, and an increase in poverty amongst children, young people, couples and single mothers with children, particularly noticeable in Ireland and the UK. The most substantial group affected are households headed by young people (16-24-year-olds).

Comparable data for central and eastern Europe is difficult to obtain. However, a World Bank report confirms that although extreme poverty is lower than in other developing countries, it has increased sharply during the last decade. Even the most successful countries, like Poland – where poverty came down steadily from its peak in 1994 – poverty rates were still higher in 1998 than in 1991. This was due not only to fall in output, but to greater inequality in the distribution of income. There is, however, great regional variation: in some cases, for example Hungary, the increase has been modest, where the Gini coefficient for per capita income rose from 0.21 in 1987 to only 0.25 a decade later. Even in the Czech Republic and Slovenia the distribution of income remains fairly egalitarian. Yet in the CIS countries the increases have been unprecedented: in Armenia, the Russian Federation, Tadjikistan and Ukraine the level of inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient has nearly doubled.

Table 4 – Changes in inequality in selected central and eastern European countries in transition¹³

Countries	Gini coefficient of income per capita		
	1987-90	1993-94	1996-98
CSB ^a	0.23	0.29	0.33 +
Bulgaria	0.23	0.38	0.41 +
Estonia	0.24	0.35	0.37 +
Hungary	0.21	0.23	0.25 +
Lithuania	0.23	0.37	0.34 +
Poland	0.28	0.28	0.33 +
Romania	0.23	0.29	0.30 +
Slovenia	0.22	0.25	0.30 +
CIS ^b	0.28	0.36	0.46 +
Armenia	0.27	-	0.61 ++
Kazakhstan	0.30	0.33	0.35 +
Russian Federation	0.26	0.48	0.47 +
Tadjikistan	0.28	-	0.47 ++
Ukraine	0.24	-	0.47 ++

a. Central and south-eastern Europe and the Baltics b. Median of countries with data
 +: overall increase in poverty inequality rate ++: increase doubled.

Source: World Bank (2000) adapted by author.

13. "Transition: the first 10 years: analysis and lessons for Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union", World Bank, . 2002

Such changes underpin a sharp growth in the disparity between income and wage levels and an increase in the perceived experience of inequality, often reinforced by the consumerist focus propagated by the globalised communication industry which influences so greatly the demand side for products in current and prospective EU member states. Young people are particularly caught between these push/pull factors: on the one hand at the sharp edge of income inequality and unemployment and on the other the prime focus of stimulation on the demand side.

Housing, transport and planning policy

State housing policies have undoubtedly been prime movers in the polarisation of urban neighbourhoods. This is probably one of the most dramatic examples of well-intentioned sectoral policies creating precisely the opposite effect from that which was intended because they did not take into account the complex interrelationships between physical, economic and social factors at a local level. Inner-city renewal policies targeted at eliminating some of the worst slum housing conditions in inner cities transferred working-class populations out of the urban centre and into new social housing projects, often without proper infrastructures or transport links. These policies, combined with public sector selection procedures, are heavily responsible for the spatial concentration of deprived families in specific neighbourhoods.

Where the new public housing developments became to be seen as undesirable (in some cases to do with architectural, planning and environmental failures, but mainly through lack of choice for public sector tenants) these areas fast became the classic “dump estates”, even though physical living conditions were improved. When combined with the social factors described below this destroyed the traditional support mechanisms among many poor communities.

Countries like the Netherlands that had clearer “social-mix” criteria have avoided, to a far greater extent, the creation of such problem zones. This contrasts with some central and eastern European countries, for example the former East Germany, where similar social housing estates are seen to be desirable as they offer high quality conditions for relatively low rents. The crucial element seems to be control over housing choice and a communities’ perception of desirability.

Many new housing developments lacked effective transport and other crucial services, emphasising the social isolation of the estates. The downward cycle has made it increasingly difficult to attract new or stable services, whilst many of the areas suffered from poor management and environmental maintenance underscoring the sense of deprivation. Lack of cheap, efficient public transport systems has proved to be a key vulnerability as unemployed workers find themselves further hampered in their mobility to look for or sustain employment.

2.4. Patterns of urban deprivation in the European Union

According to the OECD, the processes described above give rise to three main spatial models of urban deprivation :

City centre deprivation (C)

These are usually run down areas of traditional rented accommodation, often near to, or in, historic city centres, with large numbers of young people, immigrants and frequently older residents characterised by controlled rents or owner occupation. Many of these areas have been divided and transformed by transport arteries and public housing programmes.

Peripheral deprivation (P)

Generally post-war public housing estates built to ease the problems in city centres. Concentrations of large families, single parent families, youth and immigrants with high levels of unemployment. Poor transport and services.

There is also ***mixed city centre and peripheral deprivation (P-C)*** which is a mixture of the previous two.

From the following table it can be seen that, with some notable exceptions, most northern European countries seem to have transferred the most severe problems to peripheral housing estates. In Spain, France, Italy, and the UK urban centre deprivation coexists with peripheral deprivation. In Portugal the problems appear to be concentrated in the centres of the major conurbations. In the ex-communist accession countries the legacy of central planning systems in social housing have spread urban deprivation and its associated problems, such as violence, more evenly across entire regions.

Table 5 – Characteristics and factors influencing creation of deprived urban areas

Country	Process and key causes
Denmark (P)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change in location of deprived areas from post-war temporary housing to social housing estates in the suburbs; • 1960s economic boom promoted home ownership leaving social housing as temporary “dump”. Cost-price rent-fixing policy creates rent increases and decline in maintenance and downward spiral; • Social marginalisation of remaining estates.
Germany (P)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Former W. Germany: inner city renewal programmes transformed traditional deprived tenement areas in city centres and broke up stable working-class communities dispersed to low-cost housing in periphery, mainly public; • Public tenancy selection processes led to social polarisation; • Former E. Germany: public housing schemes built in 1950s and 1960s seen as desirable due to modern facilities, led to more socially mixed estates; • Current problem linked to physical deterioration of housing stock.
Netherlands (P)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government urban reconstruction programmes transformed sub-standard housing in city centres; • Avoided polarisation of housing market through rent subsidy system allowing immigrant and indigenous population to remain in renovated inner-city neighbourhoods, ensuring social mix; • Main problem areas: new suburbs not necessarily social housing, but become labelled as undesirable through lack of economic choices of resident largely unemployed population.
Finland (P)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deprived areas in periphery: mainly high-rise poorly built flats financed through government housing loans; • Exclusion and polarisation previously rare, but now on increase due to unpopularity of specific schemes; • Rising social segregation linked to emergence of long-term unemployment arising from shrinking of public sector.
Norway (C)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key deprived areas in city centres: although housing conditions good, growing environmental problems (noise, pollution, traffic); • Reduced social/economic deprivation as low level of unemployment or social assistance.
Sweden (P)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Massive state urban reconstruction post-war programme modernised housing stock and abolished over-crowding; • Led to social polarisation in new estates, concentrating unemployed and immigrant populations in least attractive residential areas.
France (C-P)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transition neighbourhoods with high unemployment (50%) through restructuring of traditional manufacturing and industrial areas; • Social housing estates created in post-war period in periphery and suburbs, occupied by poor families and immigrant population. Often high physical standards but increasing social exclusion.

Italy (C-P)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rapid industrialisation led to expansion of city centres, with modern social housing development, avoiding lack of social mix; • Striking regional disparities: north and south; • Concentration of deprived areas in south linked to unemployment, lack of social services, dominant black economy and organised crime; • Social polarisation and loss of social cohesion in social housing estates in north underlined by decline in traditional family.
Spain (C-P)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unplanned accelerated urbanisation processes led to growth of "shanty" towns and inadequate public dwellings on periphery; • Although public policy has attacked housing deficiency, social and economic deprivation has emerged through rampant unemployment; • Decline in family networks and growth of single parents in urban areas, weakening social cohesion; • Influx of immigrants to some areas creating tension.
UK. (C-P)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two decades of urban policy resulted in revitalisation of areas of city centres for higher income earners alongside intractable declining inner-city areas with concentration of unemployed/immigrant population; • Spiral of decline in social housing estates in inner and periphery areas, through perceived unpopularity linked to poor design and concentration of disadvantaged people from lack of housing choice.
Greece (C)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Later and more rapid urbanisation, largely unplanned, led to structural physical degradation of housing stock, now linked with environmental problems in the centre; • Social polarisation resulted from choices of new skilled/mobile workers moving out to suburbs, underline by significant delocation of industries.
Portugal (C)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uncontrolled urbanisation processes leading to 40% of population in two cities, Lisbon and Porto, causing housing and environmental stress; • City slums largely cleared in 1980s but key pockets remain where vulnerable population concentrated: immigrants, young unemployed and poor elderly.
Central and eastern European countries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chief problems: legacy of central planning system when undifferentiated housing was determined by industrial needs; • Resulted in reduced social polarisation, lack of hierarchies in the housing market; • Deprived conditions affect whole regions rather than neighbourhoods; • Little sign of coincidence of unemployment with other deprivation factors in specific neighbourhoods.

Table by author.

Source: Integrating Distressed Urban Areas, OECD, 1998, pp. 19-29.

3. Youth violence

3.1. The extent and evolution of youth violence

The popular stereotype of deprived urban areas includes a potent image of growing problems of youth alienation and urban street violence. How far is this backed up by evidence? Although it is difficult to systematically analyse youth crime at a European level, as each country defines, classifies and measures crime rates in different ways, there is a fairly wide consensus on the following general conclusions:

- Adolescents and young adults in most countries in the world are the main victims and perpetrators of violence;¹⁴
- Young males primarily carry out and suffer from this violence;¹⁵
- Violent behaviour is only one aspect of a broad range of crimes that offenders carry out and it is matched by a similar rise in adolescent risk behaviour, such as bullying and offensive behaviour;¹⁶
- Juvenile crime rates have increased dramatically in European countries, although with significant variations between countries.¹⁷

Europe does not suffer from comparable levels of violence to the US and has a minimal problem compared to Colombia – the top listed country (see Table 6). In fact, the youth homicide rate in Europe is just one tenth of the US rate and one eightieth of the rate in Colombia. However, several countries, worryingly, have now passed a 1 per 100 000 rate.

Youth violence is primarily a problem of gender. Men carry out and suffer more from youth violence; as offenders, young men are more likely to perpetrate violence than women. Evidence on victims is harder to come by but the existing studies point to a marked preponderance of male over female victims, fatal or non-fatal. However, in all countries in Europe the male rates have risen more than female rates. Women's involvement in violence is primarily as victims of domestic violence which has seen a substantial rise – or increased reporting to police authorities – in Europe.

14. "Youth Violence: a report of the Surgeon General", Washington DC, US Department of Health and Human Services, 2001.

15. "Youth Violence: First World Report on Violence and Health", Ch. 2, UN: WHO, 2002.

16. "Health Behaviour in school-aged children: A WHO cross-national study", Currie C. ed. Bergen, University of Bergen, 1998.

17. "Trends in Youth Violence in European Countries", Christian Pfeiffer, Kriminologie Forschungsinstitut Niedersachsen, Hanover, Germany, 1998.

Violent behaviour is only the extreme end of the spectrum of disruptive anti-social behaviour. Non-violent crimes committed by juveniles have also increased significantly. Crimes against property committed by juveniles have more than doubled between 1986-1993 (approximately 650 per 100.000.)¹⁸ Whereas other examples of risk behaviour: participating in physical fights, bullying and carrying weapons often linked to drug abuse are also on the increase in most countries.

Table 6 – Homicide rates among youths aged 10-29 by country*

Country	Year	No. of deaths	Homicide rate per 100 000 (Age 10-29)			
			Total	Male	Female	M/F ratio
Austria	1999	7	b	b	b	b
Belgium	1995	37	1.8	b	b	b
Denmark	1996	20	1.5	b	b	b
Finland	1998	19	b	b	b	b
France	1998	91	0.6	0.7	0.4	1.9
Germany	1999	156	0.8	1.0	0.6	1.6
Greece	1998	25	0.9	1.4	b	b
Ireland	1997	10	b	b	b	b
Italy	1997	210	1.4	2.3	0.5	4.5
Netherlands	1999	60	1.5	1.8	1.2	1.6
Norway	1997	11	b	b	b	b
Portugal	1999	37	1.3	2.1	b	b
Spain	1998	96	0.8	1.2	0.4	2.9
Sweden	1996	16	b	b	b	b
UK	1999	139	0.9	1.4	0.4	3.9
USA	1998	8 226	11.0	17.9	3.7	4.8
Colombia	1995	12 834	84.4	156.3	11.9	13.1

* most recent year available

b. Fewer than 20 deaths reported, rate not calculated.

Source: adapted from UN WHO report: Violence and Health 2002, p 28.

18. "Trends in Juvenile Violence in European Countries", Pfeiffer C., *Research Preview*, Krimologie Forschungsinstitut Niedersachsen, Hanover, Germany, 1998.

In a study on health behaviour among school-aged children in twenty-seven countries, the majority of 13-year-olds in most countries were found to have engaged in bullying at least some of the time.¹⁹ Other national surveys on weapon carrying support the conclusion of increasingly armed young people: in Scotland 34.1% of males and 8.6% of females in secondary school admitted to carrying knives to school.²⁰

According to the WHO, although youth violence increased throughout the world between 1985 and 1994, important differences exist between countries and regions. The areas with the highest rates are developing countries and economies in transition, for example the countries of central and eastern Europe. This is probably linked on the one hand to the effect of prolonged exposure to armed conflicts that contributes to a general culture of violence, but more significantly to the incidence of poverty and social and economic transition.

According to the European Learning and Information Network for Crime Prevention and Community Safety there appears to have been a general increase in crime in all European countries over the last 25 years. They state that "although there has been a plateau where the crime rate has levelled off for a few years and occasional reductions it is impossible to find any European country where the crime rate is lower than it was ten or twenty years ago."

The evidence on youth violence seems to point in the same direction. According to a study by Christian Pfeiffer for the US Department of Justice: "Juvenile crime rates increased across the European Union in almost all countries".²¹ In every country studied, the rate of juvenile violence rose sharply in the mid-1980s or early 1990s. In some countries, the official figures increased between 50 and 100%. For example, in England and Wales (counted together) in 1986 approximately 360 of every 100000 youths aged 14-16 were convicted or cautioned by the police for violent crimes; in 1994, that figure had climbed to approximately 580 per 100000. In Germany the growth rate was even higher: in 1984 the number of 14- to 18-year-olds suspected of violent crime in the former West Germany was approximately 300 per 100000; by 1995, that figure

19. "Health behaviour in school-aged children: a WHO cross-national study", Currie C. Bergen, University of Bergen, 1998.

20. "Association between illegal drugs and weapon carrying in young people".

21. "Trends in Youth Violence in European Countries", Pfeiffer C, Kriminologie Forschungsinstitut Niedersachsen, Hanover, Germany, 1998.

had more than doubled to approximately 760 per 100 000. Rates in the former East Germany were between 60 and 80% higher.

Other studies are more cautious and insist that both the methods for registering juvenile delinquency and changes in the base population should be taken into account.²² Although the figures should be interpreted with caution and scientific rigour in order to avoid scare mongering, the evidence does suggest that there must be powerful and extremely dangerous processes at work.

3.2. The main causes of youth violence and its links with urban deprivation

When we come to analyse the causes of violence there is substantial agreement about the list of factors, although disagreement about their relative importance. The UN/WHO report in 2002 on Youth and Violence highlights the principal causes/influences on four interrelated levels: (i) individual, biological/psychological characteristics affecting inherent or learnt personality; (ii) relationship, at the level of family and peer influences; (iii) community, at the level of social cohesion and integration; (iv) society, demographic and social changes, income equality and governance structures. The report classifies forty-six violence prevention strategies for adolescents and young adults according to these four levels. Of these it points out that “changing the social and cultural environment is the strategy that is the least frequently employed to prevent youth violence”.

The degree of importance given to the different levels will clearly affect the strategy taken. It also implies an inherent judgement as to whether the problem of youth violence is dealt with primarily with a youth problem focus: by eroding individuals’ propensity to crime or by effectively inhibiting their fields of effective action; or by focusing on the overall socio-economic context that produces the conditions that breed violence.

In this study we by no means wish to suggest that social integration should be the only approach to youth violence. On the contrary, all the evidence suggests that societal approaches will work only if they are backed up and integrated into broader, systemic approaches which take account of all four levels listed by the WHO and are adapted to specific contexts. However, we are concerned about the low level of priority that

22. “Confronting youth in Europe”, *Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed. Lode Walegrave and Jill Mehlbye, 1998.

appears to be given to societal approaches. This study therefore focuses on the obstacles and success factors related to societal approaches to youth crime and their relationship to other strategies for the social and economic inclusion of youth.

Most experts now back the evidence of the relationship between poverty, income inequality and youth crime. Gartner's²³ study of eighteen industrialised countries 1950-1980 found that income inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient has a significant effect on homicide. More recently, Daniel Lederman of the World Bank came to a similar conclusion.²⁴

Within this overall context of poverty and inequality, it is generally boys in urban areas who are more likely to carry out violent and disruptive behaviour and within the urban context there is substantial evidence that key neighbourhoods have higher levels of crime than adjacent ones. For example, the study for the US Department of Justice, quoted above, states: "it has become axiomatic over the past 20 years that neighbourhoods with depressed socio-economic conditions – particularly in urban areas – suffer higher crime rates than neighbourhoods with a healthy economy. Since crime in general has been correlated with socio-economic conditions, it is no surprise that juvenile crime is also connected to these factors. In most of the European Union countries surveyed, the rising juvenile crime rate accompanied rising unemployment and poverty rates".

