Open Access Youth Work: A Narrative Review of Impact

Research question: 'What is the available research evidence on the impact of open access youth work for young people as relevant to the London context?'

Aim: to develop a narrative on the available research evidence on the impact of open access youth work for young people as relevant to the London context.

Dr Phoebe Hill, June 2020







The Cornerstone Fund

This work was funded under the remit of the Cornerstone Fund, which is a new approach to funding from City Bridge Trust. The Cornerstone Fund proposes a system for putting London's communities at the heart of the way we work. Taking this work forward, Partnership for Young London, the Centre for Youth Impact, London Youth, and the Young People's Foundations have come together with a bold vision for young Londoners. We want to create the conditions for services and support for young people to be:

- more informed by research, practice and the experiences of young people themselves; and
- · more joined up through local and regional collaboration;
- and thus, more effective.

This is a two-year funded programme by City Bridge Trust as part of the Cornerstone Fund. We want to generate, mobilise and utilise knowledge and insight to change the life chances of young people.

We aim to:

- 1. improve services for young people in London through better use of data and research
- 2. increase coordination and reduce duplication of effort on data gathering and research
- 3. facilitate closer links between research and practice, increasing practitioners' use of research and researchers' impact on practice

The programme of work will achieve this by:

- Creating a stronger consensus and shared commitment to the potential for a collaborative research agenda to contribute to improved life chances for young people in London
- Developing a clearer understanding of the roles of key stakeholders in making a collaborative research agenda a reality
- Taking forward the collaboration on the Vision for Young Londoners with, and for young people

Click here to read the full briefing on the work underway.

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Foreword

It has become almost a cliché to say that it is difficult to 'demonstrate the impact' of open access youth work. We would certainly not deny the challenges in 'proving' a practice that is long-term, informal, youth-centred and open-ended, where outcomes emerge in negotiation with young people rather than being prescribed in advance. However, this does not mean that there is 'no evidence' of youth work's impact, or that we should not welcome the debate about how to understand the impact of open access youth work on the lives of young people and communities. In this context, we are delighted to recommend this review.

This paper presents a fresh and up to date narrative of the impact of open access youth work, building on and updating previous reviews. It also makes its own distinctive contribution, both in style and content. In style, it is deliberately presented in an accessible and user-friendly format. Without compromising rigour or nuance, the review is succinct and includes guidance on how it might be used. In terms of its content, it provides an original synthesis of 49 studies, identifying seven 'categories' or areas of impact: society; personal development; relationships; employment and education; a safe place to be; skills development; health and wellbeing. Just as importantly, it presents evidence on the key factors that contribute to this impact: relationships; a safe place to be; long-term work; stimulating activities; place-based youth workers; openness; flexibility; autonomy; joined-up approach; boundaries. It is no accident that 'relationships' and 'a safe place to be' appear both as a category of impact, and as a contributing factor to this impact!

The areas of impact and contributing factors discussed in this review will not surprise anyone who knows youth work well. However, it has been challenging to maintain them in recent years where resources have been limited and need has both grown and deepened. In this context, the review demonstrates that much of 'what we think we know' about youth work is already underpinned by research evidence. Of course, the review is not the 'final word' on youth work's impact; there are several areas that have been under-researched, and we support future studies that engage with the sector to strengthen the evidence (e.g. in relation to the role of anti-oppressive youth work for social change; the contribution of additional key contextual factors such as training and support for youth workers; and the impact of youth work beyond the individual young person, on their wider community). We also welcome work that focuses on quality – the key factors that contribute to impact – as a critical part of developing the evidence base.

In summary, this narrative presents a compelling picture of the need for youth work in London and beyond, and the impact and influence of youth work in the lives of young people. While it represents the original and commendable work of its author, Dr Phoebe Hill, the drivers for this review were established through numerous discussions and events in London as part of the Cornerstone Fund partnership, 'Setting the research agenda with, and for, young people'. A draft of the narrative was peer reviewed by a diverse group of practitioners to ensure it is accessible and meets the needs of the sector. As such, we hope and believe it will be extremely useful as a tool to support practice, funding and advocacy for youth work. We recommend this narrative review to youth organisations, funders, policy makers, practitioners, students, evaluators and researchers alike.

