



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

**Analyzing a Model of Non-Formal
Education for Young People:
A Comparative Case Study of National
Programs in the United States and
Scotland**

Melissa Lucille Moncrieffe



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH
Moray House School
of Education

Doctorate

The University of Edinburgh

2016

Abstract

Non-formal education (NFE) has the potential to provide diverse learning opportunities for personal and professional development. Proponents of NFE conclude that it creatively and flexibly responds to ever-changing socio-economic challenges. In practice, these contributions are highly dependent upon the viability of NFE and the context in which it is delivered. This research studied US and Scottish national community education programs, designed for vulnerable and disadvantaged youth, in order to examine NFE.

As a comparative case study, the research developed a model of NFE from the literature reviewed. This model was applied to explain and analyze governance, the use of social and human capital theories as well as other important concepts related to each program. Interviews (with policy leaders, community level program administrators and young people) as well as national and local documents informed the analysis.

The top-down construct of community education programs demonstrated that policy influenced implementation within communities. Community level administrators could also plan programs, however, within the limits of policy. Both case studies were primarily similar in their norms and goals but also had interesting differences at national and local levels. The findings showed how history, western ideologies and youth narratives have a pervasive impact on programs. The case studies revealed contributions of NFE to lifelong learning, seen through the lens of social and human capital. Furthermore, a critical discussion was interwoven throughout the thesis and revealed challenges and tensions at all levels of the model.

NFE is a complex and variable concept, and it continues to struggle for legitimacy and recognition within the wider education narrative. However, NFE's relationship with government policy, its use within communities and the experienced outcomes for youth are testament that it is integral and influential within the narrative. Further NFE research and practices should be encouraged in order to understand its role and impact. There is an emphasis made here to expand the research on NFE because socio-economic inequality, concerns about youth transition and the importance of learning beyond the formal educational sector are universal and consistent issues.

Lay Summary

Learning outside of formal school takes on various forms and can help to provide additional learning opportunities. Authors have chosen to define education outside the formal school context as non-formal education (NFE), informal education or a combination of both. The definitional differences between NFE and informal education are not definite and sometimes overlap. Therefore, these concepts need further examination when studying real-life circumstances.

This thesis examined education programs outside of the formal school context and was specifically interested in NFE. Therefore, it developed a working definition for NFE and used the related theories of social and human capital to understand program formation, operations and outcomes. The research then studied community education programs that are managed by the US and Scottish governments. These programs were incorporated, in the research, as case studies for comparison. They operate within communities and are focused on helping young people, ages 16-24 who are disadvantaged and vulnerable.

Government documents, monitoring reports and interviews with policy leaders, program administrators and youth participants were examined to understand how the governments conceived these programs and their aims and objectives. Second, the research studied how the programs operated at the community level—looking at relationships between program administrators, young people and wider community organizations. Also, outcomes for young people were examined and revealed that the programs helped young people learn useful skills, (re)-engage within the formal school system and/or acquire work or training. At the same time, there were challenges experienced. These challenges were witnessed, for example, within community level relationships and youth engagement.

Ultimately, the use of NFE by governments, researchers and organizations shows that although it is a complex concept, it is important to understand and incorporate within programs. NFE can help to provide personal enrichment and social and economic development for young people, especially for those youth who are considered most vulnerable.

I dedicate my 4 year journey to the Almighty and my parents. Without them, this experience would not have been possible. There is so much more I could write, but I will simply say, I am truly thankful and blessed.



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClInPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Declaration | v |
| Acknowledgment | vi |
| Abbreviations | vii |
| List of Tables and Figures | ix |
| Index of Appendices | x |
| | |
| Chapter 1: Introduction | 1-8 |
| 1.1. Personal Journey and Background of the Topic..... | 1 |
| 1.2. Thesis Structure..... | 6 |
| | |
| Chapter 2: Literature Review and Analytical Framework | 9-70 |
| Part 1: Literature Review | |
| 2.1. Debates within Non-Formal Education..... | 9 |
| 2.1.1. The Definitional Complexity and Arguable Significance of Non-Formal Education..... | 10 |
| 2.1.2. Non-Formal Education within the Wider Educational Context..... | 12 |
| 2.2. The Nexus between Non-Formal Education, Community Education and Youth Work..... | 17 |
| 2.2.1. What is Community and Community Education..... | 20 |
| 2.2.2. Community Education in the USA..... | 22 |
| 2.2.3. Community Education in Scotland..... | 31 |
| 2.3. National Governance of Community Education in the USA and Scotland..... | 35 |
| 2.3.1. USA..... | 36 |
| 2.3.2. Scotland..... | 37 |
| 2.3.3. Implications of a Neoliberal, Top-Down Structure of Community Education..... | 38 |
| 2.4. Conceptions and Perceptions of Young People..... | 42 |

| | | |
|--|---|---------------|
| 2.4.1. | Youth Policies and Discourses in the USA..... | 42 |
| 2.4.2. | Youth Policies and Discourses in Scotland..... | 48 |
| | | |
| Part 2: Establishing the Analytical Framework | | |
| 2.5. | Definition and Conceptualized Model of NFE for Youth in National Community Education Programs..... | 51 |
| 2.6. | Operationalizing the Model of NFE..... | 52 |
| 2.6.1. | Explanation of the Theoretical Framework..... | 64 |
| 2.7. | The Research Questions..... | 70 |
| | | |
| Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods..... | | 71-110 |
| 3.1. | The Research Questions Explained..... | 71 |
| 3.2. | Rationale for a Qualitative Comparative Case Study..... | 72 |
| 3.3. | Comparative Case Study Description..... | 76 |
| 3.4. | Why a USA and Scotland Comparison?..... | 78 |
| 3.5. | Selecting Case Study Programs..... | 80 |
| 3.5.1. | Description of Embedded Case Studies..... | 81 |
| 3.6. | Sources and Methods of Data Collection..... | 83 |
| 3.6.1. | Documents, Records and Artifacts..... | 83 |
| 3.6.2. | Interviews..... | 85 |
| 3.6.3. | Addressing Challenges in Data Collection..... | 96 |
| 3.7. | Data Analysis..... | 98 |
| 3.8. | Issues of Accuracy, Validity and Credibility..... | 102 |
| 3.9. | Reflexivity..... | 103 |
| 3.10. | Practical Matters..... | 107 |
| 3.10.1. | Negotiation of Access..... | 107 |
| 3.10.2. | Timeframe of Research..... | 108 |
| 3.10.3. | Ethical Considerations..... | 108 |

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| Chapter 4: Case Study One: Promise Neighborhoods Program, USA- <i>Findings and Analysis</i>..... | 111-168 |
| 4.1. Formation of PN Program at National Level..... | 111 |
| 4.1.1. Policy Context..... | 111 |
| 4.1.2. How Strategies Reflect the Model of NFE..... | 115 |
| 4.1.3. National Level Summary..... | 126 |
| 4.2. Local Level: Interpretations of National Strategies..... | 128 |
| 4.2.1. Local Governance and Corresponding Management Structure..... | 128 |
| 4.2.2. Challenges in Implementing the Place-Based Strategy..... | 131 |
| 4.2.3. Translation of the ‘Cradle to College to Career’ Strategy..... | 136 |
| 4.2.4. Implementation of the Monitoring and Assessment Strategy..... | 142 |
| 4.2.5. Local Level Summary..... | 144 |
| 4.3. Practices and Outcomes of Learning in Large Urban Area, Santa Clara..... | 145 |
| 4.3.1. Program Practice Challenges..... | 155 |
| 4.4. Discussion of Research Questions..... | 158 |
| 4.5. Conclusions..... | 166 |
| Chapter 5: Case Study Two: Youth Work in Community Learning and Development, Scotland- <i>Findings and Analysis</i>..... | 169-236 |
| 5.1. National Level..... | 169 |
| 5.1.1. Policy Context..... | 170 |
| 5.1.2. How Additional Policies Further Reflect the Model of NFE..... | 180 |
| 5.1.3. National Level Summary..... | 189 |
| 5.2. Local Level: Interpretations of National Guidance and Strategies..... | 191 |

| | |
|--|----------------|
| 5.2.1. Implementation of Partnerships and Challenges..... | 192 |
| 5.2.2. Implementation and Challenges of Monitoring and Evaluation..... | 200 |
| 5.2.3. Implementation and Challenges of the Employability, Economic Approach..... | 203 |
| 5.2.4. Local Level Summary..... | 206 |
| 5.3. Practices and Outcomes of Learning..... | 207 |
| 5.3.1. Embedded Case Study 1: Small Urban Area, Dockline..... | 207 |
| 5.3.2. Embedded Case Study 2: Large Urban Area, Daniels..... | 217 |
| 5.3.3. Program Practice Challenges..... | 224 |
| 5.4. Discussion of Research Questions..... | 227 |
| 5.5. Conclusions..... | 234 |
| Chapter 6: Comparison of PN Program and Youth Work in CLD..... | 237-256 |
| 6.1. Comparisons at National Levels..... | 237 |
| 6.1.1. Conclusion of National Level Comparisons..... | 248 |
| 6.2. Comparisons at the Local Levels..... | 249 |
| 6.3. Summary..... | 256 |
| Chapter 7: Conclusions..... | 257-278 |
| 7.1. Summary of Thesis..... | 257 |
| 7.2. Recap of Findings..... | 260 |
| 7.3. Reflections..... | 268 |
| 7.4. Contributions of this Study..... | 274 |
| 7.5. Limitations..... | 275 |
| 7.6. Areas for Further Research..... | 277 |
| Reference List..... | 279-302 |
| Appendices..... | 303-322 |

Declaration

This thesis has been composed by the student, Melissa Lucille Moncrieffe;

The work within this thesis is the student's own;

The work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified; and

Any included publications are the student's own work, except where indicated throughout the thesis and summarized and clearly identified on the declarations page of this thesis.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Melissa Moncrieffe". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "M".

(Melissa Lucille Moncrieffe)

Acknowledgment

It is with gratitude that I acknowledge the University of Edinburgh, an institution of learning with a wonderful global and historical reputation. Attending the University of Edinburgh, gave me an enriching experience.

With special thanks to:

Professor David Raffe and Dr. Elisabet Weedon whom I have worked with from day one, and Professor Lyn Tett who stepped in after David's passing. I thank you for your guidance, support and conversation;

The individuals who allowed me to interview them and gain access to their programs. Their input helped to provide needed perspectives to my study;

My references from UNESCO and The Graduate Institute, Geneva. They gave me the initial support needed to be accepted into the doctoral program; and

Tamieka, for the upgraded travels on British Airways.

Abbreviations

- AA(s):** Activity Agreement(s)
C-PBE/L: Community-Place Based Education/Learning
CBE: Community Based Education
CBL: Community Based Learning
CfE: Curriculum for Excellence
CLD: Community Learning and Development
COSLA: Convention of Scottish Local Authorities
CPP(s): Community Planning Partnership(s)
CV: Curriculum Vitae
EC: European Commission
ED: United States Department of Education
EU: European Union
ESEA: 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act
FIE: Fund for the Improvement of Education
GAO: United States Government Accountability Office
GED: General Educational Development
GIRFEC: Getting it Right for Every Child
GPRA: Government Performance and Results Act of 1993
HCZ: Harlem Children's Zone
HMIE: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education
HVAC: Heating, Ventilating, and Air Conditioning
I(C)T: Information (Communication) Technology
JSA Project: Job Skills and Apprenticeship Project
JSPD Project: Job Skills and Personal Development Project
JTD Project: Job Training and Development Project
KW: Key Worker
LBJ: President Lyndon Baines Johnson
LEAP: Learning Evaluation and Planning
MCMC: More Choice More Chances

NEET: Not in Employment Education or Training
NFE: Non-Formal Education
NPF: National Performance Framework
OAS: Organization of American States
OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PBE: Place Based Education
PBL: Place Based Learning
PN: Promise Neighborhoods
SCQF: Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework
SDS: Skills Development Scotland
SIMD: Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation
SNP: Scottish National Party
SOA(s): Single Outcome Agreement(s)
STE(A)M: Science, Technology, Engineering, (Arts) and Mathematics
SVQ: Scottish Vocational Qualification
UK: United Kingdom
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US/USA: United States/United States of America
WALT: The working and learning together to build stronger communities
WHNRI: White House Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative
YW: Youth Worker

List of Tables and Figures

Table 3.1: Number of US Individuals Interviewed or Provided Written Reflections

Table 3.2: Number of Scottish Individuals Interviewed

Table 3.3: Excerpt of US and Scotland Content Analysis for Research Question 3

Table 4.1: Overview of PN Program Strategies

Table 5.1: Overview of Youth Work in CLD at National Level

Figure 2.1: Model of NFE for National Community Education Programs

Figure 2.2: Theoretical Framework

Figure 3.1: Illustration of Case Study Description

Figure 4.1: HCZ Pipeline of Services Model

Figure 4.2: PN Program Continuum of Services Model

Index of Appendices

Appendix A: US National Community Education Governance

Appendix B: Scotland National Community Education Governance

Appendix C: Scottish Devolution

Appendix D: Examples of Interview Questions

Appendix E: Interview Schedule

Appendix F: Example of Research Consent Form

Appendix G: Excerpt of GPRA Indicators for PN Program

Appendix H: Excerpt of HMIE Performance Quality Indicators

Appendix I: GIRFEC Foundational Principles

Appendix J: SCQF Diagram

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Personal Journey and Background of the Topic

This research topic was inspired by the valuable lessons I gained from experiences I would classify as non-formal education (NFE). During my childhood and adolescence, I was able to take part in, for example, summer enrichment programs and camps, which I believe enhanced my overall learning experiences. I have been classically trained on the piano, immersed in visual art lessons, and took continuing education classes in languages like American Sign Language. These and other learning opportunities outside my formal schooling developed my creativity, social skills and the way I analyzed information. I am certain these opportunities played an integral role in my formative growth, development and contributed to my advancement in formal education. Recognizing the value NFE has in my life, I was compelled to further understand its role and impact.

In retrospect, I realize that prior to this research, I have consciously or inadvertently studied how NFE has been appropriated, conceptualized and/or interpreted. For example, when I developed and operated an after-school program for children, I aimed to impart knowledge about countries through visual arts, music and literature. I witnessed how NFE engaged the children beyond the classroom, as they applied what was learned to their formal schooling and in their everyday lives. NFE also impacted the parents' decisions about the specific educational path their children would pursue. Additionally, my work at UNESCO helped me to develop an empirical, research perspective of NFE and made me aware of current international and national discourses. I witnessed how existing evidence of NFE greatly varies from government to government and between research groups, while at the same time there was evidentiary overlap. Studies of NFE are context specific, ranging from government directed studies on the impact of financial crisis within education,

community members forming local groups for children's education to international forums discussing the use of NFE in the global south and north countries.

My research journey was inspired by these personal and professional experiences, and I ultimately decided that there was further need to research NFE policies and practices. I wanted to commit to the academic pursuit of more fully understanding what the current discourse is, what are, if any, NFE's contributions, its role and relationship to governments, communities and individuals. Furthermore, I was particularly interested in policies and programs that focused on young people. Narrowing my focus to western governments, contemporary policy and academic discourse within this scope has incorporated human rights issues and considerations on how to manage “the vast array of learning opportunities...divid[ing] responsibilities between the state and other partners, and between the national and decentralized levels” (Hoppers, 2006, p. 16). Related themes around the topic of NFE include social inclusion, civic engagement, successful transitions and learning outcomes throughout a person's lifetime (Hoppers, 2006; Selfton-Green, 2013; Werquin, 2010).

Applying both a social and economic perspective, policies and research have conceptualized NFE as integral within an individual's lifelong learning process. At the macro-level, NFE is seen as one of the solutions for what western societies view as changes created by, but not exclusively, the increased dominance of knowledge-based economies, the prominence of vastly interconnected markets across nations, policies driven in part by supranational agencies, and competition between emerging economies (Brooks, 2009; Gallacher and Feutrie, 2003). The main argument is that in order for modern societies and economies to develop, education and training systems should be “flexible enough to enable people to engage and re-engage with learning at various points throughout their lifetime” (Gallacher and Feutrie, 2003, p. 72). NFE has been and continues to be conceptualized as a mode to boost national health, ameliorate the impact of economic recessions and globalization while

expanding opportunities for learning (ECOSOC, 2012; OECD, 2010; Somtrakool, 2010; Werquin, 2010).

Specific to the youth cohort, expansion of their learning opportunities have centered on promoting successful transitions into employment or formal education (Ainley and Allen, 2010; Anderson and Dowling, 2012; Brooks, 2009). Within the post-modern, post-recessional climate of today, young people's transitions have become more complicated and delayed (Ainley and Allen, 2010; Brooks, 2009; Raffe, 2011). Young people with little to no work experience are in a 'Catch 22' situation because they cannot acquire the needed experience to demonstrate to employers that they have the necessary skills for work. Furthermore, vulnerable and disadvantaged youth, characterized by factors of gender, race and/or socio-economics, face even greater difficulties in remaining in formal education or obtaining work (Bell, 2011; Bell and Blanchflower, 2011; Maloney, 2010; Trends Magazine, 2011).

The US and UK aim to promote greater flexibility and mobility for youth transitions. These governments resultantly place emphasis on continuing education and training that can provide strong incentives for re-qualification and lifelong learning (Raffe, 2011). Beyond statistical indicators on employability and education, the lasting effects that have delayed or made precarious transitions for young people still remain to be seen. Such circumstances have obstructed their trajectory of economic growth and overall well-being, which have caused what some researchers call 'scarring'. Scarring involves youth experiencing higher rates of future unemployment and lower wages, which have detrimentally impacted transitions. As a result, job dissatisfaction and health (mental, physical and emotional) problems may be experienced for many years thereafter (Anderson and Dowling, 2012; Morsy, 2012; Raffe, 2011). Ultimately, if these problems continue to exacerbate social and economic exclusion, the impact on young people's psyche and motivation could be insurmountable. NFE, resultantly, presents a promising option for young people to successfully transition and personally develop.

The widespread global attention of NFE over the past fifty years is evidence that NFE continues to garner attention and have political and international currency. The current focus of NFE within international and supranational forums exemplify this point. The following explanations represent examples of such organizational bodies who have explicitly spoken on the topic of NFE. They are also organizations in which the US and/or the UK are member-states. Therefore, they have some bearing on national agendas. The Council of Europe used supportive language for NFE, stating that “formal educational systems alone cannot respond to the challenges of modern society and therefore welcomes its reinforcement by non-formal educational policies” (Council of Europe, 1999, p. 1). The European Commission recognizes the need to validate non-formal and informal learning practices through lifelong learning policy. It states:

European countries are increasingly emphasising the need to recognise the full range of an individual’s knowledge, skills and competences — those acquired not only at school, university or other education and training institutions, but also outside the formal system (EC, 2013).