Once again, there are more cautious opinions within this broad body of research. For example, the Research Group on Youth Criminology at Leuven University were "unable to demonstrate that the neighbourhood as such has its own influence on the existence of serious and frequent delinquency among youth. However, neighbourhoods remain areas where a number of social problems are concentrated and which thus can also be targets for focused social action." One of their conclusions, therefore, is that "this unmistakable link (between socio-economic status and youth criminality) again demonstrates the importance of social integration. We again find it necessary to point out the need for a just and inclusive socio-economic and cultural policy as it remains the foundation of any policy capable of motivating youth to behaviour that is more in conformity with the norm".

23. "The victims of homicide: a temporal and cross-national comparison", Gartner R, *American Sociological Review*, 1990.

24. "Inequality and Violent Crime", Fajnzylber P, Lederman D, Loayza N., World Bank, Washington DC, 1999.

According to most researchers, the societal factors that most keenly influence youth violence in these areas appear to be the impact of rapid demographic and social and economic changes in urban contexts which create classic risk conditions: high youth unemployment, and inadequate housing linked to visible income inequality. It is often in these deprived urban areas that the push/pull factors are most accentuated.

Young people in European cities can be seen to be squeezed by a mismatch between their rising expectations – linked to globalised marketing images tailoring youth demand – and an increasingly despondent reality of rising youth unemployment or precarious short-term jobs. When this is combined with a growing awareness of blatant inequalities of income and status in often adjacent living conditions it is easy to understand how it can induce feelings of frustration and pent-up anger amongst youth and help to explain the explosion of violent behaviour in key urban deprived neighbourhoods.

However, not all young men are violent, neither do all poor men commit violent acts; the often decisive factor to spark violence out of a context of poverty and inequality is the degree of lack of social cohesion in the community and the degree of lack of youth integration within it. According to the World Health Organisation, “the degree of social integration within a community also affects the rates of youth violence. Social capital is a concept which attempts to measure such community integration. It refers to the rules, norms, obligations and trust that exist in social relations and institutions. Young people living in places that lack social capital tend to perform poorly in school and have a greater probability of dropping out altogether.”

Moser and Holland²⁵ found a cyclical relationship between violence and the destruction of social capital in the study of poor urban communities in Jamaica. Similarly, Wilkinson, Kawachi and Kennedy²⁶ showed that “indices of social capital reflecting low social cohesion and high levels of interpersonal mistrust linked to both higher homicide rates and greater economic inequality.”

The gender nature of youth violence also underlines the importance of social cohesion and social capital. Violent behaviour is clearly one of a

25. “Urban poverty and violence in Jamaica”; *World Bank Latin American and Caribbean Studies: viewpoints*, Moser and Holland, Washington D.C., 1998.

26. “Mortality, the social environment, crime and violence”, Wilkinson R G, Kawachi I, Kennedy B P, *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 20, 1998, pp. 578-597.

series of alternative actions possible as a reaction to deprivation. The fact that young men at a certain age are more likely to opt for disruptive behaviour is often related to their preference for alternative social groupings such as gangs which are outside the normal community structures. These gangs offer young men an alternative peer group form of shared cultural behaviour when the established social order and community cohesion have broken down.²⁷

Effective approaches to solving youth violence as part of problems arising in urban deprived areas therefore not only have to come up with real solutions to youths' economic problems: unemployment, precarious jobs and income disparity, but must deal with the growing social threat of the lack of youth integration and social capital in specific deprived urban neighbourhoods.

4. Youth crime prevention strategies

4.1. Background

The attitude towards the juvenile crime and violence problem has changed radically in the last fifty years due to the changing political and economic vision influencing the perception of the role of young people in relation to the state. The post-war period saw the establishment of the welfare state model of assistance and developmental support in the "best interest of the child", which led to the introduction of the broad interventionist systems seen in most northern European countries.

This paternalistic model was challenged in the late 1960s by anti-psychiatry and children's rights movements focusing on the vision and cultural interest of the young person. In the 1980s a more punitive individualistic model emerged, focusing on individual juvenile responsibility, as a response to the consolidation of the neo-liberal economic model. These evolutions have been reflected in changes in the formal regulations of juvenile justice (Italy, 1988, Germany 1990, Belgium 1994, the Netherlands 1995).²⁸ Today, most countries in reality continue to juggle the welfare/ justice model and sometimes unhappily combine deterrence and prevention strategies in their treatment of youth violence.

27. "Advancing knowledge about co-offending: results from a prospective longitudinal survey of London males", *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 1991, pp. 360-395.

28. *Confronting Youth in Europe: Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice*, ed Walgrave L. and Mehlbye J., 1998. Institute of Local Government Studies- Denmark. AKF

A key starting point for many of the multidisciplinary and inter-sectoral strategies relating to youth violence and inclusion is the incorporation of a public health approach to crime prevention. These approaches focus on a concept of health which encompasses physical, mental and social well-being²⁹ with an explicit interest in identifying effective integrated strategies for prevention. According to this model :

- The primary level focuses on the societal level in an attempt to reduce the opportunities and motives for crime or insecurity ;
- The secondary level focuses on specific at-risk communities or individuals ;
- The tertiary level focuses on people who have already offended in an attempt to stop them re-offending.

Few attempts have been made to link the distinctive levels in a unified integrated approach. One such attempt at a conceptual approach is the MLIVEA³⁰ framework (see table below) developed by Susanne Jordan at the Public Health Policy Research Unit, Berlin. This attempts to structure the multiple causes of youth violence mentioned by the WHO in the last chapter, focusing on the interrelationships of the levels and the factors that lead to violence, and pointing to the need for a multifaceted, integrated and dynamic approach which can work on all these levels at the same time.

Table 7 – MLIVEA framework

Level	Action
Macro Social cultural background Socio-economic conditions Urbanisation	Economic and social policy for equity to combat deprivation
Local Home School Neighbourhood Workplace	Community neighbourhood initiatives: employment, health, education, social and cultural

29. "Violence: a Public Health Priority", WHO, Geneva, 1998

30. "Violence and Adolescence in Urban Settings: A Public Health Approach", Jordan Susanne, Berlin October 2001, Research Unit Public Health Policy, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin.

Individual Risk-taking behaviour Experience of violence Alcohol and drug use	Strengthening resiliency, social development and skills
Violent acts Self-directed violence Violence against property and people Group violence	Crime prevention, security and community safety: integrated police action
Health Effect Mortality Well-being Costs for society	Emergency and rehabilitation care. Counselling and advising of targets and victims

It can be seen that there are strong parallels and links with the analysis of social capital outlined in the first chapter. Using the MLIVEA framework it can once again be seen that most approaches focusing directly on youth violence tend to emphasise the individual level and the bonding aspects of social capital, followed to a lesser extent by the local level and the building of bridging social capital.

4.2. National approaches

Most countries have set up national structures to guide and manage crime prevention approaches and are evolving international co-ordination. The European Urban Charter now refers to the right of European citizens to a “secure and safe town as far as possible, [free of] crime, delinquency and aggression” building on Article 29 of the Amsterdam Treaty.

However, the degree to which the societal causes of juvenile violence are linked with strategies for social inclusion depend to a large extent on who are the main players in managing the strategies and the degree of cross-disciplinary and departmental involvement in policy design and application. In countries where the police and forces of law and order are the prime movers of crime prevention strategies, such as Italy and Ireland, the focus is primarily on tertiary prevention.

Most northern European countries tend to have a separate national crime prevention board or department which is separate from, although linked with, the police systems and is supported at ministerial level. Often crime prevention responsibilities are shared between several departments.

Table 8 – National crime prevention approaches

Country	Agency responsible	Key actions
England and Wales	Home Office Crime Prevention Unit, co-ordinated with Police Research Group, Dept of Environment, Welsh Office. Dept of Education and Employment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safer Cities Programme managed through three national agencies and local partnerships: police, local authorities (LA), business. • Youth Inclusion Programmes. • Active citizenship and Youth Action Plus. • Crime Concern charity.
Belgium	Permanent Secretariat for Prevention Policy (VSPP), Ministry of Interior.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local security/prevention contracts (police/LA). • Civic wardens. • Fan coaching. • Community negotiators. • Neighbourhood contact committees.
Sweden	National Crime Prevention Council.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local crime prevention plans drawn up by LA and police, community organisations.
Netherlands	Crime Prevention Dept, Ministry of Justice. Responsibilities shared with other depts: welfare, health and culture.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local crime prevention committees incorporating youth, town planning, education and transport. • City Guards. • Truancy projects. • Delft Neighbourhood project. • Major Cities Policy.
Spain	Coordination between national; regional and local authorities.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Separated responsibilities: deterrence – police, social prevention – social and cultural affairs. • Local crime prevention depends on regional authority. • Barcelona: Consell de Seguretat Urbana.
Denmark	First country to establish National Crime Prevention Council, Ministry of Justice.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiagency, integrated approach implemented at local level. • Quality of life in Local Areas Project. • Egebjerggard experiment. • Regional Crime Prevention branches.
Germany	No national Council. Inter-ministerial groups working on violence prevention. Crime Prevention Councils in most federal states. Crime Prevention section in National Crime control department.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Programmes: Action Programme against Aggression and Violence. • Challenging Violence. • Berlin’s Kick into Sport Project.

Ireland	Responsibility of National Police Force Community Relations section.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote partnerships police, voluntary organisations and private sector. • Special Councils running Neighbourhood Watch. • Community, driven estate regeneration : Mayfield, Cork.
Scotland	Scottish Crime Prevention Council, involving LA, private sector, voluntary sector and police.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safer Cities Programme ceased in 1996. • Community Safety Unit – Lothian Regional Council. • Neighbourhood watch. • Community involvement. • Crime prevention panels.
France	National Council for the Prevention of Crime chaired by Prime Minister. Regional councils chaired by chief administrator. Communal councils at city level.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OPAH. (housing improvement) • MOUS. (housing) • Droit de Cité. • DIV. • Violence prevention in schools. • Communal Board examples.

4.3. Crime prevention at neighbourhood level

No comprehensive evaluation exists at European level of the distinctive content and impact of the various crime prevention schemes at member state level. What can be seen is that whilst most countries emphasise an integrated crime prevention approach focused on the different causes of youth crime and promote a neighbourhood approach at a local level, there exists a marked tendency to focus on opportunity reduction and designing-out crime, with the community involvement seen primarily as a deterrent and surveillance methodology.

Crime Concern, a UK charity responsible for promoting multi-agency crime prevention strategies, pointed out recently³¹ that many of the specific crime prevention partnerships have found it difficult to deliver for the following reasons:

- partnerships are too often an end in themselves – committees do not prevent crime;
- individual agencies often do not operate constructively for the good of the multi-agency approach;

31. "Working in partnership, opportunities and challenges" : workshop led by Jon Bright, Director of Field Operations, Crime Concern Conference, 2001.

- there is a lack of a focused programme of action, identifying problems and designing specific solutions ; and
- most programmes concentrate primarily on preventing crime rather than criminality.

Initial analysis of projects promoted by these agencies highlight a relatively reduced number of social crime and community development approaches, placing crime prevention as one part of a general renewal strategy. Most focus on crime prevention rather than the prevention of criminals. Measures for preventing crime have generally been widely developed and implemented in all countries, they include :

- Reducing opportunities for crime through better security, more surveillance, improvements to design and layout of public buildings and spaces ;
- Improving community safety : good estate management, caretaking, community wardens, neighbourhood watch schemes, city guards ;
- Preventive policing : local beats, local prevention panels involving parents, schools.

However, approaches to prevent criminality, particularly in young people, necessitate a broader approach focusing on prime influences : family, school and community, linking social and economic opportunities and ensuring the empowerment and rebuilt social capital of young people themselves.

How these projects work on the ground and what distinguishes the partnerships focused on crime prevention from other neighbourhood partnerships is: the degree crime is prioritised over other social and economic causes of youth exclusion ; the type and role of the organisations involved in them and, above all, the degree of importance given to youth empowerment.

The Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (CLRAE) in its recently published manual *Urban Crime Prevention: a guide for local authorities*³² focuses on the need to promote long-term preventative measures through a local partnership approach involving the police, media, schools, the business community, local authorities and the local community. The guide emphasises the need to move on from traditional methods of juvenile crime prevention, away from a punitive approach towards one where formal recognition is given to the “pivotal role of young people within neighbourhoods and the need to actively seek their

32. *Urban Crime Prevention: A guide for local authorities*, Council of Europe Publishing, 2002.

involvement and co-operation, accepting that they form part of the solution to their problems and must be treated as partners”.

4.4. Good practices³³

This section presents some examples of neighbourhood crime prevention projects that attempt to carry out integrated territorial strategies and that attempt to foster specific actions to prevent criminality as well as crime prevention.

Projects in schools

Crime prevention through youth empowerment: in the school and community

The Danish Quality of Life in Local Areas project was launched in 1994 by the National Crime Prevention Council in co-operation with five municipalities. It aimed to enhance crime prevention by empowering people, irrespective of age, and reinforcing social solidarity. Its themes were: (i) active involvement of pupils in running everyday life at school; (ii) active involvement of young people in running institutions and clubs, and their local housing estates; (iii) co-operation between children, young people and adults in improving their local area; (iv) co-operation between the local authority and recreational and housing sectors; and (v) being part of the neighbourhood renewal process. Examples of activities included: the development of committees for children and young people; setting up of new facilities; a “quick service” help scheme offered by children and young people to the elderly with shopping, gardening, etc; workshops on democracy in schools; and participative evaluation of quality of life in the local area.

Projects that focus on violence prevention through peer mentors as a response to increasing delinquency with younger children

Since 1997, the French Government has recruited 30 000 *emplois-jeunes* (young assistants) to work in schools alongside teachers. These young employees, close to the age of the pupils, operate as mentors and offer mediation, supervision and surveillance thereby promoting social capital and engagement between children, parents and schools.

33. *Creating Safer Communities in Europe: a crime prevention sourcebook*. European Learning and Information Network for Crime Prevention and Community Safety, University of the West of England, 2001.

Projects focusing on building social capital in schools as a way of restoring children and youth's connection to themselves and their environment

The Linking Project/Reliance set up by the Department of Criminology, University of Leuven, Belgium³⁴ and linked to the Dafne programme with Portugal was initially carried out in fourteen primary schools. In 2000 it was extended to six secondary schools in Flanders. It aims to re-establish childrens' and young people's social capital through strengthening "linkedness as an answer to de-linquency": link with yourself; link with others; link with objects and materials; link to group and to society and link to the environment. Practical projects include establishing self-reflection time for children in the school with relaxation techniques; conflict resolution; practical workshops; children's responsibility for maintenance of classrooms and playgrounds; group/community activities introduced as part of mainstream activities; creation and management of school vegetable gardens.

Projects focusing on youth empowerment and leadership through peer mediation and education and youth-led project development

Youth Action Plus³⁵ is a UK Government initiative supporting local partnership projects based primarily in schools aiming to empower young people as partners in community safety and crime reduction. Young people work together on practical projects to identify and tackle local issues such as bullying, racism, drugs, vandalism, theft and personal safety. A key focus is on supporting youth leaders/mentors/peer trainers to work with young people on: crime and community safety surveys; peer-led mediation, counselling and education programmes; developing policies for dealing with, for example, bullying; improving vandalised areas and introducing youth facilities; producing leaflets, posters and information packs; organising events where young people share experiences, identify problems and devise solutions.

Projects involving schools, parents and the community

Projects bringing parents back into the picture with community support

In France priorities were laid down by the Délégation Interministérielle de la Ville (DIV) and were more recently confirmed in the Pacte de Relance de la Ville. These emphasise the view of delinquency being increasingly a problem of younger children. The priorities aim to regain the parent's loss

34. "Linked Project Report", University of Leuven, Dept of Criminology. Declerck J, Depuydt A.

35. Social Exclusion Unit, UK Government.

of authority and build community support networks. Emphasis is on parental responsibilities; the prevention of re-offending; the prevention of drug addiction; help and support to victims and safety in neighbourhoods in difficulties.

Making parents part of an integrated prevention approach.

The Projecto Infante³⁶ project, set up by INDE, Lisbon, Portugal works in deprived neighbourhoods with at-risk children and young people. It was developed through the national ESCOLHAS programme which aims to promote an integrated prevention strategy between school, parents, residents' associations, health centres, business support centres, public services, etc. Its main objectives are: to prevent criminality with at-risk young people; and to promote personal and social training strategies for young people at school, in preparing for the world of work and regarding possible issues with families. It develops integrated approaches in strategic areas such as social mediation, leisure projects and youth involvement in local community development.

Projects linking crime prevention and youth employment creation

Links between youth employment creation and opportunity reduction

The City Guards scheme was set up by the Dutch Government to introduce security, information and surveillance officers on underground and tram systems in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Den Haag as a response to fare-dodging, vandalism and aggressive behaviour on public transport. The 1 200 jobs created went to disadvantaged groups particularly young people, immigrants and women. The scheme enjoyed a notable success in reducing crime and was introduced in other urban areas and developed to assume a broader role of advice and support giving. Other countries such as Belgium have copied the model.

Broad partnerships promoting integrated crime prevention programmes giving high priority to youth employment, diversion and deterrence

In the UK the Safer Luton Partnership³⁷ was developed by community organisations in 1989 to provide effective partnership between key sectors as part of the Crime Concern national charity. It promotes varied and linked projects on different priorities of crime prevention and youth

36. Project Report: www.programaescolhas.pt/institucional/ambito.html.

37. Crime Concern Project Report: home.btclick.com/saferluton/

inclusion. These include: a roadshow programme with personal safety advice to vulnerable groups; a community auto training scheme which supports young people training in motor mechanics; a crime and business preventative programme in the local business area; reducing burglary through designing-out; a youth inclusion programme focusing on youth-directed community/cultural initiatives such as community art; peer-led drugs education in schools; and an on-track project supporting children with learning difficulties.