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Partnership for Young London

Executive summary

This review provides a big picture narrative of the evidenced impacts of open access youth work. Drawing on 49 research studies – predominantly from 2015 onwards – it summarises the key impacts into the following seven categories:

- Society
- Personal development
- Relationships
- Employment & education
- A safe place to be
- · Skills development
- Health & wellbeing

The review also identifies ten common factors that contribute to the 'success' or impact of open access youth work, namely:

- Relationships
- · A safe place to be
- Long-term work
- · Stimulating activities
- Place-based youth workers
- Openness
- Flexibility
- Autonomy
- Joined-up approach
- Boundaries

How to use this narrative review...

The aim of this review is to present the available research on open access youth work in a succinct way, giving you the key themes and trends from the literature 'at a glance' when looking to improve practice. You may wish to reference this narrative review in funding applications you are making. Or, if you are observing that a particular impact is evident in your youth work – e.g. personal development – you may wish to look up the research studies (listed on page 7) that also found this impact to support the findings in your context. Alternatively or in addition, it may be useful to focus your efforts on the factors that are evidenced as supporting youth work's impact.

Setting the scene

What is open access youth work?

Open access youth work is provision that a young person may access regardless of their background, needs or position in society (Robertson 2005). Open access youth work is based on voluntary participation, with young people being free to come and go as they please. Bernard Davies extends this beyond simply the openness to any young person who might choose to attend voluntarily, and includes also an essential openness to 'outcomes' defined by the young people's concerns and interests as a key feature of this form of provision (2019). Although these features of open access youth work are common across the literature, a historical challenge for youth work has been the diversity of terms used, and the lack of a shared discourse (McGregor 2015: 18). This has prevented the build up a body of evidence and theory around youth work, as a myriad of different terms are used, such as: universal provision, generic youth work, youth services, outreach, or positive youth activities (see McGregor 2015: 18; Ritchie and Ord 2016: 2). Mundy-McPherson, Fouché and Elliot (2012) therefore argue for the systematic use of the term 'youth work' as a necessary first step in securing a professional identity and in turn more recognition and funding. We shall use the term 'open access' in this review to distinguish open and universal forms of youth work from targeted provisions.

The current context

Since the 2010 election of the Coalition Government, and the subsequent elections of the Conservative governments in 2015 and 2017, the youth sector in the UK has undergone 'radical transformation driven by austerity measures and service realignment' (Body and Hogg 2019: 171-2). The consequence of these measures has been a decrease of around 40 per cent of the available open access youth work provision in this country (Ritchie and Ord 2016: 4). For the remaining provision, there has been increasing pressure to measure and demonstrate the impact of their practice (Fyfe et al. 2018: 3). In a sector where staff have historically been recruited on the basis of their ability to work with young people – rather than their expertise in research and funding - this represents a 'steep learning curve' (Zumu et al. 2016: 8). This is compounded by the fragmentation of youth work practice, with part-time working, short-term funding, frequent turnover of staff and the move towards increasingly volunteer-driven provision all compromising the ability to sustain a trajectory of research and theory (see Mason 2015; McGregor 2015: 21). Another challenge has been the conflict between open access youth work's 'improvisatory and unpredictable character' and 'an increasingly instrumental and behavioural neo-liberal agenda' (Davies 2015: 85). Open access youth work is by definition 'open', and flexible to the interests of young people, and therefore to seek to measure its impact restricts and ultimately shapes the nature of provision offered (de St Croix 2018). The knock-on effect has been an increase in targeted provision 'with an identifiable effect and return on investment' (Dunne et al. 2014: 13).

The nature of evidence

When gathering research about youth work impact there is a challenge of discerning what 'counts' as evidence. Stuart and Maynard narrate the beginnings of evidence-based practice in youth work, and the ways in which it was shaped by a medical approach to research (2015). The authors explain that evidence-based practice is a 'positivistic approach that tests whether a medical intervention has had a positive impact on the patient's outcomes' (2015: 245). This approach therefore relies on being able to test pre and post (or before and after) an intervention, including the measurement of a control group (who don't 'receive' the intervention), and being able to assess how and in what ways the intervention made a difference. Stuart and Maynard argue that there has been an 'overextension' of this approach to the social sciences, including youth work (2015: 246).