Werquin (2010), writing for the OECD, states:

Although learning often takes place within formal settings and learning environments, a great deal of valuable learning also takes place whether deliberately or informally in everyday life. Policy makers in OECD countries have become aware that this represents a rich source of human capital (7).

Lifelong learning is central to UNESCO’s mission to promote every individual’s right to education, and the organization established an Institute for Lifelong Learning in order to facilitate member-states with NFE guidelines to improve structures and procedures to recognize outcomes. Furthermore, UNESCO recognizes that in today’s “complex and fast-changing world, it is necessary for individuals to acquire and adapt competences (knowledge, skills and attitudes) through all forms of learning to cope with various challenges” (UNESCO, 2012, p. 3). The Organization of American States (OAS) states:

Along with the other OAS member states, US OAS recognizes that education is essential to strengthening democratic institutions and the Mission is

committed to promoting a culture of democracy and success through formal and non-formal education (OAS, 2012).

NFE has been credited with dynamism, adaptability and versatility to respond to societal issues while addressing individuals' needs (Coombs, 1976; Neff, 1974). However, others may argue that these ambitious claims present over generalized conclusions that presume NFE to be an all-encompassing remedy to societal and economic issues. Experienced transitions or other successful outcomes could also be due to circumstances other than NFE that are intrinsic to the learning process. Furthermore, it could be argued that if NFE offers such intended success, then why do educational problems persist in areas where it has been employed for many decades?

These discussions present an important backdrop that illustrate the validity for further examination of NFE. Researchers can help to inform, assist or critique international and national policies and agendas. This includes understanding the underlying motivations and norms that have modeled NFE and influenced its practices, how it is appropriated within national policies and implemented at community levels. Ultimately, through further study, young people's lives can be impacted in a manner that uses informed approaches to NFE.

Essentially, this PhD research is an expression of my continued commitment and passion for learning. Developing this PhD research has enabled me to further examine the topic of NFE in an empirical manner that is organized and structured. Also, I have been able to incorporate theoretical knowledge and devote intensive time and research to the topic. I ultimately channelled my PhD research to focus on national programs in the USA and Scotland. These programs have focused on disadvantaged and vulnerable young people and their communities. My research journey revealed interesting findings and analysis that shed light on the national programs' goals and implementation plans; it also provided a critical discussion. Included within the discussions are the accounts and experiences of important actors

— policy leaders, program directors, youth and key workers and young people. Understanding and analyzing their roles, first-hand experiences and reflections contributed to the overall narrative.

1.2. Thesis Structure

This introductory chapter, **Chapter 1**, set out the overall thesis within a contextual story that presented a background to the topic.

Chapter 2 presents the literature review and analytical framework; it provides the academic discourse and policy literature relevant to understanding NFE and its related themes. The review of the literature helped to develop the research questions for this thesis. Further, Chapter 2 establishes the theoretical tools used to analyze findings and make comparisons and conclusions.

Chapter 3 explains the research design and methods and provides the rationale for selecting particular methodological approaches appropriate for such an inquiry. Chapter 3 also shares how the research areas and subjects were selected as well as the means of data collection. The chapter concludes with practical and ethical considerations; for example, addressing issues of confidentiality, reflexivity and access to sites.

Chapter 4 discusses the findings and analysis of the US case study, Promise Neighborhoods Program. There is a presentation at the national and community levels, with two embedded case studies analyzed at the community level.

Chapter 5 discusses the findings and analysis of the Scotland case study, Youth Work in Community Learning and Development. Chapter 5, like Chapter 4, presents a national and community level analysis, with two embedded case studies at the community level.

Chapter 6 is the comparison chapter, and applies the analysis from Chapters 4 and 5 to provide a comparison at the national (policy) and local levels.

Chapter 7 concludes the research, summarizing the overarching themes and each stage of the research. This includes readdressing the research questions. It also presents further arguments to consider, contributions of the study and addresses the limitations of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Analytical Framework

Chapter 2 establishes and defines the scope of this thesis; it is organized in two parts. Part 1 presents the discourse and critical perspectives that surround the topic of this thesis. Part 2 incorporates the discussion and analysis of Part 1 in order to establish the analytical framework. As a result, Part 2 creates a working definition of NFE, a model of NFE for community education and evaluates how social and human capital theories are used. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the research questions.

Overall, Chapter 2 incorporates a wide range of texts to provide an informed and in-depth account of the topic. Policy documents, case studies, academic and research papers make up the body of the work reviewed; the literature examined was primarily qualitative, empirical research. Throughout this chapter sections relate to each other, illustrating linkage between the themes and topics.

Part 1: Literature Review

2.1. Debates within Non-Formal Education

Literature on NFE has addressed how NFE is organized and delivered, its wider impact on individuals and learning and its diverse range of pedagogical practices. In many cases, the reviewed literature discusses these themes in conjunction.

Crosscutting these aforementioned themes, two main debates or core issues have emerged as pertinent topics to examine. The review summarizes the two main debates as: 1) The Definitional Complexity and Arguable Significance of NFE; and 2) NFE within the Wider Educational Context.

2.1.1. The Definitional Complexity and Arguable Significance of Non-Formal Education

Despite decades of its use and discussion, scholars conclude that the literature on NFE remains minimal in comparison to formal education (Council of Europe, 1999; Michigan State University, 1975; Romi and Schmida, 2009). Unlike formal education's definable and discrete understanding, the definition of NFE has not been universalized or codified; as a result, NFE's various definitions and contextual dependence has influenced interpretations of its use and role within education (ECOSOC, 2012; Grandstaff et al., 1974; Romi and Schmida, 2009; Shrestha, Wilson and Singh, 2008; Smith, 2002). These interpretations have fueled discussions regarding where NFE can be delivered, who can administer NFE and what are its instructional limitations, sometimes, blurring the boundaries of its practices alongside formal education (Hoppers, 2006; Selfton-Green, 2013; Smith, 2002).

Those who aim to define NFE have contributed to the pool of various interpretations. Some authors have chosen to approach the discussion by examining the syntax and/or word structure of NFE. Examining non-formal education through its construction, some authors have argued that the use of the prefix "non" communicates a concept that exists either as a negation of formal education or every type of instruction that is not in the formal educational context (Axinn et al., 1977; Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Kleis et al., 1973). As Coombs (1976, p. 282) states, "Non-formal education is simply a convenient label covering a bewildering assortment of organized educational activities outside the formal system." The publication dates of the literature show that this binary construction of education primarily prevailed during the 1970s. Furthermore, this type of construction discretely separates non-formal and formal on the basis of primary categorizations, asking and answering: 1) Who is teaching; 2) What is taught; and 3) What are the pedagogical approaches (Axinn et al., 1977; Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Kleis et al., 1973; Russell, 2001). Others argued that this perspective is rigid and misrepresentative because it limits the role of NFE and/or creates a negative perception of the concept. The interpretation of NFE

as everything that formal education is not, does not allow for it to be perceived as distinct with more individualized qualities (ECOSOC, 2012; Grandstaff, 1976; Romi and Schmida, 2009; Shrestha, Wilson and Singh, 2008).

A current and predominantly held view of education is that education is conceptualized in a less static way and seen in three forms— formal, non-formal and informal (CEDEFOP, 2015; Hoppers, 2006; Novosodova, n.d.; Selfton-Green, 2013; Smith, 2002; Werquin, 2010, 2012). Looking at education as sitting within a larger learning process, proponents of this conceptualization perceive education as a more fluid interplay or relationship between teachers, learners and learning. As a result, the three conceptions of educations can be visualized as a Venn diagram where there are overlaps and separations between similarities and differences. These similarities and differences would consist of characteristics like intentionality of learning, learning space, and structured/un-structured/experiential learning (Novosodova, n.d.; Smith, 2002). Illustrating a similar but alternative viewpoint, is conceiving all three types of education along a linear continuum. In this structuring, informal and formal education reside at opposite ends of spectrum, and NFE exists within some non-discrete, fluid area in between the two ends (Werquin, 2010, 2012).

These varied interpretations, among others, leave an unresolved picture of a universalized definition of NFE (Hoppers, 2006; Smith, 2002). Some argue that the issue of definitional complexity is not a concern at all; and/or it is an accepted reality of the nature of NFE (Selfton-Green, 2013; Werquin, 2010). Therefore, they conclude that these educational terms are best when relational and not absolute.

A departure from the definitional discussion is that the very term NFE may have lost its relevance or meaning altogether. Hoppers (2006) explains that the difficulty in drawing the line between non-formal and formal education, with so many initiatives showing characteristics belonging to both, has led to educational specialists preferring to not use the term. These specialists “either refer directly to different

programmes of basic education or subsume all forms [of formal and non-formal education] under ‘lifelong learning’” (Hoppers, 2006, p. 21). Literature by international entities introduce NFE, formal and informal education as concepts, with a primary purpose of explaining their interactions within the lifelong learning perspective. Therefore, although the three forms of education are not rendered meaningless, greater relevance can be seen on the procedures and strategies that promote the overall lifelong learning process (CEDEFOP, 2015; EC, 2013; Patecka, 2011; Singh, 2015; UNESCO, 2012).

Whichever definitional camp one falls into, NFE continues to be an applied and studied term within educational, research and policy discussions. Overall, Kleis et al. (1973) sum it up when arguing that even though formal and non-formal education may approach things differently, their overall aims are the same, which are to increase personal and national productivity and development.

2.1.2. Non-Formal Education within the Wider Educational Context

I. Expansive Scope and Simultaneous Limitations

As is evident within the definitional discussion of NFE, the various interpretations of NFE lends itself to exhibit wide-ranging roles alongside formal education. Hoppers explains:

The notion of education as a fairly fluid field, with a dominant formal system and a constantly evolving range of more or less non-formal types, each of which has its own changing range of forms and shifting interfaces between formal and the non-formal parts as well as the changing interactions (2006, p. 36).

This summation of NFE has created much opportunity while at the same time limitations in its practice. Unlike formal education that is universalized and adheres to a standardized core curriculum, NFE is able to be flexible and adaptable. This attribute also requires NFE to be highly context specific, having plans and objectives that cater to the needs of learners (Bock, 1976; Coombs, 1976; Selfton-Green, 2013;

Werquin, 2010). Additionally, NFE has been conceived as being both cost and time efficient, allowing learners to progress through their lifelong learning path without the expenses of going through formal education (Werquin, 2010). NFE also captures a socio-economic demographic that many times the formal education sector has failed to reach (Selfton-Green, 2013; Werquin, 2010). While these are aspects that help to widen the scope of learning opportunities for more people, they are also highly labor intensive, since NFE program administrators and instructors have to be specially trained and motivated to meet the demands of the specialized NFE program. Also in many instances, NFE resides outside the formal learning sector, which allows it to have more jurisdictional freedom to operate. However, because of this characteristic, NFE programs are highly dependent upon sustainable and diverse funding and support streams— public, private and voluntary sectors— to remain operational (Neff, 2004; Werquin, 2010). These responsibilities can create a burden, since NFE programs need to constantly remain funded and adequately staffed.

There are also perceived or subjective limitations of NFE. First, as Coombs (1976, p. 284) described, there are misconceptions about NFE by those who “have not liberated their minds from the school bound concept of education.” This, Coombs argues, has led to thinking that NFE is rival to formal education and has thus narrowed NFE’s scope through its appropriation by educational ministries rather than various other social sectors (Coombs, 1976). There are those who presume that NFE has an inferior status, and/or those who often regard it as an education associated with poor and marginalized populations rather than an option for everyone (Hoppers, 2006; Werquin, 2010). Hoppers (2006) suggests that this notion is not only within the minds of the public, but also within the minds of policy-makers. As a result, proponents for NFE have argued that there must be a cultural change in order for its scope to expand to various populations (Bock, 1976; Werquin, 2010).

II. Non-Formal Education in Relation to Formal Education

NFE’s standing within the wider context of educational discourse has been addressed by primarily looking at its role and function in relation to formal education (Coombs,

1976; EC, 2013; Hoppers, 2006; UNESCO, 2006). This is not surprising since NFE has been defined through the prism of formal education, which creates a definitional dependence. Some authors, who have departed from the use of NFE but still recognize its qualities, have chosen to consolidate NFE and formal education within the larger context of lifelong learning (Field, 2000; Hoppers, 2006). Regardless of how authors have chosen to perceive NFE, there is an implicit or explicit determination of its role through theorized or perceived relationships with formal education. These relationships can be characterized in four ways, which are NFE as: 1) complementary; 2) supplementary; 3) alternative; or 4) completely separate from formal education.

NFE, when viewed as a complement to formal education, co-exists almost with equal relevance and influence to formal education. Here, non-formal and formal education are mutually reinforcing elements of the lifelong learning process (Novosodova, n.d.). Ultimately, a complementary relationship aims to enhance overall learning outcomes. Some advocates for NFE that is complementary hope that community education will become widespread and more integrated within formal school curricula and classroom settings (Smith 2002a, 2002b; Smith and Sobel, 2010). Since this form of NFE helps to bolster public education, the complementary role of NFE has been an accepted policy agenda. International organizations and national governments have presented the complementary approach to NFE as promising solutions to post-modern challenges and have established NFE's complementary value as a pathway to formal education (Gallacher and Feutrie, 2003; Powers, 2004).

NFE can be a supplement to formal education; a supplement is something that makes an addition or completes (Merriam Webster, 2015; Oxford Dictionary, 2015). As a supplement, NFE offers a learning space where it enhances or fills instructional and learning gaps within formal education when needed. Unlike the complementary role, where NFE and formal education coexist, as a supplement, NFE can be seen as having a subsidiary role. Therefore, NFE serves formal educational agendas and its

activities primarily aim to prepare learners for formal education. This exact use of the term, supplementary, is not used in this context within any of the literature reviewed. However, it has been alluded to under different categorizations, for example, Coomb's interpretation of what he calls complementary fits within this conceptualization of supplementary. He presents that NFE as complementary to formal education means that NFE serves as compensation for formal educational shortcomings and contradictions (Coombs, 1976). In this review's interpretation, Coomb's description would enable NFE to play a supplementary role because NFE does not have the same prominence and/or equal-level status that proponents within the complementary agenda would perceive NFE to have.

The third role is non-formal education as an alternative means of education. Educationists (e.g., community educationists and youth workers) have incorporated the alternative role of NFE in order to provide learning for individuals where formal schooling is not present or an option. Many times alternative modes of NFE aim to (re)-engage individuals into not only work but also further education (Werquin, 2010, 2012). As a result, being alternative does not mean it is on a completely separate track from formal education. Hoppers (2006) categorization of 'para-formal education' and 'literacy and skills development', as types of NFE, would fall within this category. Para-formal education is problem oriented, training activities that serve distinct, learning needs. Also, it serves as a substitute to formal education, providing an opportunity for those who did not benefit from formal education (Hoppers, 2006). 'Literacy and skills development' provides support for disadvantaged youth in order to prepare them for work. Usually these programs combine literacy training with life skills (Hoppers, 2006).

The conceptualization that NFE stands completely separate from formal education is illuminated by Hoppers' classifications of 'popular education', 'personal development' and 'professional and vocational training'. In short, Hoppers (2006, p. 25) describes that 'popular education' activities generally "try to stand aloof from the

formal school system, if not at times oppose the basic principles of its functioning.” ‘Personal development’ is usually organized by cultural institutions to promote leisure-time activities. It is a highly individualized form of NFE. Hoppers (2006, p. 27) adds that personal development “constitute typical forms of lifelong learning as they satisfy the need to utilize (expand) leisure time and income.” Some may interpret Hoppers’ classifications of ‘personal development’ and ‘popular education’ as informal education rather than NFE. This further emphasizes the different interpretations that NFE and informal education are subject to, due to their level of definitional subjectivity.

III. Further Recognition of Non-Formal Education

The discourse concerning the ‘inferiority’ of NFE continues to be a concern amongst proponents of NFE. Some of which have argued that in order for NFE to have increased agency within the wider educational context, there needs to be greater cultural recognition in order for its practices and outcomes to be deemed integral within the wider educational context (Bock, 1976; Werquin, 2010, 2012). This has led proponents to advocate for more formalized recognition processes of NFE in order to increase its legitimacy through accreditation and universalized review (Werquin, 2010). In conjunction, “forms of NFE...have come to define themselves with reference to what is constituted as the central national system” (Hoppers, 2006, p. 34). As a result, the drive to increasingly formalize NFE practices can also be found through the appropriation or implementation of NFE programs by national governments (Halpern, 2005; Fukuyama, 2001; Schuller, 2005; Schuller and Field, 2006; Woolcock, 1998).

IV. Implications of Widespread Appropriation of Non-Formal Education

The politicization and growing interest of NFE during the 21st century has led to its wider use within various sectors. Although the Kleis et al. (1973) publication is dated, its argument regarding the evolution of NFE still has relevant implications for today. This reading questions how NFE will evolve within the wider educational discourse and ultimately within society. It inquires whether NFE will become a form

of education that is a rival to formal education, competing with it for human and monetary resources. A response to this concern would be that “non-formal education does not entail a rejection of formal schooling” (Grandstaff et al., 1974, p. 17). Furthermore, another considerable implication would be that NFE would become repressed and ultimately adapted within formal educational institutions (Kleis et al., 1973). This may occur within programs where NFE has a supplementary relationship with formal education; therefore, NFE becomes unnecessary or obsolete once formal educational goals are perceived to be actualized. A third possible implication of the widespread use of NFE would be that both formal and non-formal education will adapt and evolve into a broader plan for educational development or reform. This last implication may have already been perceived or actualized through the lifelong learning discourse.

2.2. The Nexus between Non-Formal Education, Community Education and Youth Work

NFE is the broader concept that encapsulates types of community education. Indeed, it is through the community education programs that one experiences learning beyond the notion of school and/or engages with the lifelong learning process (Galbraith, 1995). In conjunction, this research focuses on young people’s learning experiences within community education; therefore, community education creates learning environments where young people can voluntarily engage in various associational settings. This description of youth engagement is also known as youth work (Jeffs and Smith, 2010; Sercombe, 2010).

The relationship between NFE, youth work and community education is also found throughout the discourse of supranational and international bodies, including the United Nations and UNESCO, OECD and the European Union. Although not an exhaustive list, these entities exemplify the strategies and goals for linking NFE, youth work and community education.

The United Nations recognizes the importance of NFE in achieving the Millennium Development Goals¹ and urges member-states and stakeholders to address youth unemployment, promote social responsibility and develop effective partnerships. Furthermore, the UN concludes that NFE can be used to help fill formal educational gaps and provide learning that is relevant to the context in which young people live (UNESCO and UNDESA, 2012). In so doing, youth work can respond to young people's challenges in order to enhance skills that facilitate their transitions into work and personal development. UNESCO is one of the specialized agencies for the UN and a primary entity in promoting education through developing capacities, monitoring progress and promoting policy dialogue. Its strategy for youth links youth organizations and youth-related stakeholders to work together in non-formal learning contexts to actualize youth's increased civic participation, successful transitions into adulthood and democratic participation (Hoppers, 2006; UNESCO, 2016; UNESCO and UNDESA, 2012). Underlying this strategy is the main premise that youth are key partners and actors for development and peace (UNESCO, 2016).