Projects focusing on youth diversion and deterrence

Linking designing-out crime with youth diversion

The Delft neighbourhood scheme began in 1985 on a public housing estate in the outskirts of the city. The initial strategy was to improve estate maintenance and management with the introduction of caretakers. The focus was on target hardening, environmental redesign and enhanced social supervision. The changes, which came about as a result of consultation with tenants, include: seven caretakers to clean, supervise, provide information and surveillance; designing-out crime by making buildings more vandal proof; changes in social mix by selection procedures and redesign of large flats to increase the number of one- and two-person households; developing new recreational facilities for young people supported by a youth worker.

Deterrence and diversion: building links between police, youth, community and private leisure and sports sectors

In Belgium a community negotiators and football fan coaching initiative arose from locally based partnerships between the local authority, police and the public. The community negotiators were local people working for the police force with responsibility for improving relations between the police and the immigrant communities. The fan coaching activity was designed to reduce football stadium violence by creating a framework of managed activities amongst club supporters and by setting up a number of far-reaching educational projects. The project aims to prevent young supporters from being dragged into delinquent behaviour.

Diversion approaches that promote youth empowerment, bonding and citizenship through sport

The KICK – youth into sport project was initiated in Berlin, Germany in the 1980s and is aimed at 16-to 19-year-olds. It started as a joint venture between the Berlin police and youth organisations with a view to organising young people's spare time thereby deflecting them from criminal activity.

Many of the youths involved came from areas with a high level of drug abuse. It aimed to build trust between the organisers and the youths through regular contact. Activities involved working together in groups and included: roller skating; football; table tennis; basketball; dance; placements in music and cultural industries; cooking; rafting; billiards; climbing; fitness; bowling; skateboarding.

Additionally, the young people receive mentoring on social problems and education and are encouraged to take responsibility for their own actions. Key learning strategies include: teaching young people to live peacefully, respect each other and their environment; improvement through co-operation; self-development through co-operative, non-aggressive behaviour; taking responsibility for themselves and others and understanding limits and consequences.

Integrated youth approaches – tackling all aspects of prevention

Combining preventative and diversionary work through empowerment and employment insertion and building social capital in a neighbourhood context

The UK Government has developed Youth Inclusion programmes³⁸ which aim to engage young offenders and other marginalised young people in neighbourhood regeneration activities whilst developing their educational and occupational skills. There are three aspects: working with forty to fifty high risk young people; sports, leisure, craft and educational activities for 200 young people and use of local young volunteers. Activities are undertaken in preventative work, diversionary work, skills development, remedial work and community development.

An example is the Dalston Youth Programme (London) which aims to get youth back on-track by providing pathways into education, training or employment with the support of adult mentors. Each young person participating has an individual learning plan and credit-based education programme accredited by the London Open College Network. The programme offers courses in basic skills, IT, personal development and drama and video production skills. It offers advice and support (day and evening) including career advice and guidance. The project has a steering committee made up of representatives from mentors, young people,

38. Project reports : www.crimeconcern.org

police, education welfare, colleges, local youth offending team, etc. and links up to local training providers and careers services. An independent evaluation has shown that 75-80% of the youth end up in full-time education, training or employment, while arrests have been reduced by 50-60%.

Integrated response to children/youth at risk in central and eastern European countries

In accession countries and the New Independent States, continuing civil strife has created serious security problems with bands of street children and youths surviving on the streets through whatever means they can and an increasing risk of homelessness, drug abuse, Aids and criminality. The EUFYPAR (Emergency Units For Young People At Risk) programme in Ukraine is supported by Tacis LIEN and aims to provide integrated socio-educational support to young disadvantaged people at risk. Approaches include improving living conditions, providing counselling and support services, training programmes and employment schemes. The project combines direct street youth and development work with young people with co-ordinated approaches with schools, NGOs, public services and families. The project focuses on training for trainers, using peer educators and volunteers, and strengthening the league of youth and community workers of Ukraine.

Integrated neighbourhood approaches

Integrating crime, criminality prevention and victim support with promotion of social and economic inclusion and solidarity development

The communal board for the prevention of crime in Epinay-sur-Seine, France has developed a broad partnership approach promoting linked initiatives in deprived neighbourhoods in education, culture, solidarity and economic development. Examples include improving everyday security through remote alarm services and reinforcing landing doors, joint police and public committees and police committees to work on non-penal problems. Protection and solidarity are strengthened through: a citizen's advice bureau to support victims; setting up a working group and centre on drug addiction; an association offering support to homeless people in their search for housing; and help for study and school work in play groups, schools and colleges. Social and professional integration is encouraged through a friends of youth group and a training agency and workshop for youth job training.

Integrated, multi-partnership approaches including neighbourhood safety as one element of a broader socio-economic focus

In 1995 the Dutch Government entered into a formal agreement with the municipal authorities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague and Utrecht to establish a long-term programme called *Grote-stedenbeleid* (Major cities policy) for improvements in the quality of life and safety. The programme has been multi-agency, multi-outcome and neighbourhood-focused. It targeted economic and social development, unemployment and education and has given priority to issues of youth, security, drugs, supervision, police and neighbourhood safety plans. A high emphasis is placed on citizen involvement.

4.5. Key lessons

- Focus on criminality prevention, not just crime prevention ;
- Need to combine crime prevention approaches but emphasise the socio-economic causes ;
- Need for integrated approaches, both vertically (in terms of the young person's age life-cycle – child/youth/adult) and horizontally between the different causal areas: individual, family, school, community, and socio-economic measures ;
- Build partnerships between school, family, community, police, public services and business on this basis but with youth seen not just as the problem ;
- Put youth empowerment at the centre of the strategy ;
- Think beyond diversion activities, or limited security-focused employment, to approaches that seek to re-establish young people's connection and trust in their local community by allowing them to become genuine stakeholders.

5. Employment and training strategies

5.1. Background

Work is fundamental for restoring individual self-esteem and bringing income back to households and deprived neighbourhoods. For young people, access to stable employment gives them social as well as economic choices; it offers them status in their communities and is often a key resource for strengthening young people's relationships with other individuals, their families and the community.

However, active employment policies, in general, and youth employment policies, in particular, go back a long way. In the European Union the surge of interest in active national and local employment strategies dates back to both national and local responses to the effects of the first oil crises in the late 1960s and 1970s. This was first taken up by the European institutions in 1984 and given a boost in 1993 with the publication of the White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Employment.

European Employment Strategy

Another turn of the wheel took place in 1997, against a background of massive unemployment, at the Luxembourg Jobs Summit when the European Commission launched the European Employment Strategy (EES) with its four pillars and nine themes. This was the first attempt by the European Commission to put into practice a new open method of policy co-ordination based upon jointly agreed guidelines and targets to be implemented and monitored on a country-by-country basis. The same open method of co-ordination has subsequently been extended to other closely related areas such as social cohesion policy (see next chapter) and small and medium sized enterprises.

Five of the seventeen Employment Guidelines issued in 2002 particularly affect young people: G1 tackling youth unemployment; G4 on education and training; G7 on developing pathways to promote labour market integration of individuals at risk; G9 on education and targeted services for self-employment and entrepreneurship; and G11 on encouraging local and regional strategies for employment and the promotion of partnerships.

However, a quick overview of the National Action Plans approved under the EES confirms that continuing priority is given to a one-dimensional employment focus and that there is a lack of integration with social inclusion policies around youth. A tendency to prioritise individual pathway approaches to insertion/job creation has been noted as opposed to broader comprehensive pathway empowerment approaches leading to increased youth social capital (see below).

This has been confirmed by the impact evaluation of the EES. In the section on social inclusion it notes: "Whilst most member states perceive general labour market policy as a key instrument to promote social inclusion there is a need to move away from the current one-dimensional focus on the integration of disadvantaged groups towards a broader approach which combines all policies combating social exclusion."³⁹

39. "Impact evaluation of the EES: social inclusion background paper", EMCO, pp. 4 and 9.

European Community initiatives on youth employment

More integrated and innovative approaches have been taken in a series of rounds of Community initiatives, in programmes such as Employment and Adapt and under Article 6 of the European Social Fund. The first two have now been fused into the Equal Community initiative with a contribution of over €3 billion from the Social Fund for the period 2000-06. Equal can build on a rich legacy of local experience linked to the European level. The initiatives that particularly concerned youth during the 1994-99 period were the Youthstart and Integra Programmes.

The starting point for youth employment in these programmes has been a tendency to emphasise the broader objective of economic and social inclusion rather than a narrow employment focus: "To move the young person from a position of alienation and distance from social and economic reality, to a position of social integration and productive activity" in which empowerment was a key focus. This broader approach⁴⁰ pointed to the need to focus on the active involvement of young people, involving a conscious move away from top-down traditional youth insertion structures towards the establishment of a real partnership between the practitioners and the participants in a client-centred, active and outcome driven process.

Area-based employment initiatives

Although most of the projects funded by Youthstart and Integra took place at local level, their main focus was specifically on the integration of youth. However, a distinctive contribution has also been made by area-based employment initiatives that have youth as one of their priorities. Many of these have been promoted by local or national authorities. Nevertheless, the European Commission has also played a significant role in piloting many initiatives and drawing together the conclusions through programmes such as Local Partnerships for Employment Development (LEDA), the Territorial Employment Pacts, Leader and Urban (although the latter is specifically targeted at urban regeneration as opposed to employment and is dealt with in the next section).

In 2000, the European Commission organised a broad consultation process of the main actors involved in Territorial Employment strategies and this led to the communication "Strengthening the local dimension of

40. "It's magic: a broader approach to guidance with the active involvement of young people", Adapt and Community Initiatives Joint Working Document, OP. EC, 1998.

the European Employment Strategy". What clearly emerges from all these initiatives is a broad consensus on a set of methodological principles which appear in different guises but which nevertheless form the cornerstone of most territorial employment projects. These are listed as:

- The local dimension : a supportive environment ;
- The integrated approach : integrating administrative practice ;⁴¹
- Partnership : appropriate vocational training systems ;
- The bottom-up approach : mutually supportive economic, structural and social policies ;
- Financing to suit local needs : intermediate support structures.

This clearly prioritises the three concepts mentioned in the introduction – integration, partnership and empowerment – while adding in certain supplementary employment related principles.

5.2. Distinctive elements of employment approaches for youth inclusion

This section highlights some of the most significant lessons and principles that emerge for youth inclusion from the legacy of the above-mentioned employment initiatives. The most significant contribution is an emerging set of policies and tools which systematically try to deal with the main structural barriers which prevent the access of young people to the labour market from both the supply side (capacity building) and demand side (the creation of new jobs). It will be seen that as these structural barriers go far wider than the labour market itself it is necessary to explore new approaches to both horizontal and vertical integration, partnership, empowerment and the building of social capital.

In general, Community initiatives such as Youthstart and Integra have focused on the capacity building supply side of the equation. For example, one of the main recommendations of Youthstart at the end of the programme was the adoption of comprehensive pathway approaches as the key strategy for enabling youth to access the employment market. This approach has been adopted generally as an overall framework for youth insertion in most EU member states.

41. Communication from the European Commission to the Council, The European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: "Acting locally for employment, a local dimension for the European Employment Strategy", 7/4/2000.

Youthstart underlines that for this approach to be effective projects must concentrate partly on internal methodology and processes used with young people and partly on the framework. It emphasizes the need for more coherence between different policies impacting on young people and the development of integrated approaches based on a partnership approach and inter-agency working.

In comparison, while the most interesting local or territorial employment approaches often include some kind of pathway approach, they also tend to highlight the need to develop integrated strategies to remove the barriers to new job creation as essential elements for effective insertion and job creation: "Capacity building actions must lead onto level two where local people come together to create new job slots in the normal or social economy, to get better access to existing mainstream jobs and to improve their environment and quality of life."⁴² These new job slots can be created by a range of measures such as changing the job intensity of public spending, new public and private sector financial arrangements, the use of intermediate labour markets, and developing broader concepts of the social economy and social entrepreneurship.

5.3. Capacity building strategies developed in youth employment initiatives

This section highlights examples of five distinctive elements developed in territorial employment policies that can be seen to effect youth inclusion strategies.

- Community employment resource centres (supply);
- Community-based job links (demand/supply);
- Intermediate labour markets (demand/supply);
- Enterprise push (demand);
- New financial mechanisms (demand).

Comprehensive pathway approaches

The comprehensive pathway approach refers to individualised routes to employment based on an integrated series of services such as: guidance, counselling, mentoring, training and pre-training, certification, work experience and job placement.

42. "Local enterprising localities: area-based employment initiatives in the United Kingdom", *Regional Development Studies* No. 34, EC, 2000.

The New Deal Gateway programme developed by the UK Government provides an example of the approach promoted by many European countries. It aims to provide 18-24-year-olds who have been unemployed for more than six months with an opportunity to find sustainable employment. It follows an individual pathway approach: (i) the gateway: initial four-month programme which supports participants into work through job search, careers advice and guidance; (ii) a choice of four options, three of which involve education or training and a subsidised job with an employer or in the voluntary sector. The fourth option involves a return to full-time education or training for a year; and (iii) the follow-through strategy offers support once the participant is on a placement or in a job and helps maintain them in employment or restart the system. Each young person is supported by an employment service personal adviser who remains their point of contact throughout the programme. When needed they are offered a range of additional measures: job search techniques, confidence building, taster courses. They also have access to a mentoring service and personal support from specialist agencies.

Many community employment projects like Youthstart, Integra, etc. have adopted a broader concept of guidance. Their approach is more client-focused, prioritising individual and/or group empowerment of the young person. This process was described by Youthstart as involving four key stages: (i) engagement: making contact with the young person; (ii) empowerment: supporting "ownership" by the young person of the processes of identification of goals and activities; (iii) learning: vocational and/or core skills combined with work experience; and (iv) integration: entry into employment or another productive activity.

The main practical difference between more mainstream projects and the smaller, client-focused independently developed project is the methodology used in these distinctive phases. Many projects promote the incorporation of many key innovative non-formal tools which rethink the role and relationship between the young people and the policy developers, moving them away from passive dependence to become key active players:

- Mentoring and advocacy: training key adults in business, trade unions and sports to listen, guide and act as a mediator;
- Peer guidance: empowering young people to support others;
- Joint design: partnership approach to designing contents of actions;
- Group empowerment: building a collective power base for young people;

- Community-based guidance: support from significant figures in the community.

Mentor support for youth ownership of employment process

Many projects prioritise the use of mentors in the pathway process rather than traditional advice or guidance workers. Mentors enter into a personal contract with the young person and see their primary role as supporting them in their bid to take responsibility and control over their own search for employment.

An example is offered by the project Towards a Second Chance School set up in Cork, Ireland. Each young person was allocated a pathway mentor who met to review the young person's work placement and career plan. Each month the young person completed a review of practical, personal, and employability skills that had been learned in order to set his/her own goals for the next month. An external evaluator met with the young people every six months to assess progress and agree any changes in the programme with the young person. Ongoing self-evaluation and feedback sessions reinforced attitudinal changes and empowered the young people in analysing the learning process, outcomes and formulating new targets. Joint evaluation sessions with parents were also incorporated. Key success points include ownership of the pathway which promotes youth empowerment and an integrated approach involving parents.

Youth-controlled training processes

Empowerment processes not only involve decisions about what steps to take in the employment route but can encourage young people to take a key role in the design of the content of those routes, for example in training courses. An example of this is the PRO D Youth project in Ishoj, Denmark. This pathway project targeted young people who had dropped out of the formal education system, and adopted an individual, client-centred learning approach. The teaching was project orientated with the young people directly involved in defining the project with the trainers acting as resources. By granting the young people maximum influence on the content, their performance and degree of co-operation improved. A key success point is youth empowerment through joint content design.

Peer training models

Empowerment involves seeing young people not only as beneficiaries but as key resources. Some projects actively promote the preparation of peer trainers and advisors as a way of providing positive role models for other

young people. In this way the project capitalises on youth skills and promotes bonding social capital between young people and the community.

An example of this is Surf-in Internet Café in Kiel, Germany. This is a pre-training, work induction project initially targeting young women without qualifications. It aimed to make learning interesting by using IT as a learning medium. Technical training in computer skills and programming was provided over two years and complemented by work experience, leadership techniques and personal skill development. The young women were involved in co-defining and managing the project. Women from the project then set up a new project and were responsible for peer education and mediation, building on their peer leadership skills to train other young women. They also provided coaching, counselling and guidance and carried out information activities with primary and secondary school children. Key success points of this project were: developing broad integrated training approaches targeting social and employment skills; empowerment through peer trainers; increased motivation and bonding of youth groups and developing an impetus to increase social capital through community intervention.

Promoting youth group empowerment

Some projects emphasised the need to link individual with group empowerment. In this way young people start to interact collectively with the labour market and economic decision makers and create a powerful peer role model for youth action. The Labour Institute of Greece (General Workers Confederation) set up Diktyo, a project which supported the active involvement of young people facing educational difficulties in identifying training and employment needs and in solutions to the barriers to integration in the labour market. As a team the young people made contact with key players in the local economy and regional decision makers to sell their ideas. In the region of Thessaly the Youthstart beneficiaries succeeded in demonstrating the need for training and job creation in new growth areas such as the environment. Their lobbying led to the provision of an open green area in the municipality and the implementation of an action plan for the acquisition of new skills for nature conservation. This experience gave them confidence to develop peer information activities for other young people and promoted an increase in youth involvement in community development. Its key success points include: linking individual and group empowerment; integrating a youth perspective in general social and economic policy development; and offering strong peer role models for youth citizen activism.

Strategies for effective partnerships and inter-agency working

A key success element in comprehensive pathway approaches is ensuring effective co-ordination between agencies vertically and horizontally. With many youth employment-focused projects the main partnership sought after is a vertical co-ordination between schools, training institutions and companies in order to increase viability of training content and increase youth insertion.