For some funding bodies and indeed government departments, this may be the only form of evidence that 'counts'. As Taru (2010) explains, this perspective would posit that without a control group it is not possible to demonstrate statistically whether the measured impacts would have occurred without the youth work intervention. However, very few studies have been conducted according to these criteria. One such study – ranked by Moullin, Reeder and McNeil (2011: 7) as the most robust UK research – analysed quantitative data from the 1970 British Birth Cohort Study. It found that participation in a youth club tended to correlate with various social exclusion outcomes 'including lack of qualifications, unemployment, smoking, drinking, and crime' (Feinstein, Bynner, and Duckworth 2006: 305). This study is controversial, and 'simplistic ministerial interpretation' of its complex findings led to unhelpful policy developments (Davies and Merton 2009: 6). The use of control group studies in youth provision has increased significantly over the last decade, but it is no coincidence that these have tended to focus on 'programmatic' interventions rather than more informal, semi- or unstructured youth work provision. It remains the case that the 'extension' of this form of measurement to youth provision has not simultaneously extended the established evidence base.

McGregor (2015: 40) summarises three different approaches to evidencing impact which, although contested and overly simplistic, reflect some of the tensions inherent in the field:

Rationalist

Techno-rational justification and scientific methodologies.

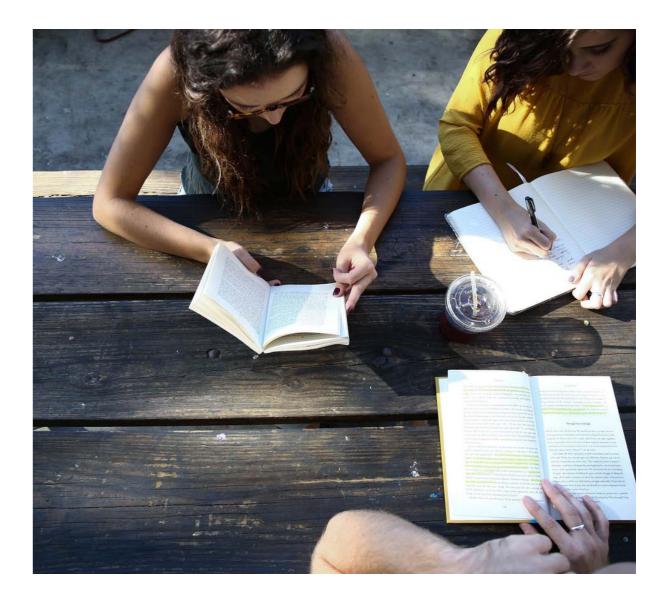
Quantitative

Pragmatist

The politics of 'what works' and playing the game.

Relational

Giving voice to young people through qualitative over quantitative measures.



The impacts of open access youth work

This narrative review takes an inclusive approach to what 'counts' as evidence of youth work impact. Despite the flurry of new research initiatives around youth work impact over the last ten years, open access youth work remains an 'under researched area' (Ritchie and Ord 2016: 4). We therefore do not discriminate between studies based on the research approach adopted. The vast majority of studies included in this review are qualitative and focus on self-reported or 'significant change' stories from young people; we recognise that there may therefore be a limit to whether or not they can be considered 'proof' of youth work impact. The review includes any study that constitutes original research with evidenced impact in any open access youth setting, and is not limited to studies in the UK.

Given the plethora of systematic literature reviews into youth work, this study does not seek to replicate but to add to the existing work that has been done. The narrative review therefore focuses on the 2015 systematic review carried out by McGregor (and the references within it), and research from 2015 onwards. After a database search, website search and grey literature search, 49 studies were found that are of relevance to this review (see Section 5 Appendix for more detail).