The OECD also emphasizes the importance of NFE and youth work, identifying that NFE aids in reducing costs of learning, allows young people to complete formal education more quickly and efficiently. NFE improves equity by strengthening access to further education; it also makes individuals aware of their capabilities while validating their self-worth (Werquin, 2010). Further, OECD recognizes the importance of NFE in promoting its skills strategy (OECD, 2012). Young people can acquire or develop relevant skills that respond to evolving demands not only through the formal education sector but also throughout life and in non-formal educational sectors (Schleicher, 2012).

¹ “The Millennium Development Goals are the world's time-bound and quantified targets for addressing extreme poverty in its many dimensions-income poverty, hunger, disease, lack of adequate shelter, and exclusion-while promoting gender equality, education, and environmental sustainability. They are also basic human rights-the rights of each person on the planet to health, education, shelter, and security” (Millennium Project, 2006).

“Youth work has been high on the EU youth agenda since 2013” (EU, 2015, p. 11). The European Commission advises that youth policies should focus on social inclusion, stronger participation within democratic processes and easier transitions into adulthood. These key focuses are administered through, for example, a prioritization of youth employment and employability, empowerment and accessing alternative and/or more diverse means to increase engagement and social inclusion, especially for vulnerable and disadvantaged youth (Dunne et al, 2014; EC, 2016a, 2016b; EU, 2015, 2016). Within the description of priorities above is where NFE can have an impact on youth work. The EU widely acknowledges and recognizes NFE as providing unique learning opportunities to young Europeans (Council of Europe, 2015; EC, 2016a, 2016b). In fact, the *EU Youth Report 2015* includes the following conclusions from a Youth Working Party, which emphasizes the important relationship between NFE and youth work:

Non-formal learning activities can help boost young people’s employability and social inclusion. Participation in non-formal learning activities allows young people to develop knowledge, skills and attitudes that are frequently said to be needed in the labour market. This includes teamwork, communication, leadership, flexibility and responsiveness. It also entails discovering one’s entrepreneurial and innovative potential, by identifying problems, coming up with ways of dealing with them and sticking to a chosen course of action (EU, 2015, p. 42).

While it is the member-states’ that have overall responsibility for youth policy, the EU calls on cooperation between the EU and member-states to “mobilise all policies that can help improve young people’s prospects” (EU, 2015, p 10).

Overall, these supranational and international organizational bodies recognize that together, NFE and youth work contribute to young people’s access to education, training, work and overall development. The US, a member of the OECD, UNESCO and United Nations system, and Scotland, a member of the aforementioned bodies as well as the European Union, are resultantly situated within this wider international context. As a part of this context, the US and Scotland, to some degree, are impacted or influenced by the actions and policy guidance of

macro-institutional structures. These impacts or influences can be seen, for instance, in national policy development, strategies and/or the sharing of best practices amongst member-states.

The discussion that follows in this section starts with a theoretical discussion of community and community education, and then includes discussions on the priorities, integrated themes and role of youth work within community education programs in the USA and Scotland.

2.2.1. What is Community and Community Education?

Community is a much contested concept and some researchers have advocated for its abandonment. Like other social science concepts, the concept of community has several implications and interpretations that are reliant upon the historical, social and political story of a society (Matheson, 1991; Tett, 2010; Smith, 2001). However, community remains an important concept to understand because it plays an influential role in how actors view individuals within society and formulate community education programs.

Whether explicitly or implicitly, community has been conceptualized as a value and/or a descriptive element (Smith, 2001; Tett, 2010). In practice, these two approaches are not mutually exclusive, and often times operate in conjunction (Clark, 1987; Galbraith, 1995; Smith, 2001). Community as a value embodies several elements such as solidarity, commitment and trust. As solidarity, community embodies union or fellowship. As a commitment, community promotes dedication, and third, as trust, community involves a belief in the reliability in actions. Whereas, community as a descriptive element is usually explored in three categories: place; interest; and communion. Community as a place is a territory where people have an understood geographic locale in common; community as an interest is where people are linked by a common characteristic other than place, such as religious belief, sexual orientation, occupation or ethnic origin; and community as communion is seen as an

attachment to a place, group or idea, hence the term ‘spirit of community’ (Smith, 2001; Tett, 2010). Youth work within the community focuses on young people “as the legitimate prime interest group” (Lacey, 1987, p. 40). In this regard, youth and youth work are an integral part of the community when, for example, community is defined by its locality or when the youth cohort constitutes community as an interest and communion (Lacey, 1987).

Martin (1987) presents a further dimension about community, illustrating how community systems can affect practices. Specifically, his argument states that community educators have the choice between viewing community as a hierarchical, socially regressive and static construct versus an emancipatory, progressive and dynamic construct. Since community education programs, civic organizations and community educators are an accessible and feasible link between individuals, institutions and other members of society, they function as very influential actors within the community (Tett, 2010). As a result, the power of community educators to embody either Martin’s categorization of a progressive or regressive construct reveals that community educators can be highly influential to youth’s learning and their outcomes (Martin, 1987).

Community education is defined by its purpose, which is “education within and for communities” by means of encouraging and engaging people throughout their lives (Tett, 2010, p. 1). Therefore, the primary aim of community education is to enable members of the community to be both collective and autonomous (Clark, 1987). An autonomous aim in regard to youth work is that the individual learning needs of a young person are addressed. This constitutes the “education within communities” component of the definition. The collective aim addresses the “education for communities” whereby community is seen as the agent and objective within the education process in order to meet its own unique needs (Galbraith, 1995). The relationship between the two aims is dynamic and tries to be balanced (Clark, 1987). Furthermore, community education is also about “evolving more open, participatory

and democratic relationships between educators and their constituencies” (Martin, 1987, p. 17).

The author, Matheson (1991) and his alternative position regarding community education is worth mentioning. He writes that through his review of literature on community education there are several inconsistencies and confusion as to what its goals should be. He further argues that “for some [community education] is an entity in its own right; for others it is an extension of community development. It may be aimed at the whole population or just at the deprived” (Matheson, 1991, p. 155). Matheson’s critique seems valid, but his conclusion should not preclude one from understanding how community education has been interpreted within the context of a case study, especially when localities and programs intentionally apply the concept within their institutional structures and initiatives.

With a theoretical understanding of community and community education established, the literature review transitions into how community education is explored and practiced within the USA and Scotland. The institutional structure of community education for youth in the USA is called, for purposes of this research, Community- Place Based Education/Learning (C-PBE/L). In Scotland, community education is Youth Work in Community Learning and Development (Youth Work in CLD). The following sections will examine how community education has been theorized and developed in the USA and Scotland.

2.2.2. Community Education in the USA

I. Early Conception and 21st Century Development

Authors use one or a combination of the four following labels when discussing community education in the USA: Community-Based Education (CBE); Community-Based Learning (CBL); Place-Based Education (PBE); and Place-Based Learning (PBL). These terms have roots in American historical movements that compelled arguments for community engagement and effective participation of

young people within school and the community. During the 19th and 20th centuries, educational reformist John Dewey wrote about the disconnect that existed between school and society, in which he argued that children were unable to productively utilize knowledge gained outside school in the classroom (Dewey, 1897, 1938). According to McInerney, Smyth and Down (2011, p. 5), Dewey stressed “the importance of experiential forms of learning, such as nature studies, that directly connected to the lives, cultures and interests of young people and their communities.” Thus, Dewey advocated for the recovery of the relationship between formal learning and the community (Dewey, 1897, 1938; McInerney, Smyth and Down, 2011; Smith and Sobel, 2010).

A friend of Dewey’s and renowned educator, Jane Addams, pioneered the idea of schools as social centers through the community school movement of the 20th century. Community schools provided both NFE and recreational activities such as, college extension classes, kindergarten, book talks, art exhibits and legal services for poor immigrants (ED, 2009). Later, the community school movement spread across the US (ED, 2009). Dewey and Addams’ efforts to improve social statuses and incorporate the poor within services aimed to promote trust and commitment within the community; as a result, the concept of community as a description and value seemed to work in tandem.

21st century practices of community education tie to these movements and are reflected in publications by authors like Bowers, Gruenewald, Smith, Sobel, Theobald, Wood and school reform organizations like the Orion Society, the Foxfire Fund, the Coalition for Community Schools, PACERS Small Schools Cooperative and the Rural School and Community Trust (PACERS) (McInerney, Smyth and Down, 2011; Powers, 2004; Smith 2002a). For some, their writings and organizational activities are a partial response to what they have viewed as a failure

in the US educational reform of the late 1990s to early 2000s.² Much like their predecessors, modern-day authors have critiqued the shortcomings of the formal education system and rationalized the importance of community education through its ability to bridge the gap between formal education and students' overall life lessons. As a result, they have concluded that community education is the answer to enhancing educational outcomes for young people and rectifying the mistakes experienced by educational reforms (Melaville, Berg and Blank, 2006; Smith and Sobel, 2010).

Organizations and authors choose to define and emphasize components of community education differently, looking at how community education exists or relates within and outside the formal school sector. The Coalition for Community Schools,³ for example, looks at community based learning (CBL) through a model that unites a set of strategies designed to engage students in learning within schools. The strategies constitute five components: 1) community service; 2) civic education; 3) environmental education; 4) place based learning; and 5) work-based learning (Melaville, Berg and Blank, 2006). For The Coalition for Community Schools, it has chosen to view place based learning (PBL) as a subset of CBL. Smith and Sobel (2010, p. 24) posit that The Coalition emphasizes “even more strongly the creation of learning opportunities that allow students to apply what they encounter in disciplinary courses to local issues and concerns.”

Villani and Atkins (2000) discuss community based education (CBE) as fostering interdependence between educational and community practice through formal schooling. They believe that learning within schools should go beyond writing,

² The US Educational Reform of the 1990s is said to have reached its peak in 2001 with the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Act, No Child Left Behind. This includes the formal school system's goal to improve learning outcomes through what many have viewed as an inflexible standardization processes and strict testing methods (Gibbs and Howley, 2000; Smith and Sobel, 2010).

³ “The Coalition for Community Schools, housed at the Institute for Educational Leadership, is an alliance of national, state and local organizations in education K-16, youth development, community planning and development, family support, health and human services, government and philanthropy as well as national, [S]tate and local community school networks” (The Coalition for Community Schools, 2015).

reading and arithmetic to achieve the process of creating lifelong learners. Therefore “emphasis is taken off assessment and instructional strategies that are standardized” (Villani and Atkins, 2000, p. 123). Galbraith (1995) argues that when CBE intersects with lifelong learning goals, it utilizes formal, non-formal and informal educational processes.

In slight contrast, some authors view the varied terms as so similar in definition and goals that they have chosen to merge them into one comprehensive idea. Smith and Sobel (2010) argue that specifically within place based learning (PBL), not all educational experiences necessarily involve problem solving or action, but this seems to be a minor distinction made between CBL and PBL, since they choose to merge the two concepts into what they call, Place-and Community Based Education. Additionally, Powers (2004) summarizes that writers and researchers often use PBE interchangeably with CBL. Gruenewald (2003) argues that PBE is a term that lacks a theoretical tradition. However, he further explains that this is basically a matter of semantics because its practices and purposes can be related to, for example, multicultural education, democratic education and bioregional education (Gruenewald, 2003; McInerney, Smyth and Down, 2011). Gruenewald (2003) acknowledges that although PBE may be under-theorized as a definitional term, as a concept, it is widely practiced and utilized. Furthermore, his conception of PBE also merges it with community based education (CBE), much like other authors.

This research chooses to merge the terms because like Smith and Sobel (2010), it accepts that the concept of place is theoretically a part of understanding community; community is the broader and larger encompassing concept. Although some authors choose to use place instead of community or vice versa, this thesis deduces that authors are using the terms interchangeably, since they are essentially discussing similar concepts about community education. Also, in order to not exclude pertinent literature from the research on the grounds of word choice by authors, the terms are merged into one overarching categorization, Community-Place Based Education/

Learning (C-PBE/L), which is used to embody the various constructions of community education throughout the remainder of this thesis. Therefore, when discussing US community education throughout the thesis, it will either be referred to as C-PBE/L or simply, community education.

II. Focus of Community Education in the US

C-PBE/L is a concept that remains broad and organic in its function, as it aims to consider the several social and cultural layers of a society as well as the educational needs of each unique community (Bartholemeus, 2006; Smith, 2002a). This point is further illustrated by Smith and Sobel (2010, p. 22) stating that:

Place-and community-based education seeks to achieve a greater balance between the human and non-human, ideally providing a way to foster the sets of understanding and patterns of behavior essential to create a society that is both socially just and ecologically sustainable.

As a result, emphasis on certain social and ecological elements of C-PBE/L are quite varied and reflected throughout different organizations and proponents of community education in the USA. The differences in emphasis that are illustrated below are not exhaustive, but are used to highlight what are considered the primary themes or topics throughout C-PBE/L literature.

Some researchers and practitioners use C-PBE/L as a means to focus on environmental education and instill knowledge about environmental stewardship. Powers (2004) concludes that C-PBE/L emerged from the foundation of 30-years of environmental education in the US and other readings recognize environmental education as an integral component of C-PBE/L (Gruenewald, 2003; Smith and Sobel, 2010). Overall, the aim of environmental education through the community is to promote citizen responsibility through environmental education and enhance the ecological well-being of society (Gibbs and Howley, 2000; Smith, 2002a, 2002b). Environmental education has a longstanding tradition, as previously stated with John Dewey and his advocacy for experiential learning through nature studies. This tradition has continued through the work and goals of community education

organizations like FoxFire Fund and The Orion Society, which are demonstrated through their work and environmental goals.

Also, the emphasis of community education within rural communities still remains important because rural educators see C-PBE/L as an approach to address the decline of rural American communities, including the emigration of its young adult population. Some rural educationists also aim to integrate rural populations and studies within the formal school system (Jennings, Swidler and Koliba, 2005; Smith, 2002b). As a result, organizations and advocates of community education hope to prepare young people to live productive and engaged lives within their rural, home communities (Gibbs and Howley, 2000). Organizations like PACERS focus on C-PBE/L within local, rural communities and uphold the idea that the community is unique in its history, culture, economy, literature and art. Therefore, the rural community provides its own biosphere for learning, and in turn, young people focus on the community's needs and interests. Literature reveals that through the tradition of C-PBE/L administered in rural communities, there remains an environmental component.

Perhaps this relationship exists because the social and economic well-being of the rural community is intrinsically tied to the natural environment through, for instance, farming and self-sustainability within these populations. Educating people of rural communities requires an awareness of understanding and respecting the interdependent ties they have with their natural, geographic environment (Gibbs and Howley, 2000). Thus, the human experience involves successfully tying the concept of community as both a descriptive element and values element (community as a place and community as a commitment) in order to enact responsible conservation and restoration projects.

Commencing with traditions of community education within rural areas and environmental concerns (Gibbs and Howley, 2000; Gruenewald, 2003; Smith and

Sobel, 2010), the practices and goals of C-PBE/L have expanded. Or as one author has interpreted, the expansion has become a larger movement that has resulted from a response to new issues confronting humanity, such as globalization (McInerney, Smyth and Down, 2011). An expansion of C-PBE/L has resulted in a more inclusive academic discourse with characteristics that have a stronger political tone “insofar as [C-PBE/L] seeks to make more explicit the connections between global capitalism and the devastating impact of economic exploitation and cultural oppression on local communities” (McInerney, Smyth and Down, 2011, p. 5). Thus, the changing paradigm of C-PBE/L now includes a larger spectrum of the American population. Gruenewald’s (2003) conceptualized this broadening or expansion as a phenomena that did not solely stem from C-PBE/L, rather it was a merging of two pedagogies—Critical Pedagogy and Place Based Pedagogy (Place Based Pedagogy is directly related to PBE).

Gruenewald (2003) explains that PBE was established mainly, but not exclusively, as a discourse centered on rural, and ecological contexts whereas Critical Pedagogy in the USA encompasses an ethnic minority, urban perspective. Case-studies and reports that focus on urban cities present enlightening discourses about urban communities with diverse racial and disparate socio-economic demographics (Ball, 1995, Chin, 2001; Gruenewald, 2003; Smith and Sobel, 2010). An example of such a discourse is Ball’s (1995) paper on the role of community education for African-Americans living in an urban community. She describes three studies— a job training program site, an afrocentric program and a dance troop— to explore (non-formal and informal) extra curricula activities in African-American, community based organizations. An important finding from these studies is that along with enhancing skills development, community based organizations also have an important role in promoting integration and unity through their activities, which can function as a bridge between social sectors and racial groups.

Despite the eclectic nature of C-PBE/L, there exist major threads of commonalities that demonstrate the overall role of C-PBE/L within the USA. Overall, C-PBE/L is practiced within rural and urban communities and asks for the collaboration and partnership of several facets of society— families, formal school, community members, local and federal governments and young people— in order to realize the goals it sets out to achieve (Bartholomeus, 2006; Roehlkepartain, 2007; Smith and Sobel, 2010; Smith, 2002a, 2002b). C-PBE/L can also merge formal, non-formal and informal education into fluid and variable relationships.

III. Goals of Community Education for Young People

The literature reviewed revealed three main goals of community education for young people (youth work) during the 21st century. They are building citizenship, increasing the agency of youth and integrating formal schooling more in the community. These goals are explained below and have some overlap with the political discussions found in section 2.4.1, ‘Perspective on How to Support Young People’.

The first goal of citizenship explains that through opportunities of social and environmental civic engagement, C-PBE/L aims to increase citizenship of young adults within their community (Melaville, Berg and Blank, 2006; Powers, 2004; Roehlkepartain, 2007; Smith and Sobel, 2010). This goal reflects Dewey’s (1897, 1938) underpinnings of social education through liberal democracy and egalitarianism. C-PBE/L aims to enrich young people’s education through hands-on learning experiences and provides them with relevant knowledge and pre-requisites to actively participate in democratic processes and create solutions to social problems (McInerney, Smyth and Down, 2011). It is theorized that through community education, young people will become more aware and concerned about issues that affect their own communities, resulting in a developed sense of connection to their communities (Bartholomaeus, 2006; Melaville, Berg and Blank, 2006; Powers, 2004).