This can be illustrated by the Practex (Luxembourg) project which focused on promoting a co-operative partnership between school and industry with the aim of adapting youth training more closely to national labour market needs. The partnership promoted co-operation between thirty companies and emphasised hands-on training in the building sector. The training alternated between school and seven enterprises matching theoretical training with practical on-the-job experience. The project focused the content of the training and provided mentoring and guidance. Within the companies, supervisors were assigned to individual participants. At the end the young people gained a vocational qualification. Key success points were a strong vertical partnership between schools and companies and clearly established functions and roles.

Other projects focused on horizontal linking with the need to co-ordinate and harmonise activities between different services often offering similar services in order to provide a full range of support services to young people, and to gain community recognition for young people's needs. The Molenwer aan het Spaarne project set up in Harlem, in the Netherlands, aimed to develop structured co-operation agreements between different providers of services for young people in order to deliver an individual pathway and contract model. This included statutory and voluntary agencies, employers, further education and training centres. The project also aimed to integrate young people into this partnership approach, encouraging teamwork and involvement in monitoring and evaluation processes. The impact was evaluated highly by the social recognition of the outcomes as the project was deemed to have created a more positive attitude in the surrounding community towards unemployed young people. Key success points were: horizontal partnership between statutory, voluntary agencies and employers; effective co-ordination and avoidance of overlap and repetition of services; integration of young people as part of the partnerships; and raising the community profile fostering youth social capital.

In other projects the partnership's main aim is to promote new operational models, on a regional basis, between different key actors from the public, private and voluntary sectors responsible for service delivery. The Orientación, Vallès Occidental project set up in Catalonia, Spain developed an integrated regional partnership, bringing together thirty-four local authorities, social partner organisations, education and training institutions, social and employment services and research institutes in order to establish networks to support the transition of school drop-outs into active working life. Individual action plans were drawn up with each young person, and individualised training modules. Support mechanisms were created through inter-agency networks, allowing personal guidance and individually paced learning. The involvement of employers raised awareness of young people's needs and created a new dynamic for job insertion. The inter-agency approach enabled the project to lay the foundations for a territorial employment pact. Key success points were horizontal and vertical partnerships to develop integrated policy and practice and the provision of a framework for a new territorial approach to youth employment.

Integrating strategies for social and economic inclusion

Many youth employment projects primarily focus on at-risk youth in deprived areas who have dropped out of the traditional school and/or employment systems. These groups give priority to the integration of economic and social goals as a means to inclusion.

An integrated approach operates on two levels: a holistic treatment of the young person themselves, linking personal, social and economic development and building up linking work with the key players who affect young people's lives: parents, public services and private companies. An example of this approach can be seen in the project Social Skills which offered an alternative to social exclusion of young people. This project is run by the Abrera Town Council, Barcelona, Spain. The programme aims to support the integration of socially and occupationally excluded youth who have dropped out of school. It provides a pathway approach in three stages: (i) training in social and life skills; (ii) work experience in commerce and small service companies; and (iii) professional and labour guidance. The training is done through non-formal methods: games, dramatisation, open-air activities, theatre, etc. It focuses on the need to develop social and relationship skills, working on themes of communication, self-control, family relationships, drugs, friendships, racism, etc. Key work is carried out with the families of the young people to involve them in the approach.

The companies involved in the work experience phase are trained in evaluation methods and meet the project educator once a week for monitoring sessions. The whole process is interlinked with integrated job guidance in both individual and group sessions. At the end of the programme the youths receive €90 with a certificate accrediting their participation. The project sees the re-establishment of the young person's relationship to the outside world covering educational and emotional spheres as the key element. In 1998, 77% of the participants joined education or the labour market at the end of the programme. Key elements include the integrated approach with social and economic elements; promoting social cohesion by redirecting young people's ability to relate to the community and developing partnerships between family, the education system, and the private sector.

5.4. Strategies developed in territorial employment projects

The following strategies have been developed primarily within a territorial employment strategy and differ from the youth employment approaches as their prime concern is to sharpen the demand side; focusing on key initiatives to create employment in the local territory, and on the means to integrate this approach with key supply-side initiatives.

Although young people are not the only or even the main target of these approaches, most territorial employment actions highlight interesting examples of approaches specifically aimed at youth inclusion.

Community employment resource centres

One of the most widely used instruments for promoting employment is the local resource centre based in the neighbourhood. These centres differ from the more widely known drop-in community centres by focusing more specifically on jobs and training support. The centres do not focus only on young people's employment, but many of the examples have an explicit dual focus: dealing with inter-generational unemployment, thereby seeking to create a bond between the different age groups and sectors in their common needs to gain stable employment. Their strength is the holistic approach, making no rigid distinctions between economic and social needs and building bridges between young and adult communities.

The Acorn Centre, Grimethorpe, South Yorkshire, UK is based in an ex-coal mining area which reached 30% male unemployment in 1995 following the closure of the pits. Added to the problem of the redundant miners and workers in the service sector, there was a generation of young people

growing up confronted with no local job opportunities, and this merged into a culture of drug abuse and violence amongst the young. The centre opened in 1993 and received funding from the local authority and the national urban programme. It is symbolically housed in the former coal board offices. Its key activities are: educational outreach; careers service; job-shop drop-in centre; free crèche facilities; trade union resource centre; welfare-rights advice; business units and workshops; information technology training facility and the Grimethorpe Activity Zone young people's employment project.

The focus is to support people to rebuild confidence, careers, social and community relations in a relaxed and informal learning environment. The partnership approach between young and adult employment creation is seen in the Electronic Village Hall project which seeks to give local people and businesses access to the Internet. It has launched a local home page and offers managed workspace and training courses for young people to provide services to local community groups. Key success elements include an integrated approach to social and economic aspects; partnership through linking young people and the older unemployed and empowerment to build people's confidence to develop their own actions as a community.

Community-based job links

These projects act as community brokers between the private sector, local communities and the unemployed, helping the unemployed connect up with existing jobs in local companies. This differs from the more common pathway approach which often has its heart in training and development, channelling the young person into education, training or employment. The job link schemes have a central focus on finding jobs and linking people to them. Many of the centres also preserve their broader community capacity building functions and operate through a strong partnership approach with the local community.

The Ben Johnson Centre, Docklands, London, UK started in 1995 to address unemployment problems in a classic stigmatised inner-city area with a high proportion of immigrants, suffering from endemic inter-generational unemployment, next door to the booming City of London heartland. The centre acts as a broker between the private sector, local communities and the unemployed. The centre sees itself as embedded in the local community with a partnership of over 700 organisations. It has established special relations with the private sector which offers mentors,

and provides job information and induction training. Surgery days are held by local companies to recruit workers, some companies offering job-matching services and offering training to fit them. The centre works to adapt to client needs: flexible opening hours, multicultural and multi-lingual staff, prominent involvement of youth and ethnic minority organisations. As a result the centre has achieved a consistently high placement rate particularly for young people. Key success elements include identification with and integration into the local community and developing an effective broker role between community, job seekers and the private sector.

Other projects have built on this community broker role and have highlighted the need to integrate development work within companies' human resources practices in order to make more effective the skill-matching and sustainable employment strategy based around the community-based job link process. The Stebo community organisation, Genk, Belgium, has developed long-term relationships with key companies (Ford, Randstadt, Biffa) in the local area through business sponsorship and involvement in local projects. The current project aims to promote young people's, and other disadvantaged groups', insertion through a dual approach both by strengthening the vertical support network (pathway approach, including outreach, youth work, employment agencies and specific companies) and the vertical research and development process involving work with human resources departments of the company themselves. This involves supporting companies in the development of better job-seeker knowledge bases and processes, product development in relation to employee introduction, coaching and down-filtering of company diversity policy. Key success points include: aiding skill matching through effective community-company partnership; sharpening the effectiveness of the demand-side delivery and encouraging broader company integration in territorial development.

Intermediate labour markets

This strategy aims to increase employability and create a bridge between the unemployed person and the labour market by enabling young people to develop skills in a protected environment but linked to real-life work situations. These schemes have been subject to the criticism that they simply trap beneficiaries in employment schemes with little opportunity of regular jobs, for example: the EU Local Development and Employment Initiative (LDEI) programme. However, in some countries such as the UK it is a model that has been pilot tested successfully when developed as a local employment strategy rather than a nationally sponsored action. An

example of this is the intermediate labour market pioneered by the Wise group in the Strathclyde region of Scotland and developed in Glasgow. This programme provides training and work activities including induction and training followed by work experience in a number of fields (home insulation, central heating systems, home security and environmental improvements, tourism and care services). Key conditions are: the young person receives a wage; a clear focus on developing employability skills; it lasts long enough to develop a work pattern (normally a year); and the activity is socially useful and includes a training/personal development element. The scheme has had a consistently high placement rate for full-time work in the city, with a 65% insertion rate at the end of the work experience programme. In fifteen years of operation the scheme has employed 10 000 unemployed. The scheme has since been set up in other cities. Key success points include partnership approaches between the private and community sector and the development of real skills in a protected environment.

Some similar approaches have been tried in micro-project development activities in countries of central and eastern Europe. An example of this is the Roma plastic waste recycling project, Bulgaria which is a micro-project funded by the Bulgaria Regional Initiatives fund (through a Learning and Innovation loan from the World Bank). The project aims to create new approaches to sustainable, socially useful job creation for vulnerable social groups including youth in deprived neighbourhoods. The recycling project was managed by a local NGO and had a neighbourhood focus. It provided training and work experience for 140 young people, mostly from Roma ethnic minorities in the plastic recycling process and purchase of machines. At the end of the project sixteen were employed in recycling sites and the rest as waste collectors. The project was mainly successful because of the strong feeling of ownership by the Roma communities who fostered their social integration whilst at the same time improving their skills and employability and offering a positive environmental impact. Key success points include a partnership approach between an NGO and the public sector, job insertion and creation in sustainable development, and a protected work environment enabling a transition into the world of work.

Enterprise push

Enterprise push, with structured approaches to creating new enterprises and entrepreneurs within the mainstream or social economy, clearly offers an important route for the active engagement of young people in an area-based employment strategy. However, the road to enterprise

creation for young people is fraught with difficulties as they often lack the skills, training and experience, and almost always the financial base, to launch a viable enterprise. Some successful approaches focus on the need to combine individual supportive pathway routes with high-quality direct business support from the private sector, emphasising the need to build an effective partnership.

Private sector mentoring and start-up support

The Prince's Youth Business Trust, UK began in 1986 to support young people aged 18-31 to become entrepreneurs, principally through the process of mentoring by active professionals in the private sector. Young people are encouraged to come up with an original business idea, then the project provides a comprehensive business start-up package to bring it to the market through mentoring by professional volunteers working in the private sector and specially trained by the project. The mentoring support is carefully structured in the following way: (i) initial enquiry; (ii) screening the idea through counselling and personal development; (iii) business start-up advice with three to four counselling sessions; (iv) appraisal stage by panels of professional volunteers; (v) assignment of loan or grant funding; (vi) making contractual arrangements; and (vii) mentor allocation for the development stage.

An example of this activity can be found in Merseyside where there are 170 volunteers on the Trust's panel from universities, business, the TEC, business development services and community partnerships. It meets eight times a month to appraise ideas ensuring ownership of the venture by the young people and volunteers themselves. Since 1986 30 000 enterprises have been created nationally by the Trust. Key success elements include: a personalised pathway approach from enterprise idea to post-development; quality support from high-profile business players; private and voluntary sector start-up funds which avoid the scramble for public money; high credibility amongst young people as it is effective and geared to their needs; branding as a quality product by royal patronage.

Enterprise creation in key sectors

Other projects have developed innovative strategies by focusing on enterprise creation by young people in key sectors which connect to young people's interest areas such as new technologies and the communications

43. "Unlocking young people's potential". *Adapt and Employment Community Initiatives, Innovations*, No. 2.

industry. The Youthstart multimedia project in Molise, Italy⁴³ was developed by a local employer who specialised in communication services. It provides a simulated work experience in a multimedia firm and encourages young people to become self-employed. The young people learn to produce multimedia products for small and medium sized enterprises and public administrations following a simulated pathway passing through every stage of business and product development. A mentoring approach is used to support each person in the management of their own pathway and is provided by self-employed trainers and staff. Transnational co-operation was used to promote teleworking as the young people worked on a common transnational product: the development of training materials and a CD-Rom offering a "survival kit" for would-be young entrepreneurs in the graphics sector. Key success elements include: a focus on the key sector of multimedia which has a high attraction for young people; a business-led partnership; simulated work experience and role model mentoring by successful self-employed trainers.

New financial mechanisms

In the last few years there has been increased interest in the link between financial incentives and job creation. Traditional approaches have been variants using venture capital and risk loans which are the standard methods for supporting small and medium sized enterprises. However, these approaches were clearly not effective in reaching socially excluded groups such as young people who usually lacked income or guarantees. Recently there have been attempts to find new alternative financing approaches more geared to the needs of key target groups. These approaches include:

- Local exchange and trading schemes (LETS);
- Micro-credit;
- Credit unions;
- Voucher and cheque service schemes;
- Social risk capital.

There is also a vast unexplored border area connected with changes in public spending, investment and grant-giving mechanisms and socially orientated private finance. Of these approaches, for the moment micro-credit schemes are by far the most popular for financing youth enterprise and job creation directly.

Micro-credit

Micro-credit schemes lend small amounts of money as the first step to self-employment or setting up a company or co-operative. They attempt

to confront key problems: risk for banks, high transaction costs and lack of borrower's collateral. The concept has come mainly from the developing world and eastern Europe where it is often the principal form of credit. For example the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh has over 2 million members, mainly women, organised in 400 000 local credit groups.

Generally there are two types of approach: peer group and mentor. The peer group approach consists of working in small groups who collectively guarantee the loan, forming a "community of trust". These approaches have primarily been used successfully with rural women, but they offer great potential to work with youth groups. However, youth continues to be an under-represented target group in micro-credit programmes: of the 902 organisations in ninety-six countries listed in the Micro-credit Summit's Council of Practitioners only twenty-one are youth organisations.⁴⁴

There are several reasons why micro-credit schemes have not been used with youth programmes; in particular the need to be over 18 years of age to be able to sign legal documents. Also, youth are excluded by the minimum asset requirements and adolescents are seen as a high-risk group and as being more likely to default during this period of transition in their lives.

Some projects are trying to respond to these problems and make micro-credit a viable tool for youth enterprise creation. Fundusz Micro, a new financial institution in Poland, is one of the most successful schemes and has operated since 1994. It uses adapted peer group models where mutual guarantees are encouraged by offering lower rates of interest to the borrower. The mentor method is more commonly used with youth support work as in the case study on the Prince's Youth Business Trust which includes free technical advice and support as part of the process. Both approaches use a mix of management and money.

A new project using European Structural Funds is Equal Credit which brings together eight European regions. It aims to stimulate job creation through enterprise creation and expansion by use of innovative local micro-credit schemes. It targets deprived urban and rural communities and focuses on the unemployed and socially excluded. The partners include Liverpool, Lancashire, Berlin, Hainaut, Marseilles, Milan, Brussels

44. "Concept paper: identifying the basis for a Youth Employment Strategy aimed at transition and developing economies", Curtain, R. UN, August 2000.

and Hordaland County in Norway. Each area will pilot new micro-credit approaches with target groups, including youth. Key success elements include using innovative financial mechanisms to enable enterprise creation with excluded groups.

However, there exists a substantial area of doubt about the effectiveness of micro-credit as a strategy for support approaches for young people and other excluded groups, unless it is combined with clear links to general employment creation funding and support.

5.5. Key lessons

- Effective vertical integration : personalised support to young people in comprehensive pathway approaches through all stages to inclusion ;
- Ensuring horizontal integration : treating all aspects of the person : psychological, social and economic ;
- Building strong partnerships to ensure effective pathway linking : school, training service, advice, private sector ;
- Youth employment linked to community approaches : embedding the actions in the local community to build trust and enhance social capital between young people and their environment ;
- Active, client-focused methodologies that empower young people to act and take charge of their own inclusion process ;
- The importance of private sector “ownership” as mentors and by providing access routes to employment ;
- Connecting up the demand and the supply side : the need to create real, sustainable job opportunities in the community and then ensure that young people have the skills and opportunity to deliver them ;
- Enterprise creation by young people depends on rethinking financial instruments and needs to be developed in a broader context of youth-directed initiative development.

6. Urban and neighbourhood renewal approaches

6.1. Background

The threat posed by the concentration of socially excluded groups in certain neighbourhoods of many European cities has led the European Union and many national governments in Europe to search for new ways

of integrating excluded urban communities as a whole. These approaches differ from the preceding approaches in that they do not start from a single-issue basis (violence or employment) but aim to tackle the question of social inclusion from all angles.

Nevertheless, in practice, as we saw in the first section, over the last twenty-five years territorial approaches have shifted from having a primary focus on urban renewal concerned with physical infrastructure to a welfare-based approach concerned with the underlying economic potential and performance of the excluded area, with efforts to promote labour market strategies and engage the private sector. More recently, this economic and environmental approach has deepened to include a clearer social element: the need to engage the local community in its own renewal strategies and to put social inclusion at the heart of the strategies.

Such integrated urban strategies have thrown up a series of problems such as:

- How to achieve a genuine inter-sectoral and interdepartmental approach on the ground;
- How to mobilise and concentrate resources on particularly deprived areas when national governments are pressured to extend benefits more widely;
- How to reconcile local partnerships with regional and city interests;
- How to make the community central players in the partnerships and thereby build a sense of empowerment and social capital.⁴⁵

European institutions and national governments have responded in different ways to these problems. In parallel, there has been a myriad of local experiments which have thrown up lessons and tips for policy. In this section, we try to bring together some of the evidence from European, national and local initiatives.