The table on the next page provides a summary of the open access youth work impact evidenced in these studies, gathered into seven different categories. We use the term 'impact' to encompass outcomes or changes evidenced as a consequence of a provision. Each literature review provides a different summary of the impacts, and there is no one agreed list. This categorisation of the impacts (with further explanation in the subsequent tables) is an interpretation based on the particular studies read:

- 1. Society
- 2. Personal development
- 3. Relationships
- 4. Employment & education
- 5. A safe place to be
- 6. Skills development
- 7. Health & wellbeing

Society	Social cohesion, taking initiative, influencing local decision-making, building networks with wider community, increased volunteering, cultural awareness and inter-cultural relations, political engagement, increased voting, active citizenship, inclusion of migrant youth, feeling safer in the neighbourhood,
	wanting to 'give back', anti-racist work, empowerment.
Personal development	Self-esteem and confidence, personal identity, problem solving, social skills, conflict resolution, team work, creativity, raised aspirations, broadened worldview and beliefs, knowledge of self, self-control, discovering strengths, responsibility, self-determination, dealing with setbacks, strategic thinking.
Relationships	Trusting, non-judgemental, feeling believed in, feeling heard and listened to, feeling supported, acceptance, feeling like a 'family', long-term, positive role models, peer networks, mutual, person-centred and individual approach, different to teachers and parents, respect, overcoming isolation, building capacity for positive relationships in future.
Employment and education	Training, developing networks, developing social capital, entrepreneurialism, improving job chances, developing hard and soft skills for the workplace, voluntary or paid opportunities, guidance and signposting, developing noncognitive skills, improved formal educational attainment, assistance with applications, preventing early school leaving.
A safe place to be	Supportive environment, non-judgemental space, a place to get away from home and tensions elsewhere, a place 'not like school', a place to socialise and have fun, a place accessible for free where they will not be excluded, a safe space away from challenges in the community, a 'second home', a place to just be, a sense of belonging.
Skills development	Opportunities to try new things, developing hard and soft skills, building core competencies, fostering social skills, participating in music, dance, craft, art or sport activities, participating in life-based learning not always taught at home including cooking, learning to present, organise, communicate and lead.
Health and wellbeing	Bridge to other services and keeping young people connected to them, reducing detrimental and risky behaviours (e.g. substance abuse), providing a place of respite and sanctuary, enabling good decision-making and considering risk, preventative approach (e.g. gang activity), increasing self-care.

Society (24) |X|X|X|X|X|X|X||X|X|X|X|X|X|X|Personal |X|X|X||X|X|X|X|X||X|X|X|development (21) Relationships |X|X|X||X|X(15) **Employment and** |X|X|Xeducation (13) A safe place to |X|X|XX X |X|Xbe (12) Skills |X|X|X|X|X|X||X|Xdevelopment (11) Health and |X|Xwellbeing (5)

Adding complexity

The categories outlined above are **inevitably an over-simplification**. They cannot possibly capture the range of impacts in real life practice, and they are offered hesitantly given the over-focus on 'outcomes' in youth work (see de St Croix 2018). Different reviews categorise and group impacts differently. This review has classified them according to the seven key groups outlined above, based on which impacts appeared most in the particular studies read.

Not all youth work projects should expect to see the same impacts. Many of these impacts are highly contextual, for example in a youth work provision in Bolzano which saw young people increasingly confident in their bilingual identity, and able to speak in both languages at the club (Schlauch and Palmisano 2019). A provision is not necessarily 'better' for producing a range of different impacts.

The impacts are not necessarily of equal value. For example, in Ritchie and Ord's research (2016) the young people enjoyed the different activities available to them and the chance to try new things (skills development) but ultimately viewed the activities as an opportunity to spend time with youth workers and friends (relationships).