The second goal focuses on increasing youth's personal agency within their lives and communities, while working side-by-side with peers and adults (Melaville, Berg and Blank, 2006; Smith and Sobel, 2010). Therefore, youth are learning and actively participating in their development and life path. Through this goal, community education aims to invest in young people and acknowledges them as primary actors within their learning process; young people are producers of knowledge. As a result, they develop a greater sense of purpose and self-worth. Additionally, young people feel more empowered and socially included within the functions of their community and society as a whole (Melaville, Berg and Blank, 2006). Feeling more empowered and socially included reflects intended outcomes that are also tied to increased citizenship.

The third goal is that C-PBE/L is seen as an effective avenue for merging formal school with the community. This aim relates to Coburn and Wallace's (2011) comment that within the US, there has been a movement to integrate youth work within schools. It also relates to the previous discussion about the complementary and supplementary relationships between NFE and formal education. Advocates for merging formal school with the community hope that C-PBE/L will become more widespread, related to and even integrated within formal school curricula and classroom settings. Therefore, what is taught, how and when it is taught are guided by environmental, social and community related factors (Bartholemeus, 2006), making the community context influential and important to the learning experience in the formal school setting.

It has also been theorized that this more integrated method of teaching will ultimately increase engagement within school and enhance academic studies since schools will offer curricula that reflect the environment and enhance the lives of young people they serve (Gibbs and Howley, 2000; Powers, 2004). Additionally, "by connecting academic content to the real-world experiences of the students, schools increase the chances that all children will derive meaning from their studies" (Gibbs and Howley,

2000, p. 53). Achieving this third aim is argued as being most effective through partnerships and connectivity between schools, community, local and federal government, as they work together to design curricular goals and strategies (McInerney, Smyth and Down, 2011; Powers, 2004; Smith and Sobel, 2010).

Because of C-PBE/L's diverse nature, there is awareness that its administration will look different depending on community contexts (Melaville, Berg and Blank, 2006). As a result, there are varying interpretations of how C-PBE/L should be implemented. For example Powers (2004) states that educators should "tear down" school walls so that the community becomes integral to all facets of student learning and the community welcomes student learning in many dimensions. Another interpretation is that curriculum should not be "standardized or centralized, instead it [should reflect] the unique circumstances encountered in specific schools and communities" (Smith and Sobel, 2010, p. 43). Therefore, understanding how US community education programs are conceptualized and what emphasis it has at the regional/local level, requires a case-by-case analysis of programs.

2.2.3. Community Education in Scotland

Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan (2012), Wallace (2008), Tett (2010) and CLD Standards Council (2015a) are the primary sources of literature in this section. They help explain the early conception of community education, chronicling the evolving relationship with the Scottish Government and society. The literature also sheds light on ongoing critical perspectives.

I. 21st Century Emergence of Youth Work in CLD

Essentially, community education is "at the same time an old practice and relatively new one," in that it traces its origins to 19th and 20th century developments in community work and has evolved to include new concepts and strategies within the 21st century (Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan, 2012, p. 1). The 19th and 20th century developments involved two very different conceptual origins of community

education. One narrative is that radical working class organizations developed educational activities that “act[ed] and educat[ed] against the status quo,” promoting educational practices aimed at breaking down barriers (Tett, 2010, p. 1). The other origin of community education stems from evangelical movements designed to provide philanthropic education to alleviate societal issues. These learning practices upheld more of the status quo ideals that conformed to widely approved standards. Also, learning was centered on strengthening character and preserving the family (CLD Standards Council, 2015a; Tett, 2010). Furthermore, there was also increased government involvement, beginning in the 20th century (CLD Standards Council, 2015a).

An early 2000 report entitled, *Empowered to Practice*, advocated the use of the term CLD (replacing community education) as this would “bring together the best of what has been done under the banners of community education and community development” (Tett, 2010, p. 24). By 2002, CLD subsumed the status of community education. The Government’s overall intent for CLD to be adopted has been communicated in documents like, *Working and learning together to build stronger communities* (CLD Standards Council, 2015a; Wallace, 2008).

Some notable critique on the use of the term CLD have been presented within the literature. First is the argument that viewing CLD and community education in a direct, one-to-one correspondence should be done with caution because there are contrasting and/or divergent implications within the phraseology of the terms (Wallace, 2008). The adoption of CLD can narrow the scope of work as a result of conceptualizing communities as a place rather than communities of interest or function. As a result, community educators may be compelled to focus solely on local issues rather than broader underlying issues (Tett, 2010). Tett (2010) further explains that the shift from community education to CLD emphasized learning in contrast to education, illustrating a shift towards individualistic learning and away from focusing on relationships between the educator and student. Thus, the goal to

balance community education's collective and autonomous aims (Clark, 1987) could be thwarted. An implication of this shift is that "if the emphasis is only on learning as a process there is a lack of recognition that it matters what people learn and what they learn it for" (Tett, 2010, p. 25). Also, since the discourse of national community education programs can be viewed as part of wider political rhetoric, CLD has underlying political aspirations and may fail to meet the needs of education for democracy and social justice (Wallace, 2008).

CLD embraces youth work, and the Scottish Government has envisioned that CLD has a vital role in achieving national and local youth work goals by offering paths into and through lifelong learning (Sercombe, 2010; Walter-Scott and Delaney, 2009). Government policies and initiatives for lifelong learning claim to advance society by strengthening democratic ideals and promoting equality (Council of Europe, n.d; Tett, 2010; Weedon et al., 2010). With respect to young people, these aims are embodied in the Government's hopes to foster young people's commitments to their neighbors, encourage participation within communities, promote educational and work outcomes, and develop local and democratic forms of organization (Council of Europe, n.d; Fyfe, 2010). Furthermore, Youth Work in CLD was primarily conceptualized to provide education for young people outside of the formal school setting, highlighting the role of NFE as alternative to formal education. Youth Work in CLD also has a strong emphasis on the role of learning in order to achieve community regeneration because it stresses social justice and the need to close the opportunity gap, especially within deprived communities (Fyfe, 2010; Weedon et al., 2010).

Smith (2013) argues that the 21st century marked a decline in state-sponsored youth work in the UK due to the 2008 economic recession, large cuts in funding, outsourcing youth work to non-governmental organizations and the increased managerialization of youth work, which dissuaded youth work staff to continue youth work efforts. However, in Scotland there has been a continued interest in

youth work despite these widespread occurrences in the UK, but “Scotland has not escaped... the growing emphasis on targeted services” (Smith, 2013, p. 6). This latter point on targeted services in Scotland is discussed in more depth in section 2.3.3 called Implications of a Neoliberal, Top-Down Governance Structures of Community Education.

II. The Multi-faceted Nature of CLD

The progression of community work to community education, and later, subsuming community education within CLD has contributed to a multi-faceted identity of CLD. This can be seen in the national reports and academic literature that help to define and explain CLD. Overall, CLD has been conceptualized as a: 1) service and professional practice; 2) technique; and 3) concept and value.

Through the 1975 definition of community education in the *Alexander Report*, one finds CLD’s function as a service enunciated (Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan, 2012). The CLD Standards Council (2015a) states that “another key impact of the Alexander Report was to set in motion the process which arguably led ultimately to the ‘professionalisation’ of community education.” The establishment of CLD as a technique can be found in the 1998 Scottish Executive's report known as the *Osler Report*, which recommended that community education should be seen as an approach rather than a discrete professional sector (CLD Standards Council, 2015a; Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan, 2012). The *Osler Report* is considered an impactful document in further defining CLD. According to the CLD Standards Council:

The Scottish Executive approved a radical re-focusing of community education. It would provide community-based learning opportunities for all ages to enable people to improve the quality of their lives, contribute to their own communities and participate in local and national democratic processes. The new approach required community education workers to develop productive partnerships relating to a wide range of social, economic, health and educational needs of communities (CLD Standards Council, 2015a).

Upholding the multi-faceted nature of CLD, “it was not the Osler Committee’s intention to undermine the profession with this recommendation,” rather “the very

strength of community education lies in its ability to be both, illustrated by the use of its approaches by so many public service professionals” (CLD Standards Council, 2015a; McConnell, 2012). Third, is the categorization of CLD as a concept and a value. A more abstract notion of CLD, this third categorization can be found within each of the previous roles of CLD, since CLD cannot be separated from its core principles and values that are associated with social economic equality and democracy (Wallace, 2008).

Regarded as both a strength and weakness, the multi-faceted nature of CLD has led to various interpretations and translations for its role and practices throughout Scottish society. There are concerns as to whether the concept and value side of CLD has been sufficiently represented as its professionalized aspects have become more and more regulated by policy and practices, which are further managed by audit and inspection routines (Wallace, 2008). There has resultantly been an emerging gap between the ideological basis of CLD and its role within actual practices. This has led to an increasing concern that there is an “erosion of commitment to social justice, greater social and economic quality, and a more participatory democracy” within CLD (Wallace, 2008, p. 749).

2.3. National Governance of Community Education in the USA and Scotland

Section 2.2 revealed that the diversity of partnership frameworks in the US provides opportunity for federal participation in community education. In Scotland, with the advent of the 20th century, increased national level involvement with community education has been experienced. Section 2.3 describes the governance structure of community education programs within both governments as well as the implications of its appropriation within political frameworks.

2.3.1. USA

The USA is a nation of federal states, in which the federal government presides as a separate but overarching jurisdiction to state and local governments. In some contexts, the federal government has primacy over state and local jurisdictions, whereas in other contexts, state governments have primacy. In the context of national community education programs there is variability in jurisdictional powers and governance structure. Community education in the USA is not central to any one agency. A current examination of community education shows that the primary governance or responsibility lies within four federal agencies. However, “despite having distinct missions, these four agencies share the common goal of reconnecting youth to education and the workforce, and each works to accomplish this goal by administering multiple programs” (USGAO, 2010, p. 119). Appendix A gives an explanation of the federal agencies tasked at delivering community education, and the federal government’s role within State and local community education programs.

During a June 2007 Congressional Hearing on disconnected and disadvantaged youth, the Government’s role within youth programs and efforts at the community level was critiqued by attendees. First, Ronald B. Mincy, PhD and Maurice V. Russell Professor of Social Policy and Social Work Practice of Columbia University School of Social Work argued that:

A much more concerted effort is needed in the coming years to build effective systems to support these youth. One of the obstacles to such a system is the multiple jurisdictions involved... Though support from the federal government is desperately needed, no single federal departments and Congressional committees can do the job on its own (USGPO, 2010, p. 38); and

Second, The Center for Law and Social Policy made a statement arguing that:

Federal and State resources must flow in support of such scaled efforts creating a policy, legislative and regulatory environment that affirms a commitment to not leave these youths behind (USGPO, 2010, p. 84).

Overall, these two perspectives illustrate how challenges and setbacks within youth programs have been perceived as a direct result of national governance.

2.3.2. Scotland

The Scottish Government has maintained a close interest in CLD work (Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan, 2012), resulting in the national Cabinet for Education and Lifelong Learning establishing institutions that facilitate learning through CLD. Scottish education is centralized at the national government level in that policy is initiated by the Scottish Government, and schools and local authorities look to the Government to lead on educational matters (Humes, 2008). At the same, there are two levels of governance, whereby national government partners with local authorities. Each local authority is tasked to manage and fund the non-formal sector (inclusive of community education programs) at the local level (Weedon et al., 2010).

Appendix B explains a current understanding of CLD governance structure. It illustrates the Government's specific roles, Government tasked entities that facilitate the delivery of CLD as well as the relationship between national and local level through partnerships. Since devolution, there has been more or less a recurrent endeavor to constitute and reconstitute CLD's practice, objectives, and systems of governance to meet objectives of retaining the integrity and independence of community based practice while exerting effective control over direction, objectives and the administration of funds (Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan, 2012; see Appendix C for description of Scottish devolution). Due to CLD's multi-faceted nature, consensus and understanding of its role amongst Scottish practitioners, policy-makers and citizens has been quite varied (Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan, 2012). A point that is further highlighted by CLD Managers' (2014) website when it explains that "some of these [CLD] providers may not use the term CLD, but they share its skills and approaches." These factors illustrate the changing nature and variable interpretations of CLD governance.

2.3.3. Implications of a Neoliberal, Top-Down Structure of Community Education

As a result of US and Scottish Governments' increased involvement in designing, initiating and/or funding community education programs, youth work policies and ensuing practices in community education has led to governments having more power to direct their national agendas within youth work. The top-down governance structure aims to ensure that the activities of partnerships and coordinating bodies flow from the governmental vision. Community education programs have increasingly become dominated by ideologies of the neoliberal market economy (Sercombe, 2010; Smith, 2003). Ultimately, this pyramidal operational structure, generally referred to as managerialism, positions a set of elite-level managers who compel lower levels (Danforth, 2015;⁴ Fisher, 1990; Sercombe, 2010).

The more community education has become regulated by the government, the more community education practitioners are required to undertake practices that meet policy imperatives. This direct relationship has caused practices to become more managerial in order to abide by audit and inspection routines (Fyfe, 2010; Wallace, 2008). In order to secure government support, community educators "have to identify the outcomes of their interventions in relation to their contribution to the delivery of the government's economic and social agenda" (Rose, 2010, p. 157). As a result, there is a pressure for practitioners to formalize their tasks in order to meet targeted political agendas (Rose, 2010; Smith, 2003). This has increased the responsibility on practitioners to quantify and develop evaluation and monitoring systems as well as communicate their contributions to ultimately stay relevant (Bradford, 2005; Rose, 2010; Sercombe, 2010; Smith, 2003). Some practitioners have even sought to abide by managerialism at the expense of the core guiding principles of youth work (Rose, 2010).

⁴ Danforth's paper is focused on technocracy in US public schools regarding inclusive education for people with disabilities. However, its presents analysis of technocracy that is relevant to neoliberal governance structures in community education.

Aligning with the neoliberal ideologies, accountability of community education has translated into a government-centered monitoring system, in which compliance is sought at each level (Danforth, 2015; Ord, 2007). Technocrats (e.g., policy planners, economists, engineers, management specialists, computer analysts, social scientists and technologists) are used as ‘experts’ or ‘guiding intelligence’ within politics and reside within the top-level of the management structure amongst power elites (Danforth, 2015; Levine, 2007; Sercombe, 2010). In order to achieve political agendas, educational management and governance emphasize surveillance, control and intervention strategies for targeted groups of young people (Bradford, 2005; Danforth, 2015; Sercombe, 2010; Smith, 2003). Thus, technocrats utilize audit systems based on quantitative performance data, monitoring and assessment, which are conceived to improve educational output (Danforth, 2015; Sercombe, 2010).

In the US, technostructure has historically been embedded within the administrative structures of government (Fisher, 1990; Levine, 2007). For decades, policymakers have been using technocratic educational strategies primarily influenced by Gary Becker,⁵ an economist and neoclassical theorist of human capital. Educational policy within the 20th and 21st century have given primary focus on “the incentives that are supposed to motivate administrators, teachers, and students to behave in certain ways” (Levine, 2007, p. 19). This has resulted in a more detached approach to education through a culture that measures the inputs and outputs of institutions without understanding their core values (Levine, 2007). The literature reviewed has not presented such a historically entrenched culture of technocrats within Scotland; however, Sercombe (2010, p. 56) argues that British community educators have become “agents of the government, still with some scope for autonomous action, but within increasingly prescribed limits.” Furthermore, governments have established sophisticated techniques to control youth work under the guise of accountability (Sercombe, 2010). Coburn and Wallace (2011) allude to the influence of

⁵ Becker is discussed in Part 2 of this chapter, when the theoretical framework of this thesis is explained.

technostructure in Scotland when stating that management of youth work tends to foster a culture of accountability through looking at learners achieving outputs against predetermined outcomes.

Presenting a positive perspective on technostructure, Werquin (2010, 2012) explains the benefits of using learning outcomes as a policy tool. Section 2.1.2 (III) discussed how NFE has aimed to gain a larger footing within the wider educational context through further recognition of its practices (Werquin, 2010). Werquin (2012) further advocates that assessment and accreditation practices help to make NFE standards easier to understand by functioning as a standardized communication device between learners, teachers, policy-makers, employers and researchers. As a result, measurable standards help to create a link between NFE and employment sectors. Overall, Werquin (2012, p. 265) argues that understanding and validating learning outcomes “are a key element in the quest for equitable harmonisation of learning activities.” Werquin does recognize that learning outcomes do not fully capture the quality of learning, but he argues that they should be used nonetheless.

Managerialism and varying degrees of technostructures within governance frameworks can also be seen as fundamentally opposed to core community education values. Since technostructure utilizes methodologies of positivistic epistemology and rationalization of human activity (Danforth, 2015), governments “distill the complexities, vagaries and inconsistencies of everyday life into fields of metric regularity and schemes of statistical determination” (Danforth, 2015, p. 14). Community education, which is inherently non-formal and involves aspects of people within the social world, is not easily translatable into outcomes that are specifically technocratic (Levine, 2007; Ord, 2007). Therefore, the fit between formal accreditation and non-formal practices of youth workers can be precarious (Ord, 2007).

Such inconsistencies or tensions between managerialism, technocracy and community education can thwart the learning process. By seeing the learning process as a means to a specified targeted end, provision may be skewed in order for mandated targets to be met (Ord, 2007). A further consequence of targeting delivery is that since there is more of an emphasis on accomplishing nationally prescribed aims, the individual needs of young people can be sacrificed by youth workers who are concerned with the welfare of the majority (Britton, 1987). The balance of implementing community education to be both collective and individualized can therefore be disrupted. Also, the livelihood of community education may be threatened if governments conclude that a program has failed to achieve immediate or time-sensitive outcomes perceived to help raise national trends and academic achievement data (Danforth, 2015).

Managerialism and technocracy not only demonstrate implications at the macro-level, but also within the interpersonal relationships of youth work—the young people and practitioners. Having a primary focus on targets and outcomes can reduce the time practitioners are able to spend with youth through open-ended conversations, activities and building relationships (Rose, 2010). Furthermore, in order to prove that they are meeting targets, practitioners may be compelled to work with young people who seem more willing to commit to accredited learning programs. This could threaten the educational opportunities for the most disadvantaged and vulnerable young people who are hardest to reach (Ord, 2007). Authors also argue that with a top-down governance structure, local perspectives on problems and solutions can be overlooked or ignored in order to respond to statistical models formulated at the upper administrative levels (Danforth, 2015; Levine, 2007). Young people, in turn, can view these management practices as autocratic and unfair (Britton, 1987).

2.4. Conceptions and Perceptions of Young People

Section 2.4 builds upon the discussion in section 2.3 on the governmental framework of community education, with a more directed focus on why and how governments target young people within policies for community education and how these views shape targeted initiatives.