The European Union approach to urban deprivation

Concerning the European level, it must first be said that the EU has no specific competence in urban or local issues. The structural funds have

45. *Combating Social Exclusion: lessons from area-based programmes in Europe*, Parkinson, M, Policy Press, JSF, 1998.

always prioritised the reduction of national and regional income disparities. Differences between rich and poor areas and neighbourhoods within regions, whether urban or rural, are considered to be a national concern.

Nevertheless, the Commission has reiterated many times that a very high proportion, if not the majority, of social deprivation within the EU is probably concentrated in particular urban areas and or cities many of which, on average, appear to be well off. This blind spot in EU policy is likely to continue due to the need to concentrate resources on the reduction of income disparities between existing and new member countries.

Nevertheless in 1998, the European Commission issued a communication on *Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union: a Framework for Action*. In this document, they argued that although it was not trying to gain new responsibilities for urban matters, there was a need for better co-ordinated and targeted community action. It emphasised employment strategies as part of an overall integrated territorial approach tackling social and economic inclusion. It also laid down a series of common guidelines for all area-based urban renewal initiatives. It will be seen that, once again, these correspond very closely to the key principles mentioned in the introduction of this report.

The guidelines for area-based urban regeneration in the European Commission communication include:

- Strong partnership to define challenges, strategy, priorities and resource allocation and to implement, monitor and evaluate the strategy. Partnerships should include economic and social partners;
- Linkage of the strategic plan for the area in question to the economic, social and physical network of the wider urban area (vertical integration), including between-neighbourhood partnerships and agents responsible for the social and economic strategy of the wider conurbation;
- Integration of the economic, social, security, environment and transport aspects including access to jobs and training opportunities from areas of concentrated exclusion (horizontal integration);
- Local capacity building and empowerment of excluded groups;

- A multi-annual and contractual approach with agreed outputs and performance measures.⁴⁶

The EU has primarily two instruments to achieve these goals: the first is its own Urban Community Initiative designed to pilot innovatory approaches in the above areas; and secondly, and more importantly, the Commission urges member states to include integrated area projects within their mainstream structural fund programming for Objective 1 and Objective 2 areas. (Independently, of course, most European countries have experimented with integrated urban neighbourhood renewal programmes whether or not they have received European funding.)

The Urban Community Initiative

The Urban Pilot Programme originated because of increasing concern over specific deprived urban neighbourhoods even in prosperous European cities. The projects sought to demonstrate new ways of tackling complex deprivation problems. Between 1990 and 1993, Urban Pilot Projects were implemented in eleven member states. The success of these projects gave rise to the Urban Community Initiative. Thirty of the European cities involved in these projects have formed the exchange programme *Quartiers en Crise*.

The initial criticism of the first Urban Pilot Projects was that there was a tendency to focus on big infrastructure investment programmes with little thought given to the social impact. In response, the new watchwords for the new round of Urban Pilot Programmes and Urban 2 are integrated strategies, partnership, empowerment, etc. However, initial analysis of examples of good practice from the Urban Programme show a continued tendency to start from infrastructure programmes and work backwards (that is, to think first about the built or renovated spatial environment and then add in the social and economic element). This contrasts markedly with the Community Employment Initiatives *Integra*, *Youthstart* and *Horizon* which started from the people base and worked up.

This difference in approach is confirmed through the perspectives of the key actors managing the initiatives within the local authorities: whilst many community employment initiatives depend on a high degree of

46. "Communication on sustainable urban development", p. 14.

input from community/employment and social development teams incorporating more low-key, bottom-up approaches arising from target group needs, the other higher-profile approach prioritising major spatial renewal projects often emanates from the higher echelons of the city councils which deal with big infrastructure developments.

National approaches

When we come to look at how the member states are putting into practice the commitment to sustainable urban development and the priority of social inclusion, the general conclusion could be that “few have moved beyond general aspirations and set specific and quantified targets which provide a basis for monitoring programmes”.⁴⁷ Moreover, we often come up against the reality of clashing national priorities. For example, although the majority of member states tackle the territorial dimension of social exclusion in their social exclusion National Action Plans (NAPs), they have very different priorities. Some countries are more concerned about regional inequalities (Italy, Germany, Spain, Finland) whilst some highlight the relative disadvantage of rural areas (the Netherlands, Austria, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain).

The main countries focusing on deprived urban areas and neighbourhoods in their NAPs are Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, the UK, France and Germany. However, as can be seen from the table below, even the countries that target territorial approaches on urban deprivation rarely make a specific reference to youth inclusion (in the NAPs) as part of these policies. Most mention the “community” as an undifferentiated whole. On the other hand, some neighbourhood approaches target other key groups. Sweden focuses on immigrants and on peripheral social housing estates; the Netherlands on the long-term unemployed and ethnic minorities; the UK on children, poor families and the elderly.

The countries that do focus on youth inclusion tend to take two parallel approaches: firstly and principally they treat it as an economic question to be tackled by increasing young people’s access to employment, and secondly as a welfare question (for example Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands). Generally, specific actions are focused on the most at-risk youth such as school drop-outs, the long-term unemployed and immigrants (Sweden, France, the UK).

47. “Joint Report on Social Inclusion”, Part 1 – the European Union and Executive Summary.

Table 9 – Selected national action plans : social inclusion

Member state	Main deprived area actions	Youth inclusion
Portugal	Fifty urban social development contracts based on partnership approach.	Specific programmes for youth integration and criminality prevention in deprived urban areas.
Denmark	Urban housing and cultural strategies, deprived housing areas : urban pool, model neighbourhoods, urban renewal.	No specific mention of youth in urban programmes. Maladjusted youth support programmes and the National Youth Project insertion programme.
Sweden	Special assistance to twenty-four housing districts with socio-economic problems, high immigration levels.	Not key target groups, main focus immigrants.
Netherlands	Integrated Large Cities Policy 2000 Develops integrated policies for deprived urban neighbourhoods in thirty cities.	Not key target group, long-term unemployed, claimants, ethnic minorities : social activation programmes for young unemployed.
UK	National Strategy Action Plan for Neighbourhood Renewal focusing on integrated development in urban deprived areas.	Focus on communities with key target groups : children, poor families and older people, New Deal for Young People insertion programme, Action Team for Jobs.
France	Economic revitalisation of 751 deprived urban neighbourhoods with special youth employment measures.	Not specific focus on youth in urban schemes. Employment initiatives : TRACE for youth insertion, PLIE – local plans for insertion and employment.
Germany	Die soziale Stadt programme promoting integrated policy in deprived urban neighbourhoods with supplementary resources targeted at disadvantaged people.	Specific programme Development and opportunities for young people in deprived areas ; Youth unemployment JUMP programme.

An example of a national integrated territorial strategy to combat social exclusion can be seen in the UK National Strategy Action Plan “A new commitment to neighbourhood renewal”. It includes a number of key

innovatory elements which provide a strategic infrastructure to facilitate and promote an effective neighbourhood approach. These include: a neighbourhood renewal unit to spearhead change across and outside government reporting to the Minister for Local Government, Regeneration and the Regions; a Cabinet-level committee chaired by the Deputy Prime Minister; neighbourhood statistics and a knowledge management system to track progress; clear targets for all the main central government departments that affect deprived urban areas; neighbourhood renewal teams in the regions; local strategic partnerships involving public, private and community sectors; neighbourhood management teams for implementation at a local level; and national and specific funding.

6.2. Local neighbourhood renewal strategies for youth inclusion

Although many territorial employment strategies share some similar employment actions with neighbourhood renewal programmes, key differences arise in the degree of integration of employment initiatives in a broader package of interventions and the degree of priority given to strategies which enhance the social capital in the local area, and specifically of youth, through empowerment, partnerships and integrated approaches. This section reviews the value-added elements that neighbourhood renewal approaches can add to the other approaches (employment and crime prevention) to promote sustainable youth inclusion in these two areas.

Value-added neighbourhood employment strategies

Key problems have arisen in linking economic development strategies with neighbourhood renewal, particularly when many new employment opportunities are being developed on greenfield sites or revamped city centres and when the transport links are often fragmented and ill-functioning. There is a clear need to rethink and reconnect urban neighbourhood renewal and housing policies with city and regional economic redevelopment strategies. On a local level, two key areas of value added to territorial employment strategies emerge in good practice evolving as part of neighbourhood renewal approaches in relation to youth employment; these are creating local jobs linked to community needs and linking youth initiatives and empowerment with enterprise creation.

Creating local jobs linked to community needs

Neighbourhood renewal development projects have been quick to seize on the opportunities offered for creating jobs through the development of new community services in the neighbourhood. In this way many areas forge the links between different areas for integrated development and ensure that youth employment is seen as a positive force for the good of the community.

Jobs from the environment

The development of environmental and spatial improvements in an area has created new jobs for young people, while at the same time promoting values of sustainable development and providing strong examples of young people's positive energy used for the obvious benefit of the community.

For example, France has developed resident services organisations which provide jobs for local young people in the maintenance of housing and the local environment. Another example is the Trinijove project, Barcelona, Spain, which is part of the Quartiers en Crise programme and is funded by Horizon, Catalonia Region and the City of Barcelona. The project was developed by a neighbourhood youth association in a deprived area of Barcelona (Trinitat Vella) with a clear mission to be: "creative to create employment for young people". This project aimed to develop an integrated territorial approach to youth inclusion linked to employment by mobilising young people to take responsibility for the environmental upkeep of their neighbourhood. The main activities include a pathway approach to employment insertion for young people by providing information, advice, training and promotion. The project undertakes the rehabilitation of public spaces, collection and recycling of urban waste, creation and maintenance of park areas run and staffed by young people: 500 each month supported by a permanent staff of eleven people and twenty trainers.⁴⁸ The key success points include: an integrated approach which links individual youth employment insertion with neighbourhood and environmental renewal; youth empowerment by building individual skills and access to employment; social capital by linking youth action to the community, taking responsibility for the neighbourhood's environment; and partnerships between local, city and regional levels.

48. *Urban Rapports 3: "Le développement économique, l'emploi et les approches intégrées de développement urbain"*, Jacquier C, 1993-1995.

Jobs from safer communities

New services are being developed both on the designing-out crime approach and the increase of surveillance and support systems. For example, in Tyneside, UK redundant steel workers were employed making security grilles designed by youngsters on the estate.

In Rotterdam young people and ethnic minorities are employed in surveillance and as intermediaries in community safety plans on estates, in local commercial centres, car parks, etc. This new jobs programme is part of *Quartiers en Crise* and financed by the European Social Fund, city funds and the private sector.⁴⁹ It is based in the docks area close to the city centre and aims to create new community enterprises and services employing young people and immigrants as a strategy for combating unemployment insecurity and crime. The main activity is the creation of a community enterprise to administer three employment creation projects linked to proximity and urban services: (i) shopping centre intermediaries offering training and employment for sixteen young people as information and support service intermediaries between shops, security services and customers; (ii) the Mas tunnel creating seventy-four jobs and deploying six police officers in a key pedestrian tunnel link in the city centre which had fallen into disuse because of delinquency; the jobs created relate to cleaning, surveillance and support; (iii) Slinge car-park offering the rehabilitation of a multi-storey car-park fallen into disuse because of security problems. This created twenty-five jobs for long-term unemployed people through management and administration of parking and creation of new services such as car cleaning, recycling, shopping delivery, etc.

The key success points of these projects are: imaginative job creation linked to the promotion of key services linking community security, youth employment and community services; partnership for job creation between private sector and the community; employment creation – setting up of a community-controlled community enterprise organisation; and an integrated neighbourhood community development approach through projects arising out of the expressed needs of local communities. However, it is unclear how far the community/young people are involved in the design, development and management or if they are only involved as beneficiaries.

49. "Integrated Approaches to Urban Development", summary report, Jacquier C, April 1995.

Jobs from social and cultural services

Other programmes focus on projects to employ young people in social and cultural projects, targeting themes that link effectively with young people's interests in culture and leisure time pursuits and building on young people's creative capacities as a focus for community employment creation. An example of this is Recyclart, Gare de la Chapelle, Brussels, Belgium which is an Urban Pilot Projects Programme, Phase II. It is based in an urban inner-city area in Brussels, characterised by abandoned buildings, social housing estates, high levels of youth unemployment and low social integration. The project aims to build a long-term urban regeneration programme focusing on urban creativity and harnessing the cultural potential of young people and other disadvantaged residents. The main activities focus on the renovation of the la Chapelle station and surrounding area and the creation of the Recyclart centre and urban recreation park with facilities to promote cultural and art activities, studios, music workshops, café, recycling shop, arts and crafts market and exhibition spaces in adjacent walkways to display graffiti art.

The innovative methodology was to focus on a partnership approach between the urban regeneration team, young people and local artists to develop the facilities and activities and then to manage and maintain them. The young people were trained and employed in the renovation and construction work and received other vocational support services: counselling, job search support, and adopting positive attitudes to work. The project was managed by a new independent neighbourhood community organisation: Recyclart, supported by the City of Brussels and the National Rail Service, etc. Key success points include: youth empowerment through a dynamic bottom-up strategy targeting young disadvantaged people who become actively involved in project design and development; stimulating youth creativity through validating and encouraging youth creativity initiatives; an integrated approach combining projects in cultural, environmental and social areas and employment; and a partnership approach converted into a sustainable organisation through the creation of an independent community organisation.

Supporting youth initiatives and social enterprises

Apart from general seed-bed initiatives to support the creation of youth enterprises, many neighbourhood approaches see implicit problems in focusing employment strategies on business creation with young people who often lack previous work experience, specific technical skills or financial resources. A more recent, and possibly realistic alternative,

has been to develop a focus on a wider concept of social enterprise, including a broader definition of youth initiative. These are seen to be processes that support young people in defining, setting up and managing initiatives of any kind, either on an individual level or as a group. This initiative support process is seen as a necessary first step to enterprise creation, as well as promoting youth empowerment and capacity building. It also offers neighbourhood strategies a way of linking social and community needs to economic activity, as a means of integrating and capitalising on youth potential as a resource for the local community.

An example of this is the Association pour les micro initiatives Rillardes (AMIR), Lyon, France. This is part of the *Quartiers en Crise* programme and focuses on the creation and support of community micro-project initiatives by young people in a deprived neighbourhood as a first step into employment and out of social exclusion. The main activities are the creation of two community associations: AMIR which supports the creation of micro-activities with young people such as rubbish collection, recycling and vehicle cleaning; and Association Habitants-Relais which undertakes activities that enable local inhabitants, particularly immigrants, to learn to make institutional links, and cross-culture links. Key success points are: youth empowerment by supporting youth micro-project initiatives as bridges to employment; and integrated strategies which link social needs with employment and building social capital through linking cultural groups (bridging) and the community with institutions.

The French government has been responsible for the development of a key youth initiative model through the DEFi/DIV scheme (Délégation Interministerielle de la Ville/Défi Jeunes). In this approach young people are encouraged to develop socially useful initiatives linked primarily with culture and leisure activities. The projects aim to develop youth autonomy and capacity building as a means to social and economic integration. It targets young people aged 15-28 and funds youth projects which are linked to local development, have a social benefit, are innovative and link to an employment aim. Candidates require co-funding and then receive tutoring from local support teams and advice/training cheques of a maximum of €8 500. Many of the projects have focused on the production of new services for the community, 36% leading to permanent employment, often focusing on cultural and leisure developments for young people in deprived neighbourhoods. Over the last fourteen years 9 078 projects have been approved involving 30 000 young people. Most of the projects have been collective (55%) with 42% unemployed. 70% of the projects have led to employment and 80% of the projects have

been sustainable. Key success points are its youth capacity building and empowerment through group initiative development and the identification of new services potential linked to leisure and culture in urban deprived areas.

The potential of this approach was quickly recognised by major urban areas as a key tool for promoting youth initiatives and enterprises in deprived neighbourhoods and this has led to its inclusion in mainstream urban renewal policy development in three pilot urban areas: Lyon, Toulouse and Mantes-la-Jolie.

Targeting social inclusion

Neighbourhood Renewal Strategies offer a unique opportunity to coalesce integrated strategies aimed at youth inclusion in a specific territorial context. Key differentials of this are: the development of broader integrated approaches and new dynamic partnership approaches; linking individuals to group empowerment; and building youth social capital.

Broader integrated approaches

A key advantage of neighbourhood approaches is the potential to deal with community development across the range of spheres: economic, social, environmental, spatial, etc. In practice, what makes the difference is the degree to which these initiatives and approaches are linked and between which partners and with what process and methodology. The shopping list approach does not make the most of the full potential of neighbourhood development and too often youth projects get tagged on as afterthoughts either as diversion activities such as youth centres or with the provision of a single employment project.

The challenge remains to intermesh the distinctive strategies. This in terms of youth means not only bringing together the organisms that affect young people's lives (the school, family, company approach), but the integration of youth perspectives in the whole range of social and inclusion practices.

Linking environmental, economic and social development focused on youth

The social, economic and environmental revival of the peripheral neighbourhood of Otxarkoaga, Bilbao, Spain was developed within the Urban Pilot Projects, Phase II between 1997 and 1999. This was an integrated neighbourhood development project based in a peripheral social housing neighbourhood with a declining industrial base affected by high unemployment, school drop-out, crime, drug abuse and other social problems.

With a focus on environmental, commercial and economic development, the project attempted to develop integrated initiatives linking different areas of youth concern with the development of the neighbourhood.

Young people were centrally involved in the environmental and spatial improvement of the area whilst at the same time creating employment, firstly by cleaning up the estate and then by setting up a recycling centre. Another group was trained and then employed to work on the housing rehabilitation schemes on the estate. A further initiative was revitalising a shopping centre as a seed-bed for youth enterprises. Youth groups were encouraged to participate in the development of ideas and priorities for the estate, developing a youth centre and activities in the newly rehabilitated centre. Key success points include: integrated action on the economic, social and environmental levels; youth empowerment with youth as active partners – not only beneficiaries; and social capital as youth action is seen as a positive force for renewal in the area.