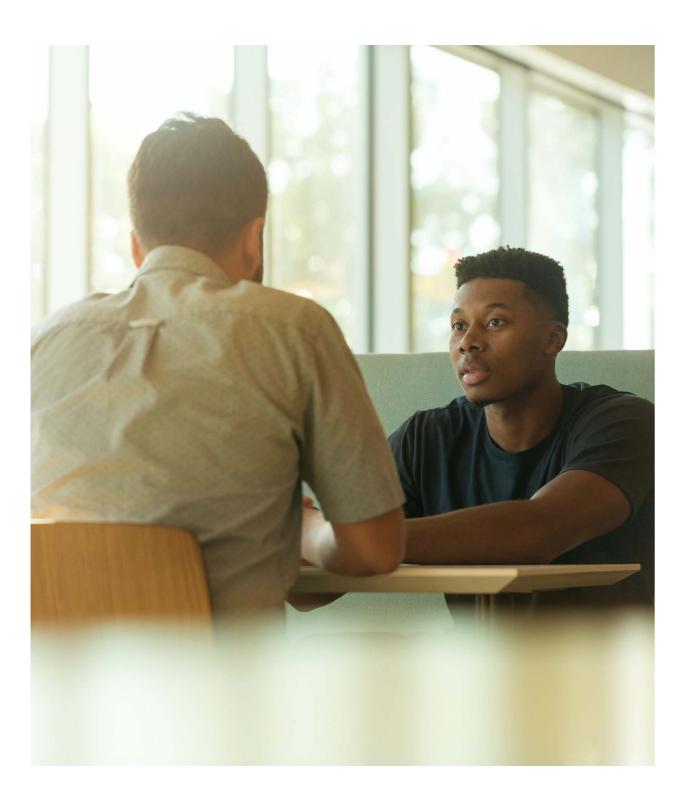
Although the impacts are separated out for purposes of clarity, **they are not necessarily disconnected.** For example, Fyfe et al.'s (2018) study highlighted that increased confidence led to better performance at school and improved career prospects for young people.

All of the evidenced impacts are focused on how the individual young person has been impacted by a provision, and on the whole **fail to consider the impact on a young person's wider context.** Only one study by Petie (2018) referenced the impact of the youth work provision on wider factors such as family.

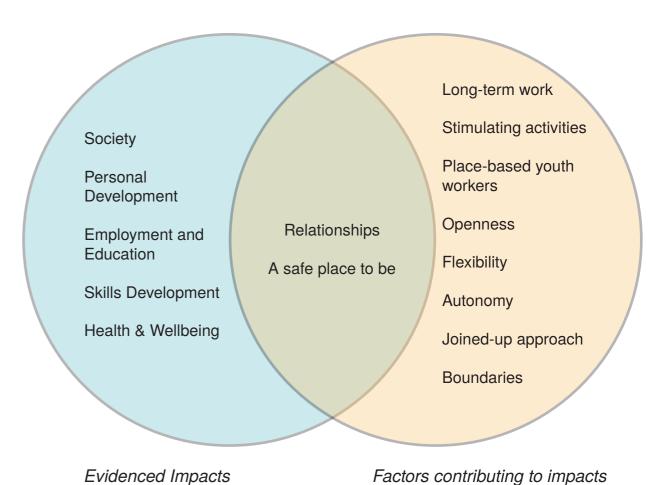
In recent years, **positive relationships and having a safe place to be have increasingly been described as 'impacts' in themselves**, beyond simply being part of the fabric of good youth work. Body and Hogg (2019) highlight how the positive relationships young people built in the youth club enabled them to build other positive relationships in their lives, and ten years on it was this that they recounted as being most impactful.

Not all of the impacts of youth work are positive. This is highlighted by Adamson and Poultney as one of the consequences of the 'networking effect of bringing together the riskiest young people' (2010: 23).

Although the intention is for youth work provisions like these to be 'open' to all young people regardless of background or need, there are some young people who may not be able to engage with open access youth work. Groups not sufficiently reached by youth work include those in rural areas, migrant young people, young people with additional needs and those who may need the provision the most (Dunne et al. 2014).



Factors contributing to impact



Factors contributing to impacts

1. Relationships

Relationships fall into both categories above: they are both an impact of open access youth work and a factor contributing to 'success'. As a factor for success, it is specifically the relationship between youth worker and young person that is important. As Body and Hogg (2019) explain, 'the participants rarely identified or specifically discussed the different services they engaged with (such as early intervention support, drug and alcohol advice or, sexual health services) or the larger organisation. Rather they identified and framed their experiences based around individual practitioners within the organisation, and discussed strong and lasting attachments to these individuals, highlighting the idea that relationships remain central to service provision' (2019: 176).