2.4.1. Youth Policies and Discourses in the USA

I. Development of Youth Policies

Past political agendas and social movements continue to not only influence but also steer current government actions. This is evident in the fact that current youth policies in the USA have their normative genesis from educationists like Dewey and legislations enacted during the 1960-70s (ED, 2009; Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012). In 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson's (LBJ) State of the Union Address heralded the War on Poverty (the unofficial name for legislation). LBJ promised that during his presidency, America would experience its greatest achievement in assisting its poor and disadvantaged populations (LBJ Presidential Library, 2007). Further, LBJ expressed his ambitious convictions, stating that his administration would provide "the most Federal support in history for education, for health, for retraining the unemployed, and for helping the economically and the physically handicapped" (PBS, 2014). LBJ's presidency ultimately expanded the role of government within education, which continues to have an impact on federal funding and political strategies for social and youth development within the USA (Fernandes, 2010; Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012; PBS, 2014). As a result, LBJ's national initiatives have been an important and supportive backdrop for community education programs implemented by the various agencies.

There is a myriad of youth work provided by community education programs and managed across and between several government agencies— as described before in the governance section (see Appendix A). The primary federal agencies are

concentrated in any one or a combination of the following six areas of youth work delivery: workforce development; education; juvenile justice and delinquency prevention; social services; public health and/or national and community service (Fernandes, 2010; Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012; USGAO, 2010).

A current debate that persists is whether the US has a comprehensive youth policy or not, and what are the drawbacks for a scenario where there is not a comprehensive policy. Several youth advocates, policy organizations and government officials argue that the USA lacks a coherent policy agenda for young people (Hein, 2003; Lerner, 1994; Fernandes, 2010; USGAO, 2010). They have concluded that this translated into further fragmentation in the management and coordination of federal programs (Hein, 2003; Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012; USGAO, 2010; Pittman, Irba and Ferber, 2001; Ferber, Pittman and Marshall, 2002).

At a 2007 Congressional Hearing in Washington DC, youth advocacy groups, US congressmen and citizens expressed their concerns regarding vulnerable youth and youth policies in America (USGPO, 2010). During this hearing, there was a consensus by several interest groups (and some government members) that although federal policy embraces youth, including those regarded as ‘disconnected’, there is not a policy that frames the “values, beliefs, promises and actions to be taken on behalf of all youths” (USGPO, 2010, p. 85). Also, critique was made that “national attention on this issue tends to focus on specific pieces of legislation or special target groups” (USGPO, 2010, p. 85). As a result of their varied motivations, federal programs are further criticized for their lack of coordination, resulting in inefficiency, gaps and/or redundant activities. Some have even argued that the lack of a comprehensive youth policy has been counterproductive for the US because multiple policies sometimes reflect uncommon and even competing visions (Pittman, Irba and Ferber, 2001).

The implications for the lack of a coherent youth policy are influenced and at the same time exacerbated by the decentralized US federal system. The challenge of decentralization is found in the multiple jurisdictions presiding over youth matters. Youth policy interest groups have called for a more concerted effort by the federal government to administer legislation that can tie together the multitude of services (Hein, 2003; USGPO, 2010). In a testimonial submitted by the Center for Law and Social Policy during a 2009 Sub Committee meeting, it was stated that:

Federal and State resources must flow in support of such scaled efforts creating a policy, legislative and regulatory environment that affirms a commitment to not leave these youth behind and provide the incentives and resources, at scale to stand behind the commitment (USGPO, 2010, p. 84).

Decentralization also impacts funding streams, which has further impact on the management and delivery of services. Depending on the mandate of the particular program, certain federal governing bodies initiate and fund programs that operate at the State and local levels throughout the USA.

Contemporary developments and efforts point to federal agencies and departments and interests groups working towards creating a national youth policy in the US. The 2013 *Pathways for Youth: Draft Strategic Plan for Federal Collaboration (Pathways for Youth)* was drafted by a working group comprised of twelve federal departments and five federal agencies, including the Department of Education; it also incorporated the input of civic society. *Pathways for Youth* recognizes the ongoing challenges and issues related to decentralization and the absence of a national youth policy. As a result, the document explains the need for federal-level collaboration and alignment, the development of a shared language on youth topics and the promotion of data collection and long-term evaluation. *Pathways for Youth* is an “initial step in identifying strategies for federal collaboration and provides the basis for future actions related to positive outcomes for youth” (Working Group, 2013, p. 1).

Pittman, Irba and Ferber (2001) briefly outline the other side of the debate, which is that there is a cohesive US youth policy. Through this perspective, the argument is that policies already address the needs, rights and obligations of all young people, and they conceptualize that education policy, for example, is resultantly a subset of youth policy (Pittman, Irba and Ferber 2001). An error in this categorization is that education policy extends beyond the youth cohort to include individuals within primary school education and higher education. Therefore, this view is not exclusively a youth policy and still reflects a mixed-bag of services that do not focus solely on needs of young people.

II. Perspectives on How to Support Young People

The literature reviewed explained three primary governmental motivations for supporting young people, which underpin or combine with youth work and community education goals. These categorizations present enlightening stances or assumptions that have driven policy development and delivery of youth work. First, government officials and agencies are motivated by the development of young people in order to realize economic development and increase global competitiveness. Therefore, young people are seen as the ‘workforce of tomorrow’ (Ferber, Pittman and Marshall, 2002).

Second, policy-makers and officials have been motivated by a policy of prevention, whereby it is ‘both cost effective and humane’ to prevent issues, such as drug abuse, youth violence and pregnancy (Ferber, Pittman and Marshall, 2002). Through this stance, young people have been viewed as a category in danger of exclusion and failing to experience transitions. Narratives, from this perspective, frame young people’s circumstance as a ‘youth crisis’, ‘problematic’ and ‘lost generation’ (Fernandes, 2010; Lerner, 1994). Commonly known as a deficit model for youth development, this discourse has played an influential role in the formation of government initiated community education programs (Fernandes, 2010). A main concern is that since such programs emphasize problem prevention, initiatives that

support the overall well-being of youth can be neglected (Hein, 2003). Benson (2003, p. 25) argues that stressing youth within the framework of a deficit occurs because the US has:

...a culture dominated by deficit and risk thinking, by pathology and its symptoms...and by consequence, derogates, ignores and interferes with the natural and inherent capacities of communities to be community.

Furthermore, Lerner et al. (2006, p. 3) describe the predominance of the deficit model within political assessment frameworks when stating that:

...the vocabulary for depicting youth as ‘resources to be developed’ is not as rich or nuanced as the one available for depicting the problematic propensities of young people”, and that “there have been relatively few positive indicators to which people may point in order to reflect the desirable, healthy, and valued behavior amongst its children and adolescents.

Third, and an early 21st century emergence, is the stance that young people are an ‘untapped resource’ that could help to build strong communities if given the opportunity to participate in all levels of government (Ferber, Pittman and Marshall, 2002; Lerner et al., 2006). This stance supports the belief that positive development is democracy in action, and has been linked to the 21st century Youth Development Movement or the use of theory known as the Youth Development Theory (Fernandes, 2010; Lerner, 1994). Through this perspective, there is an overlap with the goals of active citizenship and increased democracy that the US community education section presented earlier in this chapter.

Those who have supported this relatively new direction in youth work, advise that US policy should also focus on youth empowerment, rather than stressing a ‘youth crisis’ perspective. Youth development emphasizes types of attitude and behavior needed to develop into adulthood and ideas of increased youth agency (Ferber, Pittman and Marshall, 2002; Fernandes-Alacantha, 2012; Pittman, Irba and Ferber, 2001). These development perspectives aim to view young people as partners, addressing their broader developmental needs rather than focusing on youth as problems. The *Pathways for Youth* presents the possibility of the US Government adopting this third stance as the path moving forward for creating the nation's youth

policy in the future. The working group drafted a common definition of ‘positive youth development’, which they encouraged to be included in future grant announcements of youth programs. The working group defined ‘positive youth development’ as:

A process that engages young people in positive pursuits that help them acquire and practice the skills, attitudes and behaviors that they will need to become effective and successful adults in their work, family and civic lives (Working Group, 2013, p. 17).

Furthermore, *Pathways for Youth* explains how the working group incorporated young people’s input within the draft document and states that it views young people as active agents (Working Group, 2013). Since *Pathways for Youth* is still a draft document and not in-effect, time will tell whether or how the youth development narrative and the overall vision for young people will be incorporated within future community education programs.

What seems to be a common thread of agreement or main ethos amongst interest groups, government officials and the drafters of the *Pathways for Youth* is the overall aim to assist youth’s transitions into adulthood (Fernandes, 2010; Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012; Lerner, 1994; Working Group, 2013). Although all youth are considered, there is an emphasis on vulnerable and disadvantaged youth. The literature communicates a strong political imperative to holistically assist them through transitions that lead to economic viability and empowerment, correlating with some of the projected aims of community education presented earlier in this chapter. Additionally, when assessing the vulnerable category, data and conclusions consistently focus on socio-economic circumstances, racial background and gender. Specifically, some literature explains that African-American and Hispanic males are considered most at-risk within the category of vulnerability (USGAO, 2010; USGPO, 2010).

2.4.2. Youth Policies and Discourses in Scotland

I. Policy Focus and Targeting Vulnerable Youth

As previously stated, CLD embraces youth work (Sercombe, 2010). Scottish policies related to young people date to devolution in 1999 (Fyfe and Moir, 2013; see Appendix C for more detailed explanation of Scottish devolution). From 1999 and onward, successive policies have culminated into a body of documents that are expansive in their outreach and goals. In general, a review of the literature reveals the normative basis of youth work includes themes of economic competitiveness, social inclusion and engagement (CLD Standards Council, 2015b; The Scottish Government, 2012c, 2012d; YouthLink Scotland, n.d., 2015).

Our Ambitions for improving life chances of young people in Scotland: National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019 (National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019) is Scotland's current national youth policy framework. It sets the goals for community education practices and is the central framework for the delivery of Youth Work in CLD (The Scottish Government, Youth Link and Education Scotland, 2014). Within this document, the Government explains its aim to promote the life chances of youth within rural and urban populations, community work and organizations, public and private sector as well as within the classroom and places of work. The *National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019* links these aims to the activities provided by CLD, and concludes that youth work is a "vital component in a wide range of national policy areas such as justice, health, employability and education" (The Scottish Government, Youth Link and Education Scotland, 2014, p. 7).

Additionally, the *National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019* is also recognized and cited in the *EU Youth Report 2015* as the core youth policy strategy in Scotland. The *EU Youth Report 2015* explains how Scotland has taken measures to implement key national strategies that are also reflected in EU strategies. The key strategies and policy messaging in the EU and Scottish documents both target vulnerable and disadvantaged youth through partnerships that aim to develop young people through

empowering them, providing activities and NFE that focus on education and training, well-being, health, successful transitions into work and further education (EU, 2015; The Scottish Government, Youth Link and Education Scotland, 2014). This reflects a “linkage between youth policy at the national level and EU level” (EU, 2015, p. 21), and the *EU Youth Report 2015* concludes that most countries take the view that the EU plan reflects national strategies (EU, 2015).

The literature reviewed reveals a focus of youth work targeting the vulnerable youth category, which is primarily conceptualized through the prism of socio-economic determinants. The Scottish Government has developed the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) in order to classify communities on a continuum from most to least deprived. This index uses data that measures levels of education, crime, current income, health, employment, geographic access and housing (The Scottish Government, 2016b). The Government uses the terms More Choices, More Chances and Not in Employment Education or Training (NEET) to categorize young people who are in danger of being excluded or marginalized due to their socio-economic circumstances (Finley, McKay and Nudzor, 2010).

Coburn and Wallace (2011) outline three types of youth work that is delivered in Scotland. They are functional, liberal and critical youth work. In short, functional youth work involves the socialization of young people with the aim to meet preconceived norms; deficits are implicit and represent reasons for youth work solutions. Such solutions include building confidence, improving habits and building knowledge and skill sets. Liberal youth work is targeted and utilizes predefined programs. Furthermore, there is an emphasis on association and socialization through personal development and group work. Critical youth work seems to employ the youth development perspective, as it conceptualizes young people as actors, and youth work activities facilitate political participation. Coburn and Wallace (2011) conclude that policy and contemporary practices within organizations predominantly utilize functional and liberal youth work, but should also incorporate

critical youth work to further integrate young people in the democratic process and increase their role as active participants within civic engagement.

II. Implications and Critical Interpretations of Scottish Youth Policy

Scholars on Scottish youth policy present a critical, modern-day perspective, revealing a government with conflicting policy messaging and frameworks that are disjointed and in flux. Indeed, Jeffs and Smith (2010, p. 14) argue that “in recent years the policy context in which youth work operates has been volatile and incoherent.” According to some authors, this is evident in policy that expresses the historical commitment to universalized, democratic values and goals (e.g., social inclusion, collectivity and justice) while at the same time responding to neoliberal, labor market demands that enforce a focus on monitoring, outcomes and evaluation (Bradford, 2005; Fyfe, 2010; Jeffs and Smith, 2010). Some authors also argue that these discrepancies within the overall messaging of policy language itself seem to have inconsistent norms and perceptions (Bradford, 2005; Fyfe and Moir, 2013; Jeffs and Smith, 2010). As a result, there are unresolved or unbalanced relationships between Scottish norms and value focuses and policy language.

Youth in Britain are categorized as a group in-transition between childhood and adulthood, presenting a picture of uncertainty and instability within the life phase (Spence, 2005). Political agendas aiming to support successful youth transitions seems to be overlaid with the dominant narrative of social inclusion, and policy-makers narrowly focus on social inclusion primarily as finding work later in life (Mannion, 2005). This has given rise to:

...deferring young people’s social inclusion until adulthood, emphasising deficits by positioning people as recipients of services, individualizing the debate on problem youth; and not recognizing the importance of the process of becoming socially included (Mannion, 2005, p. 75).

In this context, technostructure views social inclusion through the lens of improving outcomes through measured accountability (Danforth, 2015). As a result, some

would argue that there exists a gap between youth work theorization and youth work practices.

Within this delicate balance, is the interplay between the power and role of government, practitioners and youth. As discussed in 2.3.3, in order for community education programs to remain relevant, funded and operational, more and more programs adopt the government standard. The Scottish Government and youth interest groups have precipitated policy reforms and language that focus on reforming and assessment practices, thereby, emphasizing technostucture within community education. This in turn has produced youth work policy and activities that have shifted away from a youth-centered approach and towards the more management approach. Furthermore, Spence (2005) argues that the management approach undermines what she calls the sub-theory of youth as creators. This also helps to explain the predominance of functional and liberal youth work practices over critical youth work that Coburn and Wallace (2011) described.

Part 2: Establishing the Analytical Framework

2.5. Definition and Conceptualized Model of NFE for Youth in National Community Education Programs

The research recognizes that NFE is fluid and contextual, and a working definition for this research applied elements of Werquin (2012) and UNESCO's (2012) definitions of NFE. The working definition for this thesis is:

NFE provides instructions and training arrangements that are more flexible than formal education and is meant to embody voluntary participation. Learning is intentional, and in some cases, structured. NFE can also lead to qualifications through accreditation and/or recognition processes. National community education programs are a type of NFE; they are formed and primarily managed by the national government.

The model of NFE for community education is shown in Figure 2.1 and reflects the conceptual framework of this research. It is shaped by the literature reviewed

throughout this chapter and reflects the working definition. Since the community education programs are formed and managed by US and Scottish Governments, it is modeled as a top-down approach to NFE.

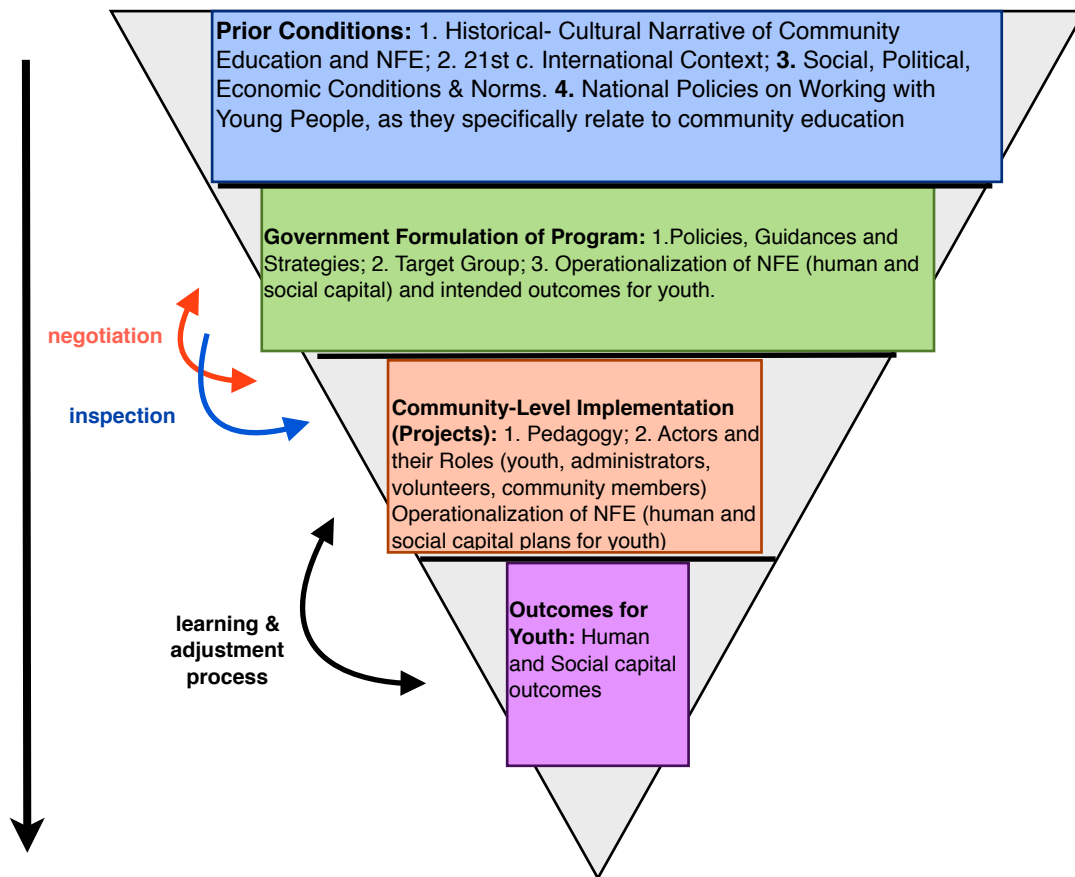


Figure 2.1: Model of NFE for National Community Education Programs

2.6. Operationalizing the Model of NFE

Within political and academic realms, human and social capital theories have been used to understand how the aims of NFE have been conceptualized as well as translated into outcomes (Bamfield, 2007; Halpern, 2005; Morgan and Kliucharev, 2011; Russell, 2001; Shrestha, Wilson and Singh, 2008; Silverman, 2004b).