Bottom-up development of integrated strategies, including crime concerns

Niddrie House Community Development is a social housing development build in the early 70s on the periphery of Edinburgh, Scotland in an area suffering from high levels of poverty and crime. In 1988 the local housing department started to involve local residents' in an urban renewal programme. However, the local residents action group formed the Niddrie House Planning and Rehabilitation Group (NHPRG) as they disagreed with the priorities of the housing department and they gained a grant to appoint their own development team. Their plan stressed the need to link any physical regeneration with socio-economic improvements and that local people should be involved in both determining what should be done and manage its implementation. A key concern was to involve young people in all activities.

Crime prevention was an explicit part of a more general quality-of-life programme. Defensible space theory was applied to courtyards and layout and phone entry systems were introduced. A major emphasis was made on finding constructive outlets for young people who might otherwise drift into crime. A housing co-operative, a community centre, play areas and several community businesses employing young people were set up. The community businesses developed a community shop, security services and a housing maintenance service. The result was a sharp drop in the high crime rate and this has been sustained over the last ten years. Key success points include: successfully integrating approaches: crime

prevention, social, economic and spatial; building realistic partnerships between target interest groups; and taking a bottom-up, community-led approach thereby strengthening social capital.

Realising the potential of an area and giving youth a key role

The Euro-insertion project, St Denis, France transformed an initial training-based policy into a learning-orientated initiative for the whole area. The local council entrusted the association Objective Employment to develop new systems of social and employment integration. The action is based on wide-scale partnership between professional, public and private members in the fields of education, social, cultural work and employment. Economic development is promoted by tapping into the indigenous capacity linked to historical, cultural and economic assets. The project offers young people and the long-term unemployed pathways to employment: training in professions related to urban tourism (stained glass, artistic textiles and engraving). It has also built upon existing links between agencies and created new forms of collaboration and solidarity with the local population. A youth network was created through which the progress of the various initiatives is continually monitored and evaluated. Key success points include an integrated approach linking employment and social integration; wide-ranging partnership between public, private and community sectors; creating employment from indigenous resources: human, spatial, social and cultural; and commitment to informal networking to keep young people involved.

New dynamic partnerships

A report by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation on the success of involving young people in urban regeneration initiatives in the UK highlighted amongst other issues that:⁵⁰

- Not enough account is taken of the difference in adults' and young people's priorities in the partnership;
- Officers and other adults are often unaware of how their practices, languages and behaviour alienate young people;
- There are particular problems with including police and young people in the same broad partnership for all developments.

50. *Including Young People in Urban Regeneration: A lot to learn?*, Fitzpatrick S, Hastings A., Policy press, 1998.

This leads to recommendations to :

- Ensure full youth involvement and decision-making powers in the neighbourhood process ;
- Be imaginative about methods of involvement and ways of working ;
- Be flexible about partnership : it is not always the best approach to include all groups in all areas.

Making broad partnerships work : youth involvement and new ways of working

The broader integrated approach implies the need to involve a more disparate set of partners : not just school, employers, and public services but the whole range of community services, police, voluntary sector organisations and, most importantly, the community itself as an active member.

The New Deal for Communities (NDC) neighbourhood project, Middlesborough, UK has taken an innovative partnership approach by developing a different range and breadth of partnership arrangements to deliver the best solutions for each area : the local health trust works with local residents and young people to develop specialist services and pilot new ways of tackling drug problems on the estates ; the police are involved in a separate partnership working with the council, local residents and youth groups to develop a local response to crime prevention. Leisure provision brings together young people with other community groups, public services, schools and key private companies. The NDC management committee invests a lot of time in producing a joined-up agenda : ensuring links between the different partnerships whilst focusing the direct involvement on the key parties concerned in each area. This approach relies on giving high priority to knowledge management systems and developing effective consultation skills. Youth leaders are given capacity training to learn effective intervention strategies. Ways of working are rethought, meeting practice and use of jargon is changed and informal fun events are promoted that encourage social contact between young people and the rest of the partners. Key success points include a broad integrated partnership involving social, economic and community actors using a flexible working-group application ; youth are integrated and trained to play a role as key partners and in rethinking ways of working through emphasis on informal and social links.

New ways of working, new ways of learning

Creating the conditions for effective youth involvement means giving young people skills and knowledge but it also implies changes in the practices and attitudes of public and private sector partners. New ways of learning requires the partners to commit themselves to a process of change and capacitating that is two-fold or multiple-directional and forms the basis of a community learning strategy.

The Social Exclusion Unit responsible for the development of the National Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy in the UK refers to a “learning curve: developing skills and knowledge for neighbourhood renewal”. They have focused on the need to build learning communities as a key means to empowerment: “If we are serious about improving deprived neighbourhoods, we must invest a lot more in developing the skills and knowledge of everyone involved in neighbourhood renewal both residents, service providers and other partners”. This strategy for learning and development has been translated into a focus on skills, knowledge and working methods. It supports the development of core skills (strategic, organisational, negotiating, consensus-building, communication, interpersonal, etc.), changing behaviour and ways of working, and sharing information and knowledge. The strategy explicitly values informal learning methods: learning through doing (action learning) and learning by observing others (social learning).

Linking individuals to group empowerment

The empowerment process is at the heart of vital individual and youth group community involvement. However, the traditional approach to youth inclusion still focuses primarily on individual youth empowerment as we have seen in employment and training strategies. The neighbourhood approach offers the potential to link this individual approach to the creation of group youth empowerment that enables their effective intervention in the broader social and economic initiatives in the area. Key potential areas for good practice are:

- Treating youth as a resource not a problem;
- Building youth capacity for leadership;
- Listening to and backing young people’s ideas;
- Getting young people to manage their services;
- Promoting group empowerment and active citizenship in neighbourhood policy development.

Supporting youth creativity and originality – treating youth as a resource, not just as a problem

The Quota youth project was set up within the Urban I Programme in the Quartiere, Unione, Orizzonti, Tentazione ed Arte, Palermo, Italy.⁵¹ The project was developed to combat social exclusion by involving young people in their community in innovative community development and employment initiatives. The main activities involved the creation of a community theatre process during which young people produced a theatre show based on their investigation of their neighbourhood's history which was then performed by local residents. This involved a process of workshops in theatre, video and scene-writing and the building of a cultural/recreation centre. Youth community employment projects were also developed whereby abandoned properties were converted into youth centres which are now maintained and managed by the young people, reducing the risk of vandalism. Key success points are youth empowerment by making the most of youth creativity, focusing on youth ownership and management of the project; building social capital through links between youth and community; and an integrated approach working on economic, cultural, social, employment and community safety projects.

Youth leadership: capacity building to build effective youth organisations

The Droit de cité programme was established in France in 1992 to develop youth work by young people for young people, targeted at disadvantaged young people not reached by normal youth services. It operates throughout France and has involved over 300 000 young people. It aims to develop co-operation and leadership amongst young people through cultural and sporting activities. As a grass-roots initiative it had particular success in integrating young people from ethnic minorities who were marginalised in deprived neighbourhoods. Key success points include focusing on leadership skills for young people and building co-operation and social capital through sports.

Focusing on youth achievement, building leadership and effective intervention

Within generalised community involvement, a key concern is the degree to which young people are considered and involved as active partners, as

51. Urban Success Stories: Building a better tomorrow in deprived urban neighbourhoods", EEC, 2000.

opposed to targets to be consulted or treated solely as beneficiaries. The Middlesbrough New Deal for Communities (NDC) project already mentioned considers involving young people as one of the hardest tasks: "You need the right staff, people that young people can trust, someone who talks their language". They have worked with 500 young people on a range of projects from football, employment focus, the peer drugs education project clean-up campaign, Easter and summer splashes with leisure time activities including paint balling, community art, DJ and dance workshops. Recognising young people's achievements is a central aim and the NDC organises a youth achievement prize-giving event every semester. A youth forum has been developed to feed into the NDC partnership and to enable young people to influence policies in the NDC area. This has resulted in clean-up environmental days in the first six months of the project and major investment in youth facilities.

Leadership training backed by a recognised national qualification is offered to forum members to enhance their communication, leadership styles and committee skills. Twelve young people have been centrally involved in a participative research and planning process around the redevelopment of Whinney Bank's youth and community centre. Anthony High (aged 17) notes: "The changes brought about by the youth programme in the NDC have been unreal. Before there was no way young people had a say around here. Now that has all changed". Key success points include: valuing youth's experience and achievements; central involvement in the planning process; empowering youth groups and individuals through leadership training and listening to their ideas and interests and backing their initiatives.

A youth and community involvement project in *la Bastide*, Beaubreuil, France is an atypical example in the French context of a self-created youth organisation outside the official regeneration scheme that received the backing of the local authority and inclusion in main city plans. *La Bastide* association was started in 1989 by teenage children of immigrants as a response to neighbourhood renewal and the feeling that it did not reach young people's concerns. They formed a spontaneous organisation initially developing cultural, educational and sporting events. This soon developed into an intermediary service between young people, local residents and the council, helping them deal with complicated formal and administrative procedures and encouraging solidarity between different sectors and age groups in the community. The group was lucky enough to receive the backing of the deputy mayor who supported their expanded functions and funding and provided premises and support for

new neighbourhood initiatives on employment, training and career guidance. An important element has been wider community involvement leading the group to focus on broader concerns: housing maintenance, local servicing, the elderly and childcare, and the isolation of young single people.⁵² Key success points include: validating young people's own initiatives; bridging youth and community through youth-led community development projects; and a genuine partnership approach between public sector, community and youth.

Getting young people to manage their own services

The Whoznex Youth Campaign Netherlands is a neighbourhood-based youth in movement foundation which encourages youngsters from 14 to 18 not only to participate in sports activities, but also to get involved in the organisation and implementation of them. They are taught to negotiate their demands with the local community. In Hengelo a group of youngsters campaigned for a football field, backed by the local neighbourhood, because of problems with the police moving them on from unofficial sites. They have now organised a football league with various teams using the site. A number of neighbourhoods make a budget available to a group of youngsters every year, who use this to set up and organise their own tournament. Key success points are: empowering young people to organise their own leisure and sports activities and encouraging negotiation and linking skills for liaison with the community.

Valuing youth knowledge and experience

Smaakmakers (Trendsetters) in the Netherlands is a youth organisation that works in co-ordination with local organisations for volunteer work throughout the country. They send in flying teams of youth trainers and advisors to teach managers of volunteer organisations in local neighbourhoods how to foster youth participation in their areas. Their main principle is that youth volunteer work stands little chance of succeeding if young people are not involved at the design stage of a project.⁵³ Key success points are: building youth empowerment and community links through neighbourhood volunteer work; valuing youth's experience and contribution; creating youth-directed management practices and service delivery design.

52. "Community Involvement in urban regeneration: added value and changing values", *Regional Development Studies*, EC, 1997.

53. "Children and Youth Policy in the Netherlands 2001", Burmann A, De Groot K, Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport, The Netherlands, August 2001.

Ensuring youth group empowerment and involvement in policy development

The diversity and complexity of partnership members brings with it other problems and challenges. Each group has its own prejudices, interests and ways of working. It is often particularly hard combining the organisational culture of groups such as the business sector and young informal groupings. Commitment to equal partnership implies a need to reconsider the forms and ways of working together to create effective partnership processes.

The Barcelona Youth Project, Spain promotes youth intervention in political decision-making. It was launched in 1983 out of a realisation of the inadequacy of the youth service's focus on leisure and cultural activities and the need to deal with a growing economic crisis, urban delinquency and the demands from young people themselves for change in municipal policy and structures. The council concluded there was a need to treat young people as fully fledged citizens, and that youth policy should be formulated by young people themselves.

Specific projects that came out of the process were the creation of information centres for young people run by students and opening school premises after hours requiring parents, teachers and students to agree use. New employment and training initiatives, work experience and improved communication between unemployed young people and job centres were developed. New sports facilities were supported, opening up new health education centres geared to young people. Public transport was reorganised with extended hours and services to meet the needs of young people. Key success points include: empowering young people as a group to influence policy development; promotion of practical initiatives geared to youth needs; capacity-building processes enabling young people to reinforce social capital both as a group (bonding) and in their relationship with their communities (linking).

Fostering active youth citizenship through intervention in deprived areas in accession countries

In many of the post-Soviet accession countries, much emphasis is placed on moving young people out of a passive dependency on state control and on fostering an active citizen position, critical thinking and responsibility. The Tolerance and Democracy project in Stara Zagora, Latvia involves young people in simulations of elections and the running of municipal councils. In Stara Zagora the local council held training courses

for young people, aged 14-19, on political life and citizenship. The first elections for a young mayor were organised in 1996. The youth group then organised a series of activities: eco-patrols, young reporters covering the events in the media, and the organisation of youth meetings on key social, environmental and economic issues. The formation of the Youth Municipal Council (YMC) has enabled young people to directly intervene in public life through five standing committees: executive, social and school policy, health care and environment, culture and sports, and public relations and communications.

Its main goals are: direct involvement of young people in political decision making; to act as consultative group to the local authority on youth issues; to promote youth initiatives at local, regional and national level; to provide information; and to develop new projects and encourage positive attitudes towards responsible citizenship by young people. Key initiatives include: the participation of YMC representatives in municipal committees; the organisation of the Beautiful and Clean Zagora project; the development of an international youth project: Together in 2001-2002; a Let's Think About Smoking campaign in schools and shops; promotion of local youth projects; a youth page in the local paper; a spot on local cable TV; and meetings with youth representatives from other local communities. Key success points include building on young people's capacity to be active citizens in all policy fields; direct group empowerment and intervention in local area policy development; improving motivation by raising status profile and promoting an image of the effectiveness of youth ideas and action.

Building youth social capital

The process of youth empowerment, both for individuals and as a group, can be fundamental not only in creating a role for young people but enabling them to build the vital links that are the base of social capital in their communities. This investment in youth social capital is fundamental if policies are to move beyond piecemeal approaches and towards full social and economic inclusion of young people in their communities. Empowerment strategies are a key tool to link the different levels of social capital:

- Bonding: building a coherent youth community;
- Bridging: working together and for other groups in the community with often different interests;
- Linking: developing capacities to negotiate and intervene on a political level.

However, for these strategies to be effective the centre of the process has to be the re-establishment of trust: trust in themselves, in their peers, in their families, in the institutions, in competing groups, in the wider community and in the political system. This trust-development process is not an easy one and involves:

- Restoring self-confidence and self-esteem;
- Learning to communicate: expressing opinions and listening to others;
- Learning to build reciprocal relations;
- Learning to cope with conflict, make decisions and negotiate solutions.

Training mediators

Many projects seek to make these links, ensuring that youth empowerment both contributes to the regeneration of the area, but also serves as a crucial bridge: creating trust between young people and the community they live in.

The Integração social de jovens de minoritas étnicas project of INTEGRA/1997 was developed in Portugal as a neighbourhood approach in one of the large shanty towns of Lisbon where young people from migrant families have more limited prospects for employment than their parents and there are the attendant problems of drugs and criminal activities. The project focuses on making young people the catalyst for integration and combines vocational training with the development of local capacity to organise social and community activities through practice-based training leading to a qualification as cultural mediator. These trainee mediators are young people who have already shown ability and experience in organising local events from their own initiative. The project builds on these innate leaders, and the informal youth groupings already existing. During the course they prepare a profile of the neighbourhood's needs that will require the involvement of local business. Conflict management and celebration of cultural diversity are important themes. They then practice their cultural and social animation skills by running their own community projects which include: spare time activities for children and young people; excursions; celebrations; children's library; and workshops and literacy courses for parents. Work experience is gained through placements in local schools and health or community centres. The aim of the project is to avoid the dependency fostered by many neighbourhood projects and enable young people to take responsibility and initiatives in their local neighbourhoods as well as increase their possibilities of gaining

employment and using their creative force to make positive links between youth and the rest of the community. Key success points are: using youth empowerment to build an integrated neighbourhood; an integrated approach linking youth employment, social and cultural sectors; and strengthening social capital with youth at the centre.

Others take an even more radical approach, handing back the responsibility for problem-solution to young people themselves, seeing the project focus as an initial preparation and mentoring role to enable young people to become key actors for the regeneration of their neighbourhoods, based on a trust-strengthening process with themselves, their peers and their communities.

Powsechnej Akademii Młodzieży (PAM) has been developed by the Universal Youth Academy in Chelm, Poland. It is an innovative neighbourhood-based youth programme that seeks to unleash youth creativity and promote effective community engagement. The starting point is young people's ability to develop their own ideas, define problems and come up with solutions, rather than inserting youth into a pre-determined set of activities and leadership techniques. The programme helps 16-20-year-olds design and implement their own socially useful project for their communities, which may or may not lead to enterprise creation. PAM provides preparatory workshops and networking support in a three-stage training programme: (i) confidence-building and self-knowledge workshops; (ii) a team-building phase: learning to activate their organisational abilities; and (iii) brainstorming initiative ideas.

In the second phase they look for funds and get the projects off the ground with team support. The PAM facilitators continue to offer support if requested, particularly through networking advice such as how to access funds or organisational assistance. All PAM creators participate in a nation-wide network which provides mutual assistance to its members. "The good thing about PAM is its lack of structure, it's not an institution, it has no ideology, it just connects people." In the last five years more than 300 young people have created community projects ranging from art exhibitions, anti-alcohol concerts to outreach programmes for cancer patients and environmental initiatives. Many of these have created short-term employment for the duration of the project and some have led to enterprise creation. All have resulted in lasting social integration for young people in their communities. In Chelm, a group of friends who had got together to organise concerts for local young people went through the PAM workshop process, met other PAMers, and turned their small

youth council for cultural development into a broader community venture. It now produces a local television programme on youth issues and runs multiple youth activities, and summer camps for children. Key success points are: youth empowerment, making young people key actors in neighbourhood regeneration; building on youth creativity and problem-solving abilities; bonding cultures of mutual risk-taking and mutual support; and building social capital by strengthening links between youth, adults as mentors and the community.