2. A safe place to be

Another aspect falling into both impact and factor is providing a safe place to be. Ritchie and Ord's (2016) research found that the young people benefitted from having a space within which to develop a peer network, and having a place from which they would not be excluded. Their research also found that the youth clubs represented a place to belong, and for some young people, a place to get away from home and other challenges.

3. Long-term work

The longevity of relationships was highlighted as another factor for success. Mason's (2015) research found that all of the participants identified the importance of relationships being built on trust and respect, a process that is necessarily developed over time. Mason explains that this was achieved through the employment and recruitment of local staff and volunteers, which 'reflected longstanding managerial commitments to the provision of local opportunities' (2015: 62). Similarly, in Sabaratnam and Klein's research with 1070 young people, they found a statistically significant positive relationship between length of participation and 'self-control, empathy and communication' (2006: 91).

4. Stimulating activities

Structured opportunities that are flexible to the needs of young people provide pathways for participation (Coburn 2011), and can be an 'initial hook' to engagement (Petie 2018: 16). Cooper, Brooker, et al. (2019) describe how a dance programme provided the opportunity to try something new for a particular group of young people, to meet new friends through a shared activity, and to express emotions through the creative process.

5. Place-based youth workers

Another important factor was having place-based youth workers, who had knowledge about the local area and the social, economic and cultural realities of the young people they worked with (Prinzjakowitsch 2017: 79). As McPherson explains, 'The participants felt they had more in common with their youth workers than they did with their teachers, in the sense that many come from similarly working-class backgrounds and communities, with youth workers typically being former service users themselves' (2020: 316-317).

6. Openness

Openness was highlighted as a factor in several studies, relating to the free-of-charge nature of the provision and also the welcoming culture of the space. As Zumu et al. explain: 'Those we met who had been engaged with their youth club for a long time said they kept going because they were made to feel welcome, even if they only attended occasionally. They liked the fact that their youth club had an open door policy, so they were free to come and go as they wished' (2016: 15).

7. Flexibility

Alongside offering structured activities for young people to participate in, the need to start where young people are 'at' is also highlighted as a factor. The provision must evolve, adapting to the needs and interests of the young people. Dickens and Lonie describe the way in which a hip hop project took seriously the young people's preferred form of expression, and the means through which they wanted to articulate their challenging life circumstances (2013: 69).

8. Autonomy

Another important factor highlighted in the literature is the involvement of young people in decision-making processes, and being given autonomy. Dunne et al. (2014) explain that although 'giving a voice' to young people is frequently mentioned in provision, this can range hugely from having a say in small details to designing an entire programme or initiative. This requires a commitment to power sharing between the young people and adults, based on voluntary relationships (Coburn 2011).

9. Joined-up approach

Another factor is the strength of links and networks between the youth workers and other services, including young people's families, schools, social services, the police and local community. As Schulman and Davies explain that when the three domains of family, community and school are joined-up, evidence shows that 'participants experienced outcomes such as higher levels of social skills learning, greater self-efficacy, higher levels of community service, and greater cognitive competence' (2007: 23). This involves actively building partnerships to enable effective outreach to young people at risk (Dunne et al. 2014: 166).

10. Boundaries

The maintaining of strong boundaries was also mentioned as an important component in facilitating impact. Petie's (2018) research found that the young people appreciated being in a setting with appropriate boundaries. This led to shared expectations that people would abide by the rules, and that those who did not would be asked to leave for a set period of time. Petie explains that this led to mutual respect between the young people and the youth workers, and contributed to the young people's experience of the club as a safe place to be. As Prinzjakowitsch (2017) highlights, this principle is challenging to follow, as it may compromise the relationship between youth worker and young person.