Furthermore, studies conclude that human and social capital theories are specifically relevant to the functions of community/civic organizations' youth work activities (Dickson, Vigurs and Newman, 2013; Enfield, 2008, Field, 2005; Halpern, 2005; Putnam, 2000; Schuller and Field, 2006). Section 2.6 provides a general discussion

of human and social capital theories in order to understand their definitions, interpretations and application to community education programs. Subsequently, there is an explanation of the theoretical framework for this research.

I. Social Capital Theory

Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam are three widely cited social capital theorists. In general, Bourdieu examines social capital through what has been considered a neo-Marxist framework, focusing on unequal access to resources between social classes. He writes that social capital is “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu 1986, p. 249).

Bourdieu’s (1986) arguments discuss class (socio-economic) inequality and the resultant barriers that exist within the transfer of capital. According to Bourdieu, the perceptions of capital tend to restrictively be within the lens of economics. The relationship amongst other forms of capital and the existence of class strata facilitate the conversion and growth of capital. For example, cultural capital, which exists in what is considered 'proper' norms and experiences, provides certain advantages to the holder. Bourdieu (1986) identifies states of cultural capital: 1) in the person, inherently or within the family; 2) within objects owned or experienced; and 3) institutionally gained through academic qualifications. This conversion of capital allows for an accelerated acquisition of human capital, easier association and connections, which builds strong social capital, and greater appropriation of economic capital.

Since Bourdieu’s conceptualization of social capital focuses on class disparities and socio-economic barriers, his theorization could be usefully applied to national programs that focus on targeting socio-economically disadvantaged and vulnerable youth in order to understand their experiences and capital development. However,

western, neoliberal public policy focus embraces Putnam and Coleman's conceptualization and development of social capital (Holland, 2008; Schuller, 2005). Bourdieu's critical interpretation that social capital is exclusive does not align with the perception of policy-makers and framers of such programs. Rather, the framers reflect the interpretation that "social capital is a distributed resource, which is not the exclusive property of the privileged elite, but is also created and mobilized by subordinate and intermediary groups of all kinds" (Field, 2005, p. 29). As a result, Coleman and Putnam are used as the main theorists to be discussed within this section.

Coleman (1994) defines social capital by its function, as it exists within the family, outside the family and in the community. Specifically, Coleman emphasizes individualized social capital with a focus on bi-directional relationships, especially within families and schools. According to Coleman, social capital is located in these relationships, whereby individuals can mutually benefit from access to information that help them to achieve personal interests or advance life chances (Coleman, 1988; D'Agostino, 2010; Putnam, 2000; Jarrett, Sullivan and Watkins, 2005; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2003). Coleman's conception uses rational choice theory, in that society is viewed as an aggregate of individual choices. Therefore, individuals work together to forego immediate self-interest in order to achieve a logical end sum for the group as a whole (Field, 2005; Fukuyama, 2001; Woolcock, 1998). Coleman establishes three types of social capital: 1) trust— mutually accepting obligations; 2) information channels— supplying each other with ideas and information; and 3) norms and sanctions— encouraging or constraining people to work for a common good (Coleman, 1988; Schuller and Field, 2006).

Putnam (2000) categorizes social capital as a public good and views it as "connections among individuals -- social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000, p.19). Putnam is often used to provide a dominant framework for social capital in the community context

(D'Agostino, 2010; Guantlett, 2011). For instance, Putnam describes social capital as embedded within civic engagement or volunteerism, whereby individuals can benefit from connections with community members and groups. Within these social connections, Putnam explains two forms of social capital called bonding and bridging. Bonding is an exclusive form of social capital in that it internally links like groups or individuals together within social networks. Bridging is an inclusive form of social capital in that it links heterogenous groups horizontally to external assets (Putnam, 2000).

Furthermore, some authors have chosen to include a third form of social capital called linking, which seems to be an extension or a further distinction of Putnam's bridging social capital (Field, 2005; Kilpatrick, Field and Falk, 2003; Woolcock; 1998). Linking is a form of social capital that connects unlike people from dissimilar situations (Field, 2008; Woolcock 2000). Therefore, it is a vertical dimension to social capital that employs the interaction of institutions beyond the community (Field, 2005; Woolcock, 1998, 2000).

Consideration of these three forms of social capital provides greater depth within the interpretation of social capital, because they represent the different types of connections between individuals and communities (Field, 2005; Kilpatrick, Field and Falk, 2003; Woolcock, 1998). Field (2005) concludes that Putnam's definition, like Coleman's, stresses the aim of social capital in supporting cooperation through social organizational characteristics such as trust, norms and networks. Critics have described Putnam's analysis as being overly normative, with selective indicators, such as civic engagement indicated through membership levels in organizations (Schuller and Field, 2006).

Although Putnam (2000) does discuss what he calls the 'dark side' of social capital, where he presents situations whereby enforced norms in bonding groups can augment intolerance and social divisiveness, authors agree that both Coleman and

Putnam presume social capital to be an overall good thing where in contrast Bourdieu presents social capital as a mechanism to secure levels of inequality (Bourdieu, 1986; Field, 2005).

Some of the literature provides further arguments that building or increasing social capital does not always yield positive outcomes (Cohen and Prusak, 2001; Halpern, 2005; Woolcock, 1998). In making this point Woolcock (1998) provides an example of tightly knitted groups in New York that receive new immigrants with open arms and provide them with opportunities to self-establish. These actions are conditioned on the knowledge that in time the immigrants will be called upon to repay their 'debt'. According to Woolcock, the repayment could likely be in a form that is not best for new arrivals and equally these communities could prove to be inefficient because they need goods, services and exchanges outside the community, which if not received, could hinder economic growth.

With the aim of unraveling the complexity of social capital, many scholars attempt to communicate a primary understanding of the concept from a review of the three main theorists (Cohen and Prusak, 2001; Field, 2005; Fukuyama, 2001; Halpern, 2005; Kilpatrick, Field and Falk, 2003; Lin, 1999; Schuller, 2005; Woolcock, 1998, 2000). They do so by providing an overarching phrase or sentence as a basis or common denominator for discussion; for example, Lin (1999) writes that the premise of social capital is "investment in social relations with expected returns." Kilpatrick, Field and Falk (2003) state that social capital is based on relationships among people within a membership and how these interactions generate secondary features. Field (2005, p. 19) sets the premise that social capital theories "centre on the proposition that people's social networks are a valuable asset." Schuller (2005, p. 4) writes, "Social capital is defined in terms of networks, norms and trust, and the way these allow agents and institutions to be more effective in achieving common objectives." Fukuyama (2001, p.7), who looks at social capital's application within liberal modern democratic societies and focuses on how economists have applied social

capital, states that it is “an instantiated informal norm that promotes co-operation between individuals.”

Social capital essentially exemplifies what one source states, “In society, relationships matter” (Growiec, Vilhelmsdottir and Cairns, 2012, p. 3).

Interpretations of social capital’s definitions have created useful approaches in categorizing elements of the theory and understanding its methodology. A categorization and/or characterization of social capital is conceptualized through its mode of transference and its scope of networks.

In this regard, authors have placed theorists within two camps— the individual asset (closed networks) camp or the collective asset (open networks) camp (D’Agostino, 2010; Holland, 2008; Kilpatrick, Field and Falk, 2003; Lin, 1999; Portes, 2000). The individual asset camp emphasizes how social capital yields benefits and outcomes between and to individuals. Coleman and Bourdieu would fall within this categorization (Fukuyama, 2001; Halpern, 2005; Kilpatrick, Field and Falk, 2003), because they perceive social capital as an individualized benefit or as “a resource used for the benefit of those individuals who have access to it” (Kilpatrick, Field and Falk, 2003, p. 420). Where Coleman and Bourdieu differ is that Bourdieu’s neo-Marxist’s views do not see social capital extending to shared investments that mutually benefit different social classes. In contrast, Coleman, “looks at how individuals cooperate in groups in order to advance their individual interests, despite lack of access to other social and economic resources” (Kilpatrick, Field and Falk, 2003, p. 421).

The collective asset camp conceptualizes social capital as a public good, thus providing benefits primarily through the community. Kilpatrick, Field and Falk (2003) argues that Putnam’s conceptualization of social capital would be within the collective asset camp in that these relationships are used for a mutual benefit and can represent a diverse variety of entities, some of them loose and informal. The

collective and individual formulations are not at odds. Lin (1999) argues that most scholars agree that social capital is a collective and individual good; “social relations with embedded resources are expected to be beneficial to both” (Lin, 1999, p. 33). Another relevant interpretation of social capital is providing classifications on the normative basis for theorization, thereby providing insight on the stance of those who choose to appropriate social capital within their own frameworks. In this regard, Holland (2008) provides distinctions between theorists, which she calls ‘traditions of social theorizing’. She argues that the traditions of Putnam and Coleman’s theorizations deal with social dilemmas through collective action and integration, thus stressing reciprocity, trust and co-operation, ultimately facilitating civic participation, family cohesion and economic prosperity. This is in line with Field’s (2005, p. 24) argument when he states, “Coleman was able to show that social capital could convey real benefits to otherwise poor and marginalised communities.” On the other hand, according to Holland (2008), Bourdieu’s theorization looks at social justice and inequality. He also emphasizes how social capital within classes underpins and frequently undermines economic advancement and outcomes (Bourdieu, 1986; Holland, 2008). Therefore, power imbalances persist through the reproduction of social structures; this thought supports Kilpatrick, Field and Falk’s (2003) argument that Bourdieu’s conceptualization of social capital is how power imbalances within society are reinforced.

The literature includes critical interpretations about how social capital has been conceptualized and used. Haynes’ (2009) explains the main areas of critique by authors. Some researchers argue that social capital is not a capital because it describes relationships among people, not something possessed by individuals. Authors conclude that social capital is not social; it is essentially an economic concept. There is also critique that social capital is not a theory, rather it is a configuration of already existing themes. Furthermore, there are criticisms regarding how social capital has been operationalized. These arguments include that social capital is difficult to measure, and understanding social capital development within

systems involves a circular argument where identification of causes, effects and correlations within outcomes is a problematic undertaking.

Despite these criticism, the application of social capital continues to play a role within academic research and policy frameworks, the conceptual commonality for users or proponents of social capital boils down to the conclusion that relationships matter since “social networks are a valuable asset” (Field, 2008, p. 14). Networks and trust are essential and even seem central to some arguments. Networks illustrate the complexity of relationship across groups and between governance structures. The discussions regarding norms and obligations include various elements such as cooperation, fairness, reciprocity and sanctions.

II. Human Capital Theory

There are several schools of thought regarding human capital theory; however, for purposes of this thesis, this discussion focuses on the neoclassical, economic approach, since it is this interpretation that has been widely employed by neoliberal government structures (Acemoglu and Autor, 2014; Almendarez, 2010; Burton-Jones and Spencer, 2011).

Although there were writings prior to the 1930s⁶ on the emerging theory of human capital (Blaug, 1976), the concept of human capital saw a revival in the 1960-70s with writers like Gary Becker (1962, 1964) and Theodore Schultz (1971).

Considered the neoclassical father of human capital, Becker provides a traditional and widely used definition of the theory (Brown and Lauder, 2000; Nahapiet, 2011). Becker’s conceptualization of human capital has been a widely accepted concept for measuring productivity and health of a nation, especially within western neoliberal

⁶ Human capital’s “central propositions were developed much earlier [than Schultz and Becker]... the most prominent economists to address issues of human capital were Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and Alfred Marshall. One can recognize the foundations of the idea in Adam Smith’s (1776) discussion of labor which he saw as a type of capital stock alongside other key productive resources— machines, building, and land— and in his exposition of the costs of and returns to investments in human talents both to the individual and society” (Nahapiet, 2011, pp. 75-6).

governments that have traditions of free market economy (Brown and Lauder, 2000; Blair, 2011; Fukuyama, 2001; OECD, 2001).

In general, “neoclassical economists use the term human capital to refer to the stock of knowledge and skills that enables people to perform work that creates economic value” (Nahapiet, 2011, p. 75). Human capital examines agents’ (e.g., persons, household and government) motivations behind their investments in goods and/or activities. According to Becker (1964), there are five sources of human capital: 1) innate ability; 2) schooling; 3) quality of schooling and non-schooling investments; 4) training, which are skills acquired after schooling or skills useful within a particular industry; and 5) pre-labor market influences, which are associations that impact recognition. Becker employs rational choice theory within human capital modeling, concluding that individuals make decisions that are made for the sake of experiencing greater benefits (Becker, 1964; Field, 2005). These investments are said to change human capital, hence directly impacting productivity and earnings (Blaug, 1976). As a result, acquired characteristics that increase productivity are primary factors for generating human capital; these acquired characteristics are skills acquisition and knowledge accumulation that in turn increases productivity and earnings (Becker, 1962, 1964; Kwon, 2009; Schuller, 2005).

As is evident from the five sources of human capital, learning (e.g., education and job training) is the core factor to increase human capital and thus productivity (Burton-Jones and Spencer, 2011; Nahapiet, 2011; Kwon, 2009). In the context of neoliberal market economies, education becomes a principal investment⁷ in human capital (Acemoglu and Autor, 2014; Blaug, 1976; Nahapiet, 2011; Samoff, 1999; Weisbrod, 1971). Further, education is perceived to produce benefits, such as: 1) a more skilled labor force which can increase productivity; 2) a reduction of costs, which makes resources available for other national concerns (e.g., crime prevention,

⁷ Within educational discourse, scholars have conceptualized education as an investment good as well as a consumption good (Blaug, 1976).

law enforcement); and 3) a “means of inculcating children with standards of socially desirable attitudes and behavior and of introducing children to new opportunities and challenges... it helps to develop greater awareness of, and ability to participate effectively in, the democratic process” (Weisbrod, 1971, p. 81).

There is also a micro and macro scope for human capital theory regarding education (Almendarez, 2010; Becker, 1964; Kwon, 2009). The micro level argument states that increased education increases a person’s success in employability and achievement (Almendarez, 2010; Becker 1964; Leuven, 2007). Within a macro context, a population that is educated experiences greater productivity, impacting the economic growth of a country (Almendarez, 2010; Blaug, 1976). Also, there is an added value to the individual’s acquisition of education because it is perceived that a part or the whole community will benefit as a result. The benefit to the larger community is considered a positive externality (Lindahl and Canton, 2007).

Despite its promise in rate-of-returns and national progress for NFE, the neoclassical interpretation of human capital has been critiqued for its limitations, and is not a universally accepted theory (Samoff, 1999; Schuller and Field, 2006). Concerning education as an investment, Samoff (1999) argues that the theory has ignored the process of education— what goes on between the input and output phases. Also, the widespread appropriation of human capital within neoliberal educational discourses raises concerns regarding the acceptance of education as mainly a good where learning is replaced by education for the economic purposes of productivity and competitiveness. This characterization of human capital could neglect the purpose of learning for learning’s sake (Schuller and Field, 2006).

A further critique is found within the definition itself because “the stock of human capital is difficult to measure” (Leuven, 2007, p. 40). Most likely because stock includes several intrinsic factors that contribute to the acquisition of skills over a person’s life time. Intrinsic factors, for example, could include the physical,

intellectual and psychological capacities of an individual. Additionally, there are innate skills that are unique to each individual, which are acquired inter-generationally or over a person's lifetime (Acemoglu and Autor, 2014; Almendarez, 2010; Becker 1964). Despite the variabilities that exist within the stock, neoclassicists presume human capital as homogeneous and measured by the same standard (Burton-Jones and Spencer, 2011). Human capital is thus treated as a direct linear model with measurements of input and output (Becker, 1964; Kwon, 2009; Schuller and Field, 2006). Due to these intrinsic factors, Acemoglu and Autor (2014, p. 6) argue this modeling holds some challenges because "there is likely to be heterogeneity in human capital even when individuals have access to the same investment."

III. Relationship between Social and Human Capital Theories

There is consensus that human and social capital theories are relationally linked (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Field, 2005; Light, 2004; Nahapiet, 2011; Schuller, 2005; Schuller and Field, 2006; Woolcock, 1998). Within neoliberal governments, the discussion of their relationship is mainly framed through their roles in market-oriented economies. Within this context, social capital is interpreted as a way to address the 'social' within broader discussions of economic development and to bridge economics with other social sciences (Fine and Green, 2000). Social capital and human capital can resultantly complement each other to improve economic prosperity and social wellbeing (Schuller, 2005). Coleman, who was influenced by the traditions of Becker, explained his analysis of human with social capital and concluded that there is indeed a mutually beneficial relationship between the two theories (Coleman, 1988).

Coleman went further to argue that understanding the workings of a market-oriented economy requires recognition of human and social capital (Schuller, Baron and Field, 2000). Further, social capital facilitates "maximum diversity and density of positive social relationships between individuals in the marketplace of work in

production. This, in turn, permits human capital to achieve its most productive combinations and outcomes, for individuals and the economy” (Szreter, 2000, p. 65). Some authors perceive that regardless of an individual’s human capital, its ultimate value cannot be realized without assessing the impact of the social factors in which the person exists. This can be seen through Woolcock’s (1998) conclusion that human capital outcomes could be rendered useless unless human capital is combined with social capital outcomes. Also, Nahapiet (2011) concludes that in order to understand human capital, it is essential to explore the concept through a social perspective. This would require looking at human capital through the lens of social capital.

Illustrating that both capitals go beyond linkage, Light (2004) credits Bourdieu for explaining how capitals have metamorphic properties, whereby social capital can transform to human capital and vice versa, and ultimately “forms of capital change into one another and back again over time” (Light, 2004, p. 22). Initial capitals of social and/or human, are a necessary precondition for building further capital (Cohen and Prusak, 2001; Light, 2004; Nahapiet, 2011).

These conclusions do not exclude the fact that human and social capital do not always exist within positive correlative relationships, promote only positive outcomes and/or exist always in harmonious balance. Through Coleman’s conceptualization, the relationship between human and social capital can sometimes produce inversely related outcomes, whereby high levels of human capital can decrease social capital (Schuller, 1996).

Coleman (1988) asserts that theoretically, human and social capital are not competing concepts. At the same time, political application of the theories show that social and human capital do tend to focus on different policy emphases. Human capital is associated with issues of investment in education, training and lifelong learning while social capital extends the policy framework to include community

regeneration and networks (Fukuyama, 2001; Schuller and Field, 2006). Western neoliberal governments, whose normative stances underpin their free-market economic structures, inevitably lean towards the economic perspective of social capital. This framework naturally employs Coleman's conception of social capital, which aligns with Becker (Fine and Green, 2000; Fukuyama, 2001; Halpern, 2005). The narrowness of human capital's measures, of input and output, arguably has a distorting effect on real investment patterns, and discussed before, the actual process of education. Academics argue that this policy approach focuses too much on the supply side of social capital (Woolcock, 2000; Schuller, 1996), which runs the risk of valuing NFE primarily in terms of supplying education and training (Schuller, 1996). As a result, the relationship between human and social capital can cause tension within different perspectives of how NFE should be approached in managed (Field, Schuller and Baron, 2000).