6.3. Lessons learnt

- Making young people the starting point : focusing on youth empowerment at individual and group levels ;
- Moving beyond “involvement” : valuing youth skills and experience and capacitating youth to intervene and initiate in finding solutions for themselves and their communities ;
- Including youth concerns as part of integrated neighbourhood approaches, combining activities to promote economic, spatial and social inclusion with youth at the centre ;
- Putting employment at the heart, finding new ways to link up the supply and demand side of the employment quest by building on local resources and needs ;
- Holistic, personalised, step-by-step approaches that deal with all facets of a young person’s life and use comprehensive pathway approaches to take them along the road from exclusion to inclusion ;
- Linking young people’s initiative and enterprise capacity and investing in new financial mechanisms to create enterprises ;
- Rethinking broader partnerships : how to integrate youth with other interest groups, new ways of working and learning as a community ;
- Building young people’s social capital : making links and bridges with families, the community, and the private sector and influencing policy development.

7. Lessons learnt and next steps

In this section we bring together some of the main lessons learnt in each of the previous chapters and group them according to the framework mentioned in the introduction of the report.

7.1. An integrated youth inclusion strategy at European and national level

One of the most challenging aspects of writing this report has been to try to find a framework for analysing the plethora of overlapping policies related to youth inclusion in urban deprived areas. There is a great need for bringing together the various approaches: crime prevention, employment creation, neighbourhood renewal, youth policy, etc. and to provide an integrated vision of youth inclusion strategies and how they can be applied on a territorial basis in urban neighbourhoods focusing on a series of clear priorities.

These strategies should be integrated by treating the whole person with holistic approaches and also by linking youth concerns to the development of the whole community. Social and economic spheres should be addressed together (building bonding and bridging social capital). This entails:

- Ensuring that strategies are linked to the phases of young people's development cycle: childhood – youth – adulthood;
- Prioritise personalised support to young people through comprehensive pathway approaches through all stages to inclusion;
- Holistic treatment of the causes: ensuring that all aspects that affect young people's inclusion are dealt with: personal, psychological, educational, family, community and society;
- Linking actions across the different facets affecting the neighbourhoods' development: economic, social, security, environmental and spatial.

7.2. Integrating the supply and demand side of youth employment creation

Employment is a crucial pre-condition of youth inclusion in deprived areas. Territorial employment strategies approaches need to make the best use of their local environment to overcome the structural barriers to youth employment on both the supply and demand side of the labour market:

- Building young people's ownership of comprehensive pathway approaches;
- Ensuring private sector involvement and commitment;
- Analysing, linking and matching skills and demands in the job market;

- Bringing young people into contact with the world of work: work experience or intermediate labour market schemes;
- Building youth initiative (social entrepreneurship) as well as enterprises;
- Seizing the potential of new services linked to community needs;
- Investigating new public and private financial mechanisms.

7.3. A commitment to co-ordinated territorial approaches

Neighbourhood territorial approaches appear to provide the crucial spatial context for integrating social and economic inclusion policies on the ground. However, this involves thinking through the mechanics of co-ordination with the neighbourhood at key strategic territorial levels.

National framework

Whilst central government should not be prescriptive, there is a need for a clear policy, and organisational and financial commitment from the top to provide a “robust national framework”⁵⁴ for effective decentralisation of neighbourhood and social inclusion policies:

- A long-term vision and commitment to integrated and empowering neighbourhood approaches;
- An explicit youth inclusion strategy conceived and integrated into urban neighbourhood renewal approaches;
- Analysing the impact of all the main sectoral government policies on both youth and deprived urban areas;
- The establishment of clear targets for each department with the corresponding resources;
- The creation of central co-ordinating systems with sufficient political and administrative power (inter-ministerial or departmental committees reporting to a senior politician);
- Clear administrative and financial procedures for delivering that support to the local level with the minimum of bureaucracy;
- Problem-solving support offering technical expertise and co-ordination functions and ensuring that effective evaluation and spreading of good practices is carried out.

54. “Regenerating Neighbourhoods: creating integrated and sustainable improvements”, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, May, 1998.

Regional infrastructure

- Need to ensure that wasteful competition is avoided between local authorities ;
- Focus on encouraging city-wide strategies to include neighbourhood regeneration and make the crucial link to economic and employment growth opportunities, thus creating the conditions for inclusion policies.

Strategic city leadership

Neighbourhood strategies should be part of a city-wide regeneration strategy with an explicit social inclusion strategy :

- Ensure that youth policies are united as part of the holistic social inclusion policy with specific reference to target groups and implemented as part of territorial neighbourhood approaches ;
- Use a bureaucracy-cutting approach, developing new structures, mechanisms and processes for facilitating cross-department co-ordination to ensure effective social inclusion strategy development.

7.4. Strengthening local partnerships and management

Involving young people as active stakeholders in a partnership approach brings with it a series of challenges. Not only must integrated partnerships include all key stakeholders and actors: schools, businesses, public services, voluntary organisations, community groups and police, but key differences in young people's way of relating forces groups to reconsider their processes and ways of working and to re-negotiate the organisational culture of the partnership :

- Building broader partnerships, recognising roles and conflicts of interest ;
- Negotiating processes and ways of working : taking on board youth informal styles ;
- Dealing openly and constructively with conflict and prejudice ;
- Making a commitment to a joint community learning process ;
- Building the capacity of area-based management teams ;
- Changing contractual/financial mechanisms to prioritise the long-term sustainability of the community rather than chasing grants for short-term project survival.

7.5. Empowerment: making youth key stakeholders and actors

Young people need to be connected to the mainstream: to their families, communities and the wider society. However, this implies seeing youth not as passive partners but as active players with skills, opinions, insights and ideas. They should be treated as genuine stakeholders with rights and responsibilities and as key human resources for the benefits of their local communities:

- Ensuring youth ownership of their own inclusion process through youth-directed pathway approaches;
- Moving beyond consultation, participation or even involvement, to youth as key actors;
- Reconsidering adult-youth roles, promoting support and mentoring functions rather than instruction and authority models;
- Capacitating young people to design, develop and manage their own solutions to neighbourhood decline;
- Enabling young people to intervene and negotiate their perspectives in the general political arena at neighbourhood and other levels.

7.6. Building social capital

At the heart of social and economic inclusion lies the need to rebuild young people's sense of trust, connection, involvement and commitment with their local neighbourhoods. This means evaluating how the distinctive strategies and approaches are helping or hindering youth social capital:

- How confident do young people feel in themselves and their peer group, how far are their initiatives and ownership supported?
- How far do the projects encourage constructive mutual relations of reciprocity with other groups in the community: other ethnic groups, older people, children, business, commerce?
- To what extent do they negotiate and intervene at the policy level in their area?

All of these points require giving young people a say and a key role in the development of their neighbourhoods as the most viable basis for negotiating roles and activities within a shared community.

8. Next steps for the Council of Europe

During the next few years social cohesion policies such as those that have been analysed in this report are likely to be in the eye of the storm of EU enlargement. We can expect large increases in youth unemployment in the rural areas of the accession countries due to the massive restructuring of agriculture. This in turn will put pressure on the main reception areas in the cities. Whatever the legal obstacles, the pressure of immigration to western European cities both from the accession countries and from developing countries will also increase. However, if the European Commission maintains its current priority of reducing income disparities between the poorest countries and regions of the enlarged EU while at the same time not increasing aggregate spending, there is likely to be less aid for urban areas in western European countries.

Given the concentration of young unemployed people in many of the wealthiest European cities, and the long- and short-term problems this provokes in terms of social exclusion and violence, this situation is likely to provoke far greater interest in strategies for fine-tuning social cohesion policies. These policies are likely to take at least three directions, all of which are central to the topics covered by this report:

- Fine-tuning and integrating policies to meet the specific needs of target groups such as young people;
- Fine-tuning and integrating policies to deal with territorial concentrations of social exclusion in deprived areas below regional levels;
- Looking for ways for increasing the cost-effectiveness of cohesion policies by directing expenditure into programmes which are economically, environmentally and socially more sustainable. This inevitably involves strategies for building the social and economic capital of urban communities of the kind that have been dealt with in this report.

In these areas, the Council of Europe would appear to be in a pivotal position as a possible bridge between the rapid changes that are likely to occur in at least three groups of countries: existing EU member states, the accession countries and those who are either preparing for entry or having to develop their own strategies for survival in an increasingly globalised market.

We recommend that future work by the Council of Europe be directed at using this position, not only to fill the inevitable information gaps in this report, but also to ensure that further research helps to build an

intellectual capital of policies, tools, experiences and experts that can be of practical assistance in programmes of decentralised co-operation between actors in the countries mentioned above.

This report should be seen as part of a preliminary “scoping” exercise on a vast, extremely complex and highly interrelated set of fields and subjects. The evidence that has been gathered goes some way towards building a map of some of these areas but it is important to be clear at the outset that a report of this size cannot provide a complete or detailed picture of all of them. The following areas require further work:

- **Increasing the geographical spread.** It has been easier to find evidence on certain countries. Most of the evidence compares the strategies taken by the European Union with those of its major member states. It has not been possible to cover the situation in the central and eastern European countries other than with occasional references. Given the radically different contexts and massive changes that these countries are undergoing it is vital to compare and promote a mutual learning process between different strategies and initiatives towards youth inclusion in eastern, central and western European countries.
- **Increasing the depth of the case studies on the ground.** It has been necessary to use desk research to obtain the information on most of the case studies used in the report. This kind of published information usually focuses on success factors with less attention to the problems and the processes whereby they are resolved (or not). There is very little evidence of the impact of different approaches and strategies. Within a previously agreed typology or framework it is important to carry out a far more detailed analysis of what is really happening on the ground.
- **Improving vertical links with policy makers.** The report has shown that a common language of concepts such as partnership, integration, empowerment and social capital can spread much faster than the reality of policy implementation at different levels. Policy makers and local actors in different contexts interpret the same concepts very differently. There is, therefore, a need to analyse the evolving world of policy makers in more detail and to contrast this with the reality of local actors as mentioned above.
- **More systematic analysis of both concepts and tools.** In this report we have suggested that concepts and tools such as vertical and horizontal policy integration, partnership, empowerment and

social capital are useful pegs to hang future research and policy development on. There are many other concepts that we have hardly been able to touch such as the use of contracts to define rights and responsibilities between partners, strategies for the definition of “pertinent” territorial boundaries and so on.

- **More systematic analysis of the main tools and policies being developed to increase the social inclusion of young people via employment.** We have seen that these include structured pathways, community employment resource centres, community-based job links, intermediate labour markets, strategies for social entrepreneurship and enterprise push and new financial and funding mechanisms. All these policies and tools require more systematic evaluation under different local contexts to bring out their potential for transfer and mainstreaming.
- **Building a knowledge management tool to support decentralised co-operation.** We recommend that the work mentioned above be carried out in a way that builds towards a medium-term goal of creating an ITC-based tool which could support decentralised co-operation among actors in the member states of the Council of Europe. In other words, it is necessary to try to agree a general framework so that future work builds up information in a step by step fashion on policies, tools, experiences, and experts that could then be used and enriched by programmes of direct co-operation between the actors involved in these policies in different parts of Europe.

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II. THE TRANSITION FROM WELFARE STATE TO STAKEHOLDER (WELFARE) SOCIETY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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Introduction

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.

The second chapter 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.

The third chapter outlines a series of pan-European initiatives for the reintegration of youth, and for the overhauling of criminal justice policies, with reference to the substantive issues.

The fourth chapter examines the emergence of a range of 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 five outlines next steps for the Council of Europe.

1. Beyond the welfare state: a United Kingdom perspective on the reconstruction of social cohesion in disadvantaged urban areas

1.1. Context

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 1990s. 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 rolls and falling GP¹ 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 damaged 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

1. A GP is a general medical practitioner.

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.

1.2. Post-welfare state regeneration

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 (seven to ten 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 of 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-ed or community-focused approaches on failing or disadvantaged areas.

2. Lord Scarman Report: The disorders in Brixton, HMSO, London, 1981.

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 Toffler³ during the 1980s. Here, simply put, producers and consumers join forces to define the specification (and among other things, the likely demand) for a forthcoming product.

1.3. 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 Forest 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 30 billion 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

3. Alvin and Heidi Toffler, “Powershift”, Bantam Books, 1987.

through “arm’s-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 million homes remain in council control. At the rate of transfer now taking place, all council housing will have transferred within fourteen years.

1.4. 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 PPP⁴ 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 represen-

4. PPP – Public Private Partnership, a key aspect of new procurement and delivery systems in “Stakeholder Britain”.

tatives 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 (HLCs), 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 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 teenage 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.⁵

1.5. Crime prevention

There are also new measures being introduced to update the working practices and partnering arrangements for crime prevention underpinning new approaches to policing. The Police Reform Bill, 2002, falls within the strategic ambitions phrased by the recent white paper, "Polcing 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. The bill 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

5. Work carried out by David Halpern for the Cabinet Office, 1998.

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.⁶

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.⁷ 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:

- 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; and
- 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.

6. See “United Nations Seventh Survey on Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems”, 2002.

7. A thorough analysis of the situation in which the offence occurs, in order to establish the conditions (opportunities, motivations and legislation) that need to be met for the offence to be committed.

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.⁸

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.⁹

8. 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.

9. 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.

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 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 setting¹⁰ 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.¹¹

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.¹²

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.

10. Home Office, "A practical guide to crime prevention for local partnerships", HMSO, London, 1993, p. 4.

11. Gladstone F.J., "Co-ordinating crime prevention efforts", HMSO, London, 1980, p. 8.

12. Crime Concern, 1992, "Crime Concern, Family, School and Community: towards a social crime prevention agenda".

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 under-achievement; 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 75 million 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 complementary 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 imbalance that exists within and between regions.

Regional Development Agencies have the following statutory purposes, as defined by the ODPM¹³:

- 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; and
- 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; and
- 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.

13. The ODPM (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister) is responsible for regional and local government, housing, planning and regeneration, social exclusion and neighbourhood renewal.

2. Understanding the condition – Specific variables

2.1. Context

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 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 suite, 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 uncertainty and short-term contracts. This profoundly changes attitudes and relationships not only in the workplace – 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.

2.2. The fabrication of youth culture

In *Hiding in the Light*¹⁴ 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".¹⁵

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 twentieth 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 rites 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

14. *Hiding in the Light*, Dick Hebdige, Routledge, 1988.

15. Robert Park, "On Youth and Social Pathology".

into film. As with the protest songs of the 1960s, or still further, with rock and 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 counterculture 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. Marshall McLuhan noted the inherent conflict between media figures and the authority of the family many years ago.¹⁶ 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”.¹⁷ 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 representatives 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

16. “Understanding media: the extensions of man”, (Ch. The Medium is the Message) – Marshall McLuhan – McGraw-Hill, 1964.

17. 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

People aged 10 – 17				
Area	Region	% violence against the person	% criminal damage	Indictable offences
				thousands
England and Wales		55	45	113.0
	North East	55	37	8.6
	North West	46	24	16.0
	Yorkshire and the Humber	58	29	11.3
	East Midlands	53	56	8.2
	West Midlands	59	33	13.0
	East	59	62	9.2
	London	60	24	15.9
	South East	61	52	14.9
	South West	63	68	8.3
England		57	43	105.7
Wales		51	58	7.3

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/=, NW/=, E/-1 & 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 8600. The South East on the other hand suffers a high rate of juvenile crime (26050) 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

Area / Region	% full-time employed	% long-term unemployed (of those unemployed)
North East	37.37	35.33
North West	38.77	31.66
Yorkshire and the Humber	38.77	31.47
East Midlands	41.06	29.4
West Midlands	40.31	31.98
East	42.61	27.13
London	42.64	31.19
South East	43.22	26.05
South West	39.08	26.67
England	40.81	30.26
England and Wales	40.55	30.32
Wales/Cymru	36.18	31.26

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

Of the fifteen of the European Union, 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 EU 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

Juvenile Crime Rates	Total juveniles convicted/Year							
	Country	1995	1996	1997	Country	1995	1996	1997
	Andorra	327	374	361	Japan	183	163	161
	Azerbaijan	615	449	469	Korea, Rep. of	17422	15926	8520
	Belarus	6466	6307	5712	Latvia	1063	1238	1676
	Belgium	706			Lithuania	2010	2193	1957
	Bulgaria	717	1188	1673	Moldova	1794	1622	842
	Croatia	866	732	653	Norway	1351	1571	1445
	Cyprus	6	53	33	Portugal	3280	3020	2986
	Czech Rep.	6192	6239	6423	Romania	9783	10377	11802
	Denmark	6640	6078	5841	Russian Federation	116486	121013	120574
	England & Wales	103583	105822	107120	Slovakia	4076	2970	3654
	Estonia	1400	1551	1668	Slovenia	499	500	617
	Finland	8794	8642	8202	Spain	1881	1705	1342
	Georgia	455	491	357	Sweden	13235	10538	9967
	Germany	64731	69403	76018	Switzerland	7544	8900	9364
	Greece	6057	5218		the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	1184	1162	745
	Hungary	8717	7769	7447	UK – Northern Ireland	755	732	700
	Italy	4349	3984	4023	UK – Scotland	20181	20525	19784

Source: United Nations (2002), Seventh Survey on Crime Trends and the Operations of Criminal Justice Systems.