Implications for policy and practice

- The last ten years have seen a range of initiatives and research focusing on open access youth work and responding to the current climate of funding.
 How can we continue to build on the work being done?
- What 'counts' as evidence? Is the aim for every organisation to find their own significant change stories and articulate their own impacts, or to seek to measure collectively and/or longitudinally what the impact of open access youth work might be?
- We have seen that open access youth work is under threat, and faces the challenges of job cuts, short-term funding contracts and high staff turnover. We have also seen that there is need for long-term work, the provision of safe spaces and consistent positive relationships as factors for success with open access youth work. Are these two 'realities' reconcilable? Or has the former made an impossible context for the latter to exist, rendering open access youth work unable to achieve what it wants to achieve?
- There are a few gaps in the literature on evidenced impacts. Although there appears to be an interesting shift of focus to the role that youth work can play in fostering positive inter-cultural relations (particularly in European contexts where there has been an increase in migrant populations), only one study specifically mentioned the impact of anti-racist youth work (Bowler and Razak 2019). There was also only one study that referenced the impact of youth work beyond the individual young person, on their family or wider community (Petie 2018). In addition to these, where relationships are discussed as an impact or factor for success in the literature, the studies tend to highlight the relationship between youth worker and young person rather than peer networks. Similarly, there are other gaps in what may be expected from the wider youth work literature to be identified as factors for success, including the training and support of youth workers; employment conditions for youth workers; length and stability of funding; sensitive evaluation and monitoring procedures; and the central role of the voluntary principle (in which young people choose whether and how to engage). All of these gaps present interesting opportunities for further research.

Appendix

Methodology

A database, website and grey literature search resulted in 217 different reports and articles. This was then reduced down to 72 by focusing only on large systematic reviews (of which there are nine) and literature from 2015 onwards. These studies were then ordered according to relevance, accessibility (online) and also by whether or not they are original research. PhD theses were excluded. This left 33 articles or research reports, including the 9 systematic reviews. The two most recent reviews were included in the reading, along with the 24 empirical research studies. Further studies were added on account of relevance through the reading process. The total number of studies included in the impacts and factors contributing to impact sections of this review is 49. The studies were coded for analysis using Nvivo software.

1. Database search

Key terms searched:

• "Open access youth work", "Open youth work", "Universal youth work", "Impact" + "youth work" (since 2015)

Database	Date	Notes
British Education Index (EBSCO)	4/5/20	No results found.
Child Development & Adolescent Studies (EBSCO)	4/5/20	Mostly CYP now articles.
Education Abstracts (EBSCO)	4/5/20	No results found.
ERIC (EBSCO)	4/5/20	No relevant results.
International Encyclopedia of Education (ScienceDirect)	4/5/20	
Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts (ProQuest)	4/5/20	No relevant results.
Education Abstracts (EBSCO)	4/5/20	No relevant results.
Teacher Reference Center (EBSCO)	4/5/20	Not allowed access.
Academic Search Complete	4/5/20	

ASSIA Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts (ProQuest)		Not allowed access.
IBSS: International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (ProQuest)	4/5/20	Not allowed access.
JSTOR ebooks and journals	4/5/20	
Philosopher's Index	4/5/20	No relevant results.
Planex	4/5/20	
ProQuest Social Sciences Premium Collection (1871-)	4/5/20	
ScienceDirect Journals (Elsevier)	4/5/20	
SCOPUS (Elsevier)	4/5/20	
Social Policy & Practice (Ovid)	4/5/20	
Social Services Abstracts (Proquest)	4/5/20	
UK Data Archive (UKDA)	4/5/20	No relevant results.
Web of Science (formerly Web of Knowledge)	4/5/20	
Cochrane Library	4/5/20	No relevant results.
EconLit (1969-)	4/5/20	No relevant results.
Evidence Search (NICE)	4/5/20	
OECD iLibrary	4/5/20	No relevant results.

1. Spefific website search

Children and Young People Now website (some articles not accessible)
ondon Youth
Choose Youth website
outh & Policy
Contemporary Community Education Practice and Theory (CONCEPT) website
n Defence of Youth Work blog
nfed website
National Youth Agency website (some articles not accessible)
Professional Open Youth Work in Europe website
Centre for Youth Impact
Partnership for Young London
oung Foundation website
outh Link Scotland website
outh Sector blog
outhpolicy website

2. Grey literature databases

The International Society for Third Sector Research	
Open Grey	
Social Policy and Social Work Subject Centre	
Third Sector Knowledge Portal: A depository of 3rd sector research produced in the UK	
UNESCO Online materials	

3. Google search (2015)

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