2.6.1. Explanation of the Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework serves as a systematic explanation of the theories applied to this research and recognizes the integral role social and human capital have in the conceptual formation of national community education programs in the US and Scotland. Ultimately, the theoretical framework provides a guide to how NFE is operationalized within the model.

Since social and human capital theories can be viewed and assessed in multiple ways, this study uses interpretations of theories that allow for the most practical and suitable understanding for the model of NFE within the context of this research— US and Scottish national community education programs. This is done in order to formulate a model that can help explain the way these theories are reflected in US and Scottish policies and the resultant outcomes within communities. As a result, this research acknowledges the criticisms previously discussed about social and human capital, but it is contextually based within the western, neoliberal political paradigm of conceptualizing the theories. Therefore, it synthesizes the literature

presented on human and social capital theories that focus on theoretical characterizations presented by Becker, Coleman and Putnam.

The theoretical framework, Figure 2.2 on the next page, is a tailored and focused construction that presents a national, top-down perspective of the theories as they are reflected in policy. Making young people central to the framework, the research aims to consider the factors that have direct implications for their social and human capital outcomes. This research also agrees with the arguments made that the relationships between human and social capital do not necessarily present a directly positive correlation. Therefore, there is no assumption made that social and human capital theories render absolute, positive or advantageous outcomes.

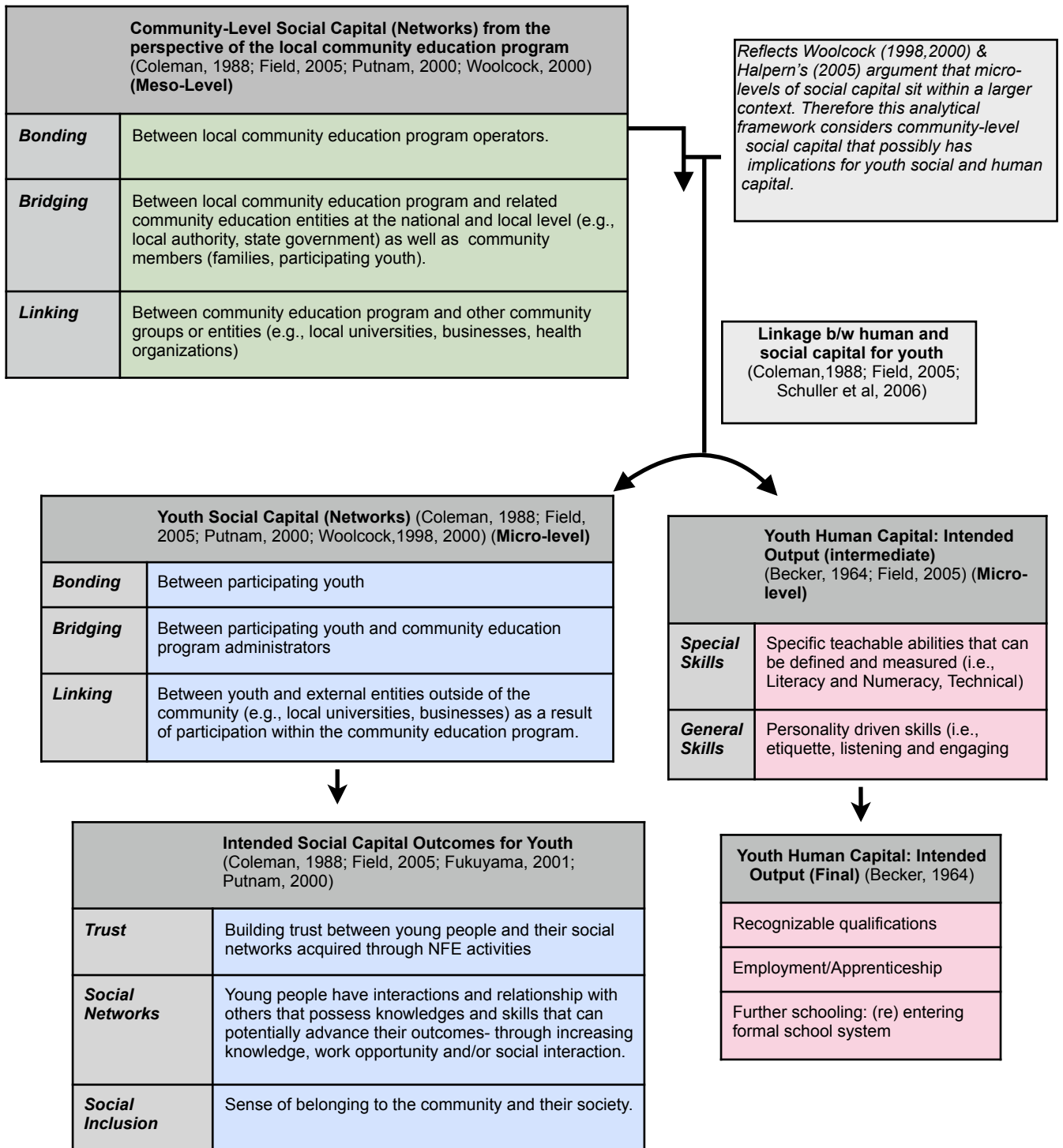


Figure 2.2: Theoretical Framework

The social capital component of the theoretical framework is structured around the interpretations of Coleman and Putnam. As previously explained in the social capital section, this decision was considered after a review of literature revealed that

Coleman and Putnam are reflected in western, neoliberal policies. Furthermore, the predominant use of Coleman and Putnam is evident in policies that employ community education programs to build social capital for purposes of addressing socially exclusion, the lack of political and civic involvement and the consequences of globalization (Holland, 2008). The theoretical framework agrees with Lin's interpretation that the collective (open networks) and individual (closed networks) are not at odds. Also, the theoretical framework illustrates social capital as existing within a larger context and is cognizant that different levels of social capital interrelate (Halpern, 2005; Woolcock, 1998, 2000). As a result, it structures a meso and micro level interpretation of social capital. Putnam's view allows for useful analysis of open networks through the spectrum of community entities providing opportunities to building social capital. Although Coleman's focus is within family and schools, his approach is useful because he looks at interpersonal relationships. In relation to this research, closed networks, which are the interpersonal relationships, are conceptualized as the relationships amongst participating youth and between youth and program administrators.

Overall, the framework makes networks primary to social capital; this is a plausible modeling since some authors even define social capital solely through networks (Cohen and Prusak, 2001). The network pathways are described through the bonding, bridging and linking forms of social capital. To recap, bonding is internal and involves social networks between like groups or individuals. The micro level of bonding within the framework focuses on the relationships that are formed between youth participating in the community education program. Meso-level bonding looks at the community program's networks, specifically its relationships to other local community organizations and supporting organizations directly linked to the community education program's activities. Bridging is external and involves social networks between heterogeneous groups. Bridging allows different groups to share and exchange information, ideas and innovation and builds consensus among broadly similar demographics that represent diverse interests (Putnam, 2000; Schuller, 2005).

Bridging at the micro level within this study, looks at networks between young people and the program administrators or other community members involved with the program. At the meso-level, bridging examines the relationship between the community education program and governance at the local and national levels as well as families and participating youth. Linking, in this research, looks at networks formed between a group and heterogeneous groups outside of the community of interest and/or locale (Field, 2005; Kilpatrick, Field and Falk, 2003; Woolcock, 1998, 2000). Linking, at the micro-level of the framework, looks at young people's relationships that are formed with businesses, institutions and universities that are outside of their community. At the meso-level, linking is examined through the community programs' relationships with non community education entities, such as partnerships with the formal education sector and businesses.

The youth's social capital outcomes are understood not to be discrete and could be considered as intermediary rather than final/ultimate outcomes. For purposes of the time allotted in this research, the choice was made to look at a selected outcomes that fit within the US and Scottish Governments' conception of social capital outcomes within community education and youth work. As a result, it looks at the outcomes of: 1) trust— helps to build confidence in people and the community; 2) social networks— determined by who youth know, how well they know contacts and what youth can get out of knowing these people (Cohen and Prusak, 2001); and 3) social inclusion— involves a sense of belonging to the community. It is evident that outcomes reflect tangible and intangible elements, which is dependent upon interpretation of data. The theoretical framework is not designed to measure social capital outcomes, since an accurate interpretation of outcomes would require longitudinal data analysis as well more extensive data collection that addresses the qualitative and intangible aspects of social capital. Furthermore, some authors speak of the difficulty and weaknesses in measuring social capital (Cohen and Prusak, 2001; Durlauf, 2002; Fukuyama, 2001; Woolcock, 1998); therefore, attempting to measure outcomes, would run the risk of providing unfounded conclusions.

The human capital component of the analytical framework utilizes Becker's traditional definition (Becker, 1964). Neo-liberal governments have maintained these neoclassical assumptions while constructing policies for economic development within their respective societies (Samoff, 1999; Schuller, 2005). Although Becker's five sources of human capital⁸ are acknowledged, this thesis looks solely at training (through NFE) because the community education programs focus on skill development and training as their source of human capital. Furthermore, this research examines human capital through the lens of productivity, which is examined through skills acquisition and recognizable qualifications. Schuller and Field (2006) divide skills into what they call specific and general skills, which are categorizations that this theoretical framework incorporates. Specific skills are determined through technical, numeracy and/or literary skills. General skills are personality driven abilities, and the outcomes of soft skills. They look at communication and interpersonal engagement. Simultaneous or secondary outcomes to skills acquisition are: 1) recognizable qualifications; 2) employment or apprenticeship obtained; 3) certifications, and/or progression to further schooling; and/or 3) (re)entry into the formal schooling system.

Further rationale for the decision to examine training as the source of human capital is that the second source, innate ability, is not a focus of this research, because it would require a knowledgeable background in psychology. According to Becker (1964), it is highly controversial to measure. However, the analytical framework remains open to see whether program policy has incorporated the element of innate ability, in order to provide further discussion. Also, this study only focuses on NFE through the community program setting; therefore, examining human capital through the source of the formal school context, is not relevant to this study. Quality of schooling and non-schooling investments as a source is too subjective to measure, and would include many value judgments that this study did not set out to measure.

⁸ The five sources again are: 1) innate ability; 2) schooling; 3) quality of schooling and non-schooling investments; 4) training, and 5) pre-labor market influences.

2.7. The Research Questions

Directly informed by the literature reviewed, the conceptualized model and theoretical framework, the following research questions were formulated to examine the community education program case studies in the USA and Scotland:

Research Question 1: How is the community education program developed from national policies and reflected at the community level, and what ensuing challenges and issues have arisen?

Research Question 2: How are social and human capital theories reflected in the way that national governments operationalize the model of NFE?

Research Question 3: To what extent is there evidence for human and social capital development in the community education program?

Research Question 4: How does the conceptualization of community education impact elements of the model of NFE at the national and local levels within each country?

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

Chapter 3 first discusses the research questions that were presented in Chapter 2 and proceeds with an explanation of the texts used to help shape the empirical and methodological stance of this thesis. Following, is a description of how communities were selected as embedded case studies within the main cases studies. Chapter 3 also explains data sources and the methods adopted for the interview process and analytical strategy. Finally, it concludes with a discussion of practical and ethical considerations.

Recognizing that personal views, norms and values inevitably shape the perception of facts, this study follows the epistemological perspective of interpretative inquiry (Ragin, 1987; Schutt, 2012).

3.1. The Research Questions Explained

The research questions for the thesis led to the adoption of an explanatory case study in that they aim to explain a phenomenon in the real-life context in which it occurred while also explaining relationships between program implementation and practices (Harder, 2010; Yin, 2003). Specifically, the ‘phenomenon’ is the conceptualized model of NFE (see Figure 2.1 on page 52), and the ‘real-life contexts’ are the community education programs in the USA and Scotland. The model of NFE helped to preliminarily structure ideas— concepts, relationships, and key factors— related to my research. It also communicates the underlying propositions⁹ that the informed the research questions (Maxwell, 2013).

The research questions aimed to understand the model of NFE for community education within the USA and Scotland through distinction(s), divergent trends, as well as provide a discussion on the program and youth outcomes. Thus, the research

⁹ The propositions will be explained in 3.7. Data Analysis.

questions were generally formulated as “how” questions (Berg, 2001; Yin, 2003, 2009). The questions also aimed to explore issues associated with the community education programs such as, each country’s academic and/or political traditions of NFE, governance, national ideologies and social and economic initiatives. Research questions 2 and 3 draw on social and human capital theories in order to analyze and interpret programs and outcomes. Research question 4 establishes the comparison. Furthermore, it was important to explore implications and remain open to findings that have not been conceived. This also aligns with the explanatory case study characteristic of looking into implications, examining rival interpretations, and considering new possibilities from findings (Harder, 2010).

3.2. Rationale for a Qualitative Comparative Case Study

Merriam and Associates (2002) provided an informative first-step in understanding the general avenues for qualitative research designs. The text informatively summarizes four bodies of literature, which illustrate the diversity within forms of qualitative research approaches. These diverse methods and methodologies include types of qualitative research such as, biographies, case studies, ethnographies and grounded theory. Overall, qualitative research “does not belong to a single discipline. Nor does qualitative research have a distinct set of methods that are entirely its own” (Merriam and Associates, 2002, p. 6). To gain further insight and support for the chosen research design, a sample of sources that discussed how to conduct qualitative research in social sciences were reviewed (e.g., Babbie, 2007; Bechhoffer and Paterson, 2000; Berg, 2001; Greener, 2011; Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013; Thomas 2009). The goal of this review was to shape an informed conclusion about the appropriate and best epistemological perspective and ensuing methods for this study.

I. The ‘Case’ in Comparative Case Study

The decision for the research approach and design was made after examining and excluding other commonly used methodology for qualitative social science research,

for example, ethnography and narrative. Although this study considers the qualities and demographics of each region and acknowledges the importance in the programs' aims for whom may benefit, it is not centrally focused on socio-cultural phenomena, the behaviors of certain groups or how they relate to one another, which would be specific to an ethnographic approach (Merriam and Associates, 2002; Tesch, 1995). Also, this study does not focus on a narrative design, which would be to analyze the psychology or biography of particular individuals.

A case study best suited the purposes of this research because the aim was to gain an in-depth, detailed understanding of the model of NFE for community education, by examining detailed aspects of a selected area (Greener, 2011; Thomas, 2009; Yin 1984). The study uses the definition of a case study as being an:

...analysis of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame—an object—within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates (Thomas, 2011, p. 53).

As a case study, the research has the opportunity for detailed and in-depth conclusions, but would not be able to make generalizations (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013; Thomas, 2009; Yin, 2009). Therefore, a perceived limitation of this design is that conclusions could not be applied cross-nationally to other community education programs.

II. The 'Comparative' in Comparative Case Study

Case study and comparative methods can be closely connected (Lijphart, 1971). The comparative component is derived from a review of texts on comparative education as well as the comparative method in social science (eg., eds., Arnove and Torres, 1999; Bereday, 1964; Holmes, 1965; Ragin, 1987; Stenhouse, 1979). Some social science researchers conceptualize comparative research as a sub-field of social science (e.g., comparative education) whereas others conceptualize it as a social

science method (Lor, 2010; Ragin, 1987). It was considered whether these differing perceptions had any bearing on the research and concluded that it did not need to enter into this debate, arguing one position versus another. For purposes of this research, the comparison (at the very least) was treated as a method, but also considered texts from both sides of the comparative narrative within the research design. This did not cause inconsistency to the design or method, since the research selected ideas thought to be pertinent to the specificity of this thesis.

The study first aimed to understand the purposes of comparative (education) research in order to see why it would best fit within the aims of this thesis. This research intended to inform and provide insight into the similar and contrasting, conceptualized national developments of community education in the USA and Scotland, and the implications for its development and implementation within the context of each country. The research also aimed to do (at least in part) what Greener (2011, p. 138) explained as being “useful for new insights, giv[ing] a window into unspoken and unquestioned cultural expectations, problematic differences that occur during analysis of different cultural situations can themselves provide insights.”

Ragin’s conceptualization of comparative methods (1987) serves as the primary source for organizing the structure of this comparative case study, which also influences the analytic strategy. He conceptualizes two methods that are entitled the case-oriented and the variable-oriented methods. These methods are inevitably influenced by particular epistemological perspectives and research goals, which are discussed in brief below to provide reasons supporting the decision to use a case-oriented method.

First, Ragin explains the case-oriented comparison method to be interpretive, attempting to explain outcomes or comparable outcomes through organizing information in chronological order. This process offers limited generalizations and is

causal analytic (Ragin, 1987). Causal analysis and historical interpretation are both goals of the case-oriented approach, but the presence of one does not obligate or negate the other (Ragin, 1987). Furthermore, Ragin posits that the case-oriented approach is considered to be the classical approach to comparative research. This point is illustrated through the similarities found in Ragin's method and that of George Bereday's conceptualization of comparative research. Bereday, a comparative educationist, exemplifies the traditional classical approach (Bereday, 1964, Bray et al., 2007). Bereday's method makes comparisons by juxtaposing country-level units of analysis, and ultimately aims to provide dense, descriptive interpretations of historical educational outcomes. He does so by trying to gain a thorough understanding of a country's political, social and cultural contexts (Bereday, 1964; Bray et al., 2007). Hence there are similarities between Ragin's case-oriented definition and Bereday's conceptualization of comparative research. Furthermore, both epistemologically incorporate a method of inductive inquiry that builds upon theory (Bereday, 1964; Bray et al., 2007; Manzon, 2007; Ragin, 1987).

Second, Ragin's variable-oriented comparison method is defined as more concerned with assessing relationships across societies or countries. Also the variable oriented strategy is "best suited for assessing probabilistic relationships between features of social structures, conceived as variables, over the widest possible population of observation" (Ragin, 1987, p. 69). An association could be made with the variable-oriented method and methodologies and epistemological perspectives of Brian Holmes (Holmes, 1965). As a comparative educationist, Holmes helped to develop what is cited as the problem-solving approach (Holmes, 1965, 1986). Holmes' method uses the process of deduction, beginning with a hypothesis to be tested. Like the variable-oriented model, which tests theory, Holmes is not interested in acquiring universality to his conclusions. Rather, both methods recognize the complexity of social phenomena, and embraces partial explanation over generality (Holmes, 1965; 1986; Ragin, 1987).

There are grey areas between the case and variable-oriented methods and between the classical and problem approach perspectives. Over the decades, researchers have been inspired by and further formulated divergent approaches. Ragin (1987) even illustrates how case-oriented and variable-oriented methods can be synthesized or combined.