However, these trends are not replicated amongst statistics for adult crime convictions. Indeed, the second highest level of juvenile crime recorded in the EU for Germany, slips to fifth position with sixty-five people per 100 000 of population for adults convicted and imprisoned. This is at just above half the level of adult imprisonment in Spain, which stands

at 111/100000. Yet according to UN figures, Spain has the second lowest level of juvenile offenders within the EU. 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.

2.3. 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 Klein¹⁸ 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 television, 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.”¹⁹

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

18. “No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies”, Klein N, 2000.

19. Op. Cit.

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 leaguering 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 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.

2.4. The consumption of branded lifestyles

An ESRC-funded study²⁰ carried out in three English cities – Newcastle, Leeds and Bristol by the University of Newcastle upon Tyne,²¹ 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 in 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.²²

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

20. Economic and Social Research Council.

21. Study carried out by Paul Chatterton, Robert Hollands and Meg Aubrey of the Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, Department of Sociology and Social Policy, between July 2000 and July 2001.

22. *Ibid.*

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 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?”²³

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 Eurobarometer²⁴ 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 exist 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.

23. Caspar Melville, 2000, “Local musical trends in a global era”, Research Paper published by Goldsmiths College.

24. Eurobarometer survey on Europeans’ participation in cultural activities, April, 2002.

2.5. 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.

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.

2.6. 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 a 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 Office for Standards in Education systems used to monitor and league schools’ performances.

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

Country	Teenage birth rates	Income inequality index	% 15-19-years-olds not in education
Korea	2.9	–	21.4
Japan	4.6	–	–
Switzerland	5.5	26.9	15.9
Netherlands	6.2	25.5	14
Sweden	6.5	23	13.9
Italy	6.6	34.5	30.2
Spain	7.9	–	23.5
Denmark	8.1	21.7	19.9
Finland	9.2	22.8	17
France	9.3	27.8	12.2
Luxembourg	9.7	–	–
Belgium	9.9	27.2	13.9

Greece	11.8	33.6	22.4
Norway	12.4	25.6	13.6
Germany	13.1	28.2	11.7
Austria	14	26.1	23.8
Czech Republic	16.4	–	25.1
Australia	18.4	30.5	18.4
Ireland	18.7	32.4	19.3
Poland	18.7	–	18.6
Canada	20.2	28.5	22
Portugal	21.2	–	23.8
Iceland	24.7	–	20.3
Hungary	26.5	28.3	24.6
Slovak Republic	26.9	–	–
New Zealand	29.8	–	28.3
United Kingdom	30.8	32.4	30.5
United States	52.1	34.4	25.8

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

Sources: UNICEF (2001), "A league table of teenage births in rich nations", Innocenti Report, July 2001; OECD (2000), *Education at a Glance*; Forster M. (2000), "Trends and driving factors in income distribution and poverty in OECD area", *Labour Market and Social Policy Occasional Paper*, No. 42, Paris.

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, 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, 26.5 and 52.1% consecutively are all well above the EU average for teenage birth rates (approximately 12%). The highest EU 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.

2.7. 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.²⁵

2.8. 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 ten years. For the UK,

25. Ivan Lewis, for instance, is the UK Minister for Young People. Schools' role in rebuilding social cohesion was raised in a keynote speech he delivered at the Youth Justice Board Conference on Reducing Youth Offending – the Role of Learning and Skills, 30 January, 2003.

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 are 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 EU countries prioritise family and children above unemployment benefit, the Netherlands and Spain being the two exceptions. Most of the EU countries expend the largest proportion of their social benefits package on old age survivors, Ireland being the only exception.

Table 4 – Percentage GDP expended on social care and how distributed in EU countries between 1996 and 2000

EU 15	Expenditure per capita EU15=100	Per capita expenditure% growth 1995 – 2000	Share of Social Protection expenditure in GDP%		Distribution of social benefits in 2000 by group of functions (%)						
			1996	2000	Old age survivors	Sickness + Healthcare	Family + Children	Disability	Unempld	Housing + Social Excl.	
Belgium	105	6.7	28.6	26.7	43.8	25.1	9.1	8.7	11.9	1.4	
Denmark	126	1.8	31.4	28.8	38.1	20.2	13.1	12	10.5	6.1	
Germany	114	7.9	29.9	29.5	42.2	28.3	10.5	7.8	8.4	2.6	
Greece	66	42.6	22.9	26.4	49.4	26.6	7.4	5.1	6.2	5.4	
Spain	60	9.7	21.9	20.1	46.3	29.6	2.7	7.6	12.2	1.6	
France	110	7	31	29.7	44.1	29.1	9.6	5.8	6.9	4.5	
Ireland	77	21.4	17.8	14.1	25.4	41.2	13	5.3	9.7	5.5	
Italy	97	12.9	24.8	25.2	63.4	25	3.8	6	1.7	0.2	
Luxembourg	150	17.9	24	21	40	25.2	16.6	13.7	3.3	1.2	
Netherlands	114	4.6	30.1	27.4	42.4	29.3	4.6	11.8	5.1	6.8	
Austria	120	10.8	29.5	28.7	48.3	26	10.6	8.2	4.7	2.1	
Portugal	60	27.1	21.2	22.7	45.6	30.6	5.5	13	3.8	1.5	
Finland	96	0.1	31.6	25.2	35.8	23.8	12.5	13.9	10.4	3.5	
Sweden	120	5.2	34.7	23.3	39.1	27.1	10.8	12	6.5	4.4	
UK	98	13.8	28.1	26.8	47.4	25.9	7.1	9.5	3.2	6.8	
EU	100	8.7	28.4	27.3	46.4	27.3	8.2	8.1	6.3	3.7	

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

2.9. 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 childcare?

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 today's com-

munication and entertainment technologies in the shape of satellite TV, video, CD-Rom, the home computer and so on, 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”,²⁶ 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.

2.10. British crime study

People’s perceptions of their local neighbourhood give 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 (BSA) survey²⁷ agreed that “most people can be trusted”. The BSA also identified a fall in political trust between 1974 and 2000.

26. See various publications by Robert D Putnam, including “Making Democracy Work”, 1993 and “Bowling alone”, 2000 for a discussion of social capital. Also, refer to World Bank publications and reports. In the UK David Halpern, Cambridge University, NEXUS and Cabinet Office advisor to the Blair government, is the leading expert.

27. British Social Attitudes, National Centre for Social Research.

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 civically 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 measured by civic engagement

Whether respondent feels civically engaged by involvement in a local organisation and whether took action to solve a local problem			
Persons aged 16 and over Great Britain: Civically engaged 2000			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involvement in a local organisation and whether action taken • Involvement in local organisation during the past 3 years: 	Yes%	No%	All%
Involved, with responsibilities	27	10	13
Involved, without responsibilities	10	7	8
Not involved	63	83	79
Action to solve a local problem:			
Took action	40	24	27
No action taken	60	76	73
Weighted base (000's) =100%	34 951	7 761	42 723
Unweighted sample	6 365	1 490	7 855

Results from the social capital module of the General Household Survey 2000
 © Crown Copyright 2002

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 under age motor-bike 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, sometimes 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 prejudged 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.

2.11. 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 systems are on hand, usually, if harder edged responses are needed: fines, bails, cautions, incarceration (in a 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 breakdown 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. Countermeasures 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 and market-led approaches to management of public space, displacement of disempowered groups including youths.
- Consumption of “branded space”.

3. Pan-European initiatives for the integration of youth: outline case studies

3.1. European Union White Paper

The chapter outlines key EU 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 transnational 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 twenty-seven 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 to 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.

3.2. 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)²⁸ 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 project on music 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 at 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 south-east 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 to use 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

28. <http://www.diba.es/eyo/index.html>

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. 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.”²⁹

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-judicialisation, de-institutionalisation, due process).³⁰ In a sense this reflects the nature/nurture argument.

3.3. 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

29. “Confronting Youth in Europe – Juvenile Crime and Juvenile Justice” edited by Lode Walgrave and Jill Mehlbye, August 1998, AKF.

30. Danish Institute of Local Government Studies (AKF) website: <http://www.akf.dk/eng98/juvenile.htm>

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 1993,³¹ 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 1980s 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 1971.³² 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 a local level and where individuals are involved and share joint responsibility”. It argues for “complete communities”, that is, 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.³³

31. <http://www.uwe.ac.uk/fbe/commsafe/info.htm>

32. <http://www.uwe.ac.uk/fbe/commsafe/euden.htm>

33. Ibid

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 ;
- 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”.³⁴ 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.

34. Ibid.

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 through 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 follows:³⁵

- to teach young people to live peacefully and to have respect for others and the environment;
- 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.

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 twenty-five local projects launched by the Ministry of Welfare,

35. Ibid.

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.³⁶

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.”³⁷

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 Consells 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.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

3.4. 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 people and a “clearing” house for those who are addressing youth-specific problems at various levels.”³⁸

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.³⁹

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.

38. Ibid.

39. <http://www.bigtorino.net/english/index.htm>

The need for an international resource is reflected in an initiative with a global ambition emerging from progressive urban planning practice in 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”.⁴⁰

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 to some extent commentary, on issues arising such as the potential corporatising of youth space through involvement of the private sector in sponsorship (for example “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 forty most deprived local authority areas in England. The Fund totals 100 million spread over three years, and has been allocated to projects running from 2000 to 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.

40. <http://www.yspace.net/>

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 Centre for British Teachers (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 twenty-seven 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.

Millennium 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 the media, sport, music and entertainment, who have been involved in volunteering themselves.

There are over fifty 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. Some 16 000 have gained Awards of Excellence. 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.

3.5. Acceptable behaviour contracts⁴¹

A scheme originally piloted in Islington in north-east 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

41. <http://www.quest-net.org/>

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.

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 75000 grant from the Home Office to establish an anti-social behaviour unit.⁴²

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

42. <http://society.guardian.co.uk/societyguardian/story/0,7843,543347,00.html>

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.

3.6. Youth parliaments

Fermanagh District Council Shadow Youth Council (SYC) 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.⁴³

“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 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.”

43. 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.

The success of the Fermanagh Shadow Youth Council, as judged by a 2001 BBC programme,⁴⁴ 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 (18 November 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 (7 December 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 twenty-nine shadow councillors and thirty-one 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 twenty times.

The success of the SYC can also be measured by the involvement, commitment and idealism of the 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 Ghandis."⁴⁵

44. "Citizenship 2000", broadcast on 2 May 2001.

45. Bhengu Mahlengi, Chair, South African Youth Council, 2000.

3.7. Youth schemes in England, Wales and Scotland

Splash is the name given to a number of schemes 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”.⁴⁶ During the summer of 2001 the YJB reported that “Nuisance crimes dropped significantly” while the project was running. The activities combine education, 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 in the *Guardian* of Wednesday 31 July 2002⁴⁷ 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.

46. http://www.youth-justice-board.gov.uk/view_pr.cfm?PRID=85

47. <http://society.guardian.co.uk/Print/0,3858,4472256,00.html>

Positive Futures⁴⁸ 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 one 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 life styles 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 life styles 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 7.5 million over two years for the expansion of Positive Futures and, in November 2001, Positive Futures announced that they would be setting up an extra thirty-one projects around the country. The Football Foundation has also joined the scheme recently as a main partner, and has earmarked 3 million over five years to support football-based Positive Futures projects.

3.8. Youth music projects

The basement Studio,⁴⁹ a youth music project based in Bristol in the south-west 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".⁵⁰ 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 30000 prize money to the project for the support it had given him in the past.⁵¹

48. <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/annrep/2002/pdf/s31.pdf>

49. <http://www.electricdecember.org/99/pages/boxes/basement/about.htm>

50. <http://www.digitalbristol.org/members/basement/>

51. <http://www.techno.de/mixmag/97.11/RoniSize.b.html>

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".⁵² 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 of 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 Zones⁵³

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

52. <http://www.digitalbristol.org/members/basement/>

53. <http://www.youthmusic.org.uk/news/index.htm>

street, but on promoting 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.

3.9. 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 twenty-four large-scale LETS operating in the UK and around seventy-four 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. LETS 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.”⁵⁴

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 Hemerijck⁵⁵ 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 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

54. World Bank.

55. 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.

work and family obligations and train the population in the kinds of skills that the modern economy demands, strengthen, in the words of Marshall McLuhan, the 'loyalty to a civilisation which is a common possession'. 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."

3.10. 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 websites 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 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 website change too. It may be a midday 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 EU 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 lose their competitive edge.

As computer use grows so too does the world's e-commerce. The "dotcom" failures of the 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 websites, 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 studenthood. These businesses have, under the generic banner of “cultural industries” had an increasing impact on their local economies and have driven many inner-city regeneration programmes. This is a trend which should be carefully nurtured.

4. New urban typologies and holistic regeneration: outline case studies

4.1. Introduction

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, fore-grounded and contextualised through a discussion of new policy instruments set against OECD and World Bank objectives.

4.2. 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 Click⁵⁶

The Click (youth and training centre) was developed by Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust⁵⁷ (see p. 179) as part of their regeneration scheme for the Waltham Forest area.⁵⁸ 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

56. Refer to "The Glass-House" for further information. <http://www.theglasshouse.org.uk>

57. Housing Action Trusts are area-based, tenant-led regeneration programmes, set up in 1988 to tackle social and environmental problems on a series of housing estates across the UK. HATs are short-term organisations which take over housing from their local authority in order to make sure the housing is properly managed and used; to improve the quality of life in the area; and to explore options for ownership and landlords in the future.

58. North-east London.

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 Forest 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-storey 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,⁵⁹ 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 fourteen 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.*⁶⁰**

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 fifty-nine 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,

59. IT – Information Technology.

60. Refer to "The Glass-House" for further information.
<http://www.theglasshouse.org.uk>

with the day-to-day running of the co-op overseen by an elected management committee of fifteen 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 twenty-two months from October 1999 to August 2001. The whole project cost 22 million. Funding came from the Housing Corporation, Single Regeneration Budget, a subsidy from Coin Street Community Builders and a building 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.

4.3. Socio-spatial design : current best practice

Foyer Schemes⁶¹

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 forty projects in the UK and thirty-eight projects in the pipeline.

61. See <http://www.foyer.net/theff/main.htm>

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 interrelated 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.

Co-housing

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

“In co-housing, 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, 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 co-housing 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 co-housing, 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 co-housing 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.”⁶²

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 mph.

62. From “Common space of a different sort”, by Tom Braford, *Commonspace Magazine*. December, 2001. See <http://www.thecommonspace.org/2001/12/communities.php>

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 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.”⁶³

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.⁶⁴

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

63. <http://www.homezones.org/concept.html>

64. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2002/03/10/nzone10.xml> “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).

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%).

4.4. New housing models

CASPAR – City-centre apartments for single people at affordable rents

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation⁶⁵ (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, 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 in 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;

65. A major social research organisation based in the UK.

- 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 people's 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 varies 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.

4.5. New governance models

Tenant management organisations

There are around 200 Tenant Management Organisations (TMOs) managing around 85 000 homes in fifty-three 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.

4.6. 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.”⁶⁶

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;

66. OECD publication, *Public Governance and Management*, 2000.

- 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;
- 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 enhance 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)⁶⁷.

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 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 an 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.

67. The seventeen 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 potential 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 eighty-eight 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 a 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 eighty-eight local authority areas receiving NRF support, 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 aims to enable the eighty-eight most deprived authorities, in collaboration with their Local Strategic Partnership, 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.

The document “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; and
- 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;
- 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; and

- 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 twenty 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 organisation. 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 ; and
- ensuring participation by young people and that every LSP has a young persons' 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 and 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 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 is 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 American 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 collaboration can deliver benefits to local people, particularly those who live in disadvantaged areas. The ethos of these projects does 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. DfES⁶⁸ contributes the balance of the capital costs and recurrent funding. The first three academies, opened in September 2001, are in Brent, north 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 a 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.

4.7. 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;

68. DfES – Department of Education and Science.

- 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 ; and
- 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 Forest, and 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 fulfil 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’s management board contained local people, key stakeholders including residents of social housing providers, local councillors, 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 Central⁶⁹

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

69. Action Research Project on Youth Engagement carried out by Fluid for developers Argent St George, published July, 2002

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.⁷⁰

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, exclusion 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

70. The toolkit can be viewed at www.kxc21.co.uk

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.

Derwent NDC⁷¹ – neighbourhood plan and sports village

Fluid were commissioned by Derby's Derwent Community Partnership (DCP) in February 2002 to lead the consultant team, consisting of Fluid, Space Syntax and Tanc, and to produce a robust neighbourhood plan⁷² 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 main line 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 residents' perceptions of no-go areas.

The basic strategy of the neighbourhood plan is generated by two complementary approaches to regeneration. The first seeks to establish

71. 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 thirty-nine area-based projects in England. See p. 115.

72. A spatial programmatic master plan for the area's ten year development programme.

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-focused projects are proposed, forming a sports village around which a set of training and community support facilities (for example, 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 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 product 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 project⁷³

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

73. SCORE - Sports Club Orient.

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,⁷⁴ 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.

74. O-Regen grew from Waltham Forrest Housing Action Trust, WFHAT. The HAT was 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 is, 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, a 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.

5. Next steps for the Council of Europe

5.1. Developing a methodology

This 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, website 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 and interventions, and a methodology for gathering and evaluating information.

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 24,⁷⁵ 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 youth violence 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 understanding of the context of the study.

5.2. 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.

75. http://www.infoyouth.org/UDIP/GB/GB_2_0_org_gouv.htm

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. The 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.

Stage in "journey"	Detached	Outreach	Engagement	Integration
Project Information	Physical			
	Process			

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;
- Index 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; and
- 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 on 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 out 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.

5.3. 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 focused directly on 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; and
- 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 or 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 :

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.

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.

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).

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.

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.

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.

5.4. Methodology for a comparative model

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 multidisciplinary 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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