Based on the characteristics and inquiries of this comparative research and the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, the case-oriented approach was chosen. As a result, the methodology also aligns with the classical approach of research inquiry because it seeks to look into the processes or causes of a certain phenomenon “in relation to its national, social, economic, political and intellectual environment” (Kazamias, 1961, p. 91). Furthermore, the research is inductive and explains theory, rather than testing it. However, in this approach there are identifiable epistemological departures from the traditional, classical comparative method espoused by Bereday (1964). First, Bereday centralized his research around ideologically positivist inquiries through functionalist traditions that aimed to establish general laws and predictable outcomes that allow for universal application (Bereday 1964; Crossley and Vulliamy, 1984; Kazamias, 1961; Stenhouse, 1979; Welch, 1999). This research does not exclude universality but at the same time does not presume it. In this regard this research agrees with Holmes’s viewpoint that causation should not be assumed. Second, unlike Bereday, the aim of this thesis is to go further than description to include explanation. Furthermore, the research recognizes that analysis of information is filtered through a personal perspective and cannot obtain the level of objectivity that classical comparativists put forth.

3.3. Comparative Case Study Description

The description is an explanation of the structural components of the comparative case study design. The structural components describe the study’s typology, units of

analysis, levels of analysis, which are essential for understanding how the data is categorically interpreted, organized and ultimately analyzed.

The typology of the case study uses two main case studies for comparison. The case studies are Promise Neighborhoods Program, USA (PN Program or Program) and Youth Work in Community Learning and Development, Scotland (Youth Work in CLD). Since these case studies are expansive and nation-wide, each case study was assigned two embedded (or nested) case studies for more in-depth analysis (Thomas, 2011; Yin, 2009). The USA's embedded cases are two Promise Neighborhood Programs within two cities given the pseudonyms, Lennox and Santa Clara; they are cities in the same State. Scotland's embedded cases are community education programs within two cities given the pseudonyms, Dockline and Daniels. These embedded cases form an integral part of the broader case study (Thomas, 2011).

According to Ragin (1987) comparativists are generally interested in identifying the similarities and differences among macro-social units (e.g., countries, nations, and other larger political entities), which allows for “understanding, explaining and interpreting historical outcomes and processes and their significance for current institutional arrangements” (Ragin, 1987, p. 6). The macro-social unit for the case study research is the model of NFE for community education.

Within the macro-social unit, the unit of analysis is found. In short, the unit of analysis references both data and theoretical categories, which Ragin concluded, has created confusion in the field of comparative social science (Ragin, 1987). This confusion is consistent to what was reviewed in the social science research texts, whereby the term, ‘unit of analysis’, has been used differently. Essentially, the unit of analysis in this study is defined as “the level of abstraction at which you look for variability... This is the level at which we often synthesize and compare data” (Guest, Namey and Mitchell, 2013, p. 26). For example, traditional units of analysis for classical comparisons in education are national educational systems (Bereday, 1964;

Noah, 1974; Welch, 1999). Since this research operates in the realm of the national government and outside of the formal school system, the units of analysis in this research are the national community education programs. Furthermore, the programs function as the basis of comparison. Yin (2009) also conceptualizes the unit of analysis as a theoretical category seeing it as synonymous to how the case is defined. With embedded case studies in the design, there are also organizational subsets within the principal unit of analysis (Thomas, 2011); therefore, each embedded case study is also an embedded unit of analysis (Yin, 2009). Figure 3.1 illustrates the case study description described.

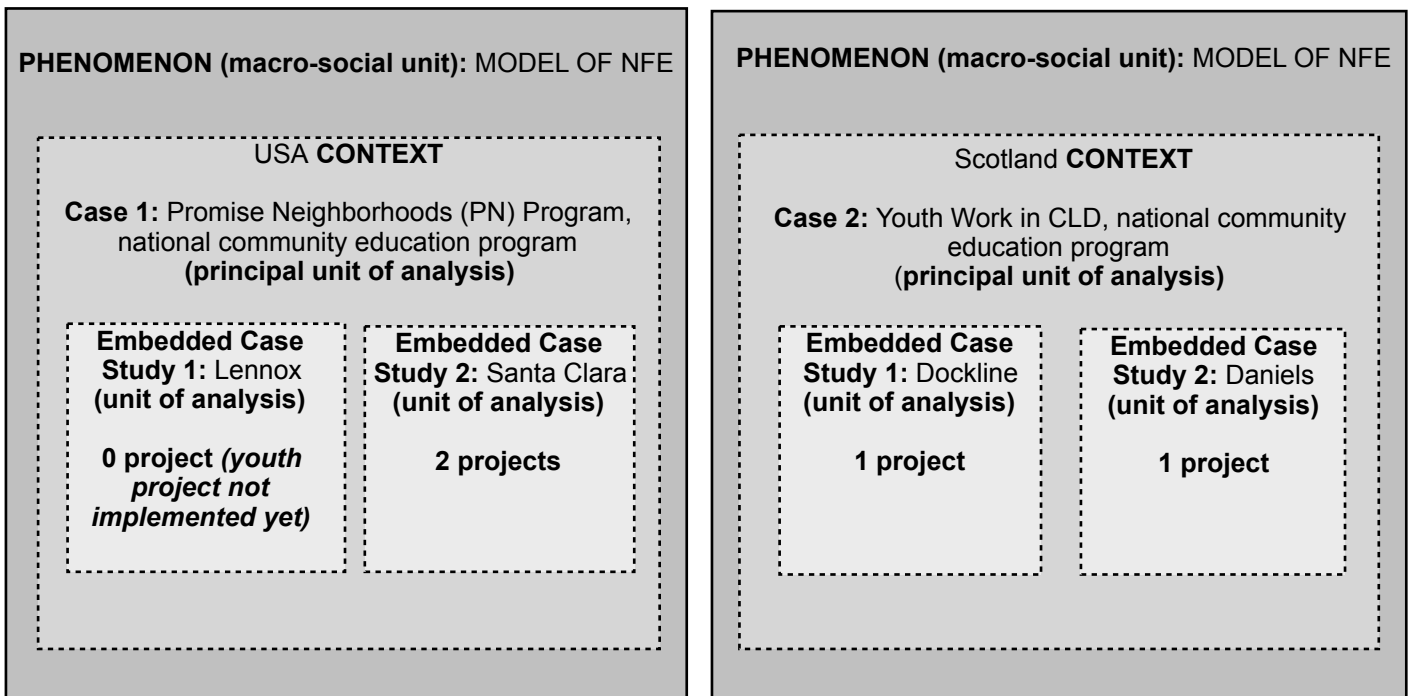


Figure 3.1: Illustration of Case Study Description

3.4. Why a USA and Scotland Comparison?

“When countries are selected for comparison, they should be comparable in respect of the phenomenon or theory that is primary interest of study” (Lor, 2010, p. 14).

The US and Scottish case studies were not selected by sampling, rather they were

selected for the purpose of examining the ‘phenomenon’ of the NFE model. Sartori (1991) explained that entities to be compared should have both shared and non-shared attributes. In other words, they should be similar and dissimilar (Lor, 2010; Ragin, 1987; Sartori, 1991). The case studies within the US and Scotland are perceived as similar in that they both: 1) operate within westernized countries with broadly similar political and socio-democratic ideologies; 2) are managed and primarily funded from the national government; 3) represent the national government’s primary initiative on community education; 4) offer NFE to young adults living in a targeted community; and 5) have similar program goals and aims, for example, targeting vulnerable and disadvantaged populations.

Furthermore, US and Scotland were chosen because they:

- 1) Provide documented examples of government initiated community education programs, with elements and factors about the political and academic developments of community education that are reflected in other areas of the world;
- 2) Make available two examples of the general global trend of lifelong learning within western government initiatives;
- 3) Present an opportunity to understand policies through their past developments, responses to global forces and effectiveness in resolving education issues in each jurisdiction; as a result, jurisdictions may have similar or divergent trends and each can provide insights;
- 4) Offer an informative backdrop because each has studied and documented traditions in community education and evidence of its practices within their respective society;
- 5) Provide feasible and safe geographical regions to conduct research; and
- 6) Are accessible locales, which provided an added assurance that research would be completed within a timely manner.

3.5. Selecting Case Study Programs

Selection of community education programs in the USA began with the finding that Promise Neighborhoods is the Department of Education's signature program for community education in the USA (ED, 2012a). Following this revelation, an examination of Promise Neighborhoods funding grantees since Program enactment was done. This list of grantees was then narrowed to those community level programs that received not only planning grants, but also implementation grants from the US Department of Education. This choice was made in order to study community level programs that have sustained funding, thereby, allowing continuity with their plans and operations. As a result, communities programs within three States were chosen for closer examination. These States have PN programs within a large urban and small urban city. It was concluded that having a small and large urban community could yield substantial and enlightening data to be analyzed. Ultimately, the PN programs within one of these States were responsive and receptive to the research. This led to a focus on the PN grantees within one State. Also, the State's community education programs were feasible to access and conduct research due to their proximity.

Equally, it was determined that Youth Work in CLD is the Scottish Government's focus and initiative that offers community education to young people. The local level programs were chosen for four main reasons. First, both community education programs could provide useful information for youth who have some of the greatest needs and vulnerability, according to national indices. Second, each program is within a large urban (Daniels) and small urban (Dockline) city, which mirrors the situation within the USA. Third, the program in Dockline is CLD managed and operated by the local authority while the program in Daniels is not managed and operated by the local authority but adopts CLD initiatives and goals, as a result, illustrating the multi-variate nature of CLD. This distinction was welcomed because it could explain the idea of CLD as both a sector and way of practice and

demonstrate any diversity in practices. Fourth, like the US community education program sites, the Scottish programs were physically accessible and responsive to initial requests for research.

The arrangement was advantageous since focusing solely within one State, rather than several States throughout the US, narrowed the geographic scope of study. Thus aligning more closely with the geographic size and scope of the Scottish case study and facilitating a more focused comparison between two rather than several regions. Choosing two rather than multiple embedded case studies within each country allowed for more focused and manageable findings that could fit within the desired timeframe of the research. Additionally, this arrangement could result in greater accuracy in assessment and analysis of data.

3.5.1. Description of Embedded Case Studies

To provide further detail about the locales selected, below is a description of Lennox and Santa Clara in the USA and Dockline and Daniels in Scotland. Information was provided by grant proposals in the USA. In Scotland, local authority summaries based on SIMD 2012, were used for the two areas that had been selected.

I. USA

Lennox is approximately 25 square miles. The residents of the Promise Neighborhood area of Lennox, the grant proposal stated, are a “hidden population” experiencing generational poverty due to a long history of limited opportunities. Limited opportunities are said to stem from historical class prejudice and racism. Currently, racial minorities represent 3/4 of the population in the Promise Neighborhood area, with about 60% of the population being Hispanic and the African-American population representing approximately 30%. In the Lennox grant proposal, key indicators of distress are: high rates of poverty; one of the highest rates of teen pregnancy in the USA; students of color who, the grant proposal states,

“underperform their peers across the State”; and one of the highest crime rates in the USA, with a transit hub for drugs and gangs.

According to the Santa Clara grant proposal, the racial minority population within the Promise Neighborhood area is approximately 90%, which is comprised of African-Americans and Hispanics. ‘Key indicators of distress’ are presented to express the need for PN Program funding for the case study area. They include: high poverty rates; high-school graduate rate of below 50%; and violent crimes that are three times higher than the larger urban community. As an inner-city community, the Promise Neighborhood community is located within one of the US’s largest cities. Ethnic and socio-economic segregation is common to this urban city and is heavily reflected in the PN area.

II. Scotland

Dockline is considered a small urban city with a 2012 mid-year census estimate of approximately 54,000 people. Additionally, the 2012 mid-year national statistics reported that young people (ages 16-24) made up about 10-15% of the total population. The local authority has traditionally had a high rate of NEET young people, with a figure of around 10-15% compared to the Scotland-wide average of less than 11%. As of 2013, 18-24 year olds made up about 30% of Job Seekers Allowance claimants. Also according to national statistics, about 10-15% of the population in Dockline is income deprived, and 10-15% of the population is employment deprived.

Daniels is located in east Scotland, and is considered a large, industrialized urban city. Daniel’s 2012 population was approximately 150,000, and about 25% of the population were within the ages of 16-29 (National Records of Scotland, 2015). Based on national records, Daniels is amongst the 5% most deprived areas in Scotland, with higher employment deprivation rates than the rest of Scotland. Also,

Daniels has one of the highest unemployment rates in Scotland, which includes 16-24 year olds.

3.6. Sources and Methods of Data Collection

In Yin's (2009) discussion of case study research, he outlined sources of evidence for case studies generally to be: 1) Documents— letters, agendas, progress reports; 2) Archival records— service records, organizational charts, budgets; 3) Interviews— typically open-ended, but also focused); 4) Direct observations; 5) Participant observation; and 6) Physical Artifacts— artwork, tools or instruments, or some other physical evidence. This research specifically uses documents, archival records, interviews and physical artifacts. Section 3.6 explains the process of selecting and collecting sources for data analysis. Further, since Yin (2009) states that interviews are one of the most important sources of data for case study research, section 3.6.2 details the interview process. Section 3.6.3 discusses the challenges experienced during data collection and how they were addressed.

3.6.1. Documents, Records and Artifacts

I. Documents

Documents were selected from national databases, preliminary interviews with program administrators, and the literature referred by particular program policies and documents. Responses from policy leaders and program administrators helped to further narrow selection of documents. When asking them what policies (and resultant guidances and strategies) were developed to support the implementation of the community education program, they listed particular policy documents. Their responses can be found within Chapters 4 and 5.

Documents contributed to a large portion of the overall data collection. Of great importance, especially to national level analysis, were academic and government

literature on youth and community education, which informed the design and implementation of the national programs.

Administrative documents and reports for the embedded case study sites were obtained online and through e-mail requests. These administrative documents and reports included minutes from annual meetings that discussed targeted strategies, previous outcomes and annual budget. They also included progress reports (outcomes) of participating youth. E-mail correspondences provided the opportunity to write individuals targeted questions and obtain information, specifically at the local level. E-mails were also employed as follow up to interviews. Other documents included written reflections of NFE experiences by youth participants in Santa Clara, US. From Dockline, Daniels and Santa Clara, pamphlets and fliers, which were made available to the public, were collected. Also, upon request, a copy of program activity schedules were provided by the Youth Center Program Director in Santa Clara.

II. Archival Records

Organizational records included budget, personnel records as well as monitoring reports. The PN Program grantees uploaded their accepted grant proposals online. They explain the demography of the embedded case studies, local level implementation plans, funding and intended practices. In Scotland, the SIMD 2012 local authority summaries were used to provide demographic characteristics.

III. Physical Artifacts

Physical artifacts were a program DVD in Dockline, and verbal permission was given to take photographs of display boards within the community centers. These display boards illustrated or discussed what activities are offered to the young people within the program.

3.6.2. Interviews

I. Interview Participants

The interview participants were an opportunistic sample of the population within each community education program. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate the contacts interviewed in the USA and Scotland. Table 3.1 also includes the written reflections from youth participants in Santa Clara that were used instead of interviews. For purposes of maintaining ethics in the study, policy leaders and program administrators are anonymous and called by their positions. Youth participants and program names are given pseudonyms. Overall, a total of 30 interviews were conducted and 5 written reflection were provided. There were 7 interviews and 5 written reflections in the US and 23 interviews in Scotland. These interviews (and written responses) included a range of actors as shown in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

| USA: Promise Neighborhoods Program | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------|------------------|
| National Level | | | | | | |
| Policy Leader | Community Level: Embedded Case Studies | | | | | |
| | Santa Clara: Large Urban Area | | | | Lennox: Small Urban Area | |
| | Program Director: 0 | | | | Program Director: 1 | 1 |
| | Youth Center- contracts with PN Program to provide projects for youth | | | | Youth project not implemented. | |
| | Youth Center Program Director | Youth Center Program Team | Project 1: Job Training and Development Project Youth Participants | Project 2: STEAM Project Youth Participants (<i>not interviewed, but provided written reflections</i>) | Youth Participants: n/a | |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 0 | Total: 12 |

Table 3.1: Number of US Individuals Interviewed or Provided Written Reflections

| Scotland: Youth Work in CLD | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--------------|---|----------------------------|-----------------|---|------------------|
| Policy Leader | National Level | | | | | | |
| | Community Level: Embedded Case Studies | | | | | | |
| | Daniels: Large Urban Area | | | Dockline: Small Urban Area | | | |
| | Program Director: 1 | | | CLD Officer: 1 | | | 2 |
| | Key Worker | Youth Worker | Project: Job Skills and Apprenticeship Project Youth Participants | Youth Worker | Program Manager | Project: Job Skills and Personal Development Project Youth Participants | |
| 1 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 6 | Total: 23 |

Table 3.2: Number of Scottish Individuals Interviewed

Program administrators' interview responses were crucial in understanding the operationalization of the program as well as how the goals and aims are actualized at the community level. Youth participants were included to provide insight on how the program actually affected the intended recipients. Their testimonies were important in providing first-hand accounts of the impact (if any) of program's practices. Finally, the national policy leaders helped to provide a top-level view of the program and triangulation of data with information found in document analysis of government and policy readings.

The program administrators and policy leaders were selected using one or a combination of the following processes: 1) Government and community level websites and databases that provided up-to-date program details and contacts. This information enabled a list of who was administering the programs at the relevant community education program sites. After, initial contact with identified individuals was made; they gave further information on the best persons to speak with to obtain more details about the programs; 2) Government department and/or local authority

secretaries provided useful contacts; and 3) Official documents such as grant proposals and monitoring reports that mentioned the names of individuals relevant to the research.

The youth had to fit the criteria of being between 16-24 years old¹⁰ and have been participating in the program for a sufficient amount of time in order to provide adequate reflection of their activities and outcomes of learning. The program administrators, who worked directly with young people, contacted the youth to be interviewed. In particular, the program in Santa Clara opens its doors to researchers two months within the year, which was factored into the research schedule. The decision to have program administrators choose the youth participants to be interviewed was made for a variety of reasons. First, program administrators were aware of the special needs of the youth and could better determine who would be open and available to participate in the interview. Second, the familiarity between the program administrators and the youth helped to bridge trust (since the youth personally know and were closely involved with the program administrators). Third, in Santa Clara, US there were rules regarding researchers' access to the site and youth participants.

Some may argue that having the program administrators select youth interviewees may skew evidence because the program administrators could select those who represent the best views of the program. This argument is plausible and was taken into consideration during the data gathering and analysis phase of the research. However, other points to consider would be that since participation in most of the community education programs are considered voluntary, young people want to be a part of the program. Furthermore, participation during the interviews was 100% voluntary; therefore, interviewees had a choice not to speak or even attend the interview sessions, which was the case in some instances.

¹⁰ 16-24 were the ages selected, because this range classifies the 'young adult' cohort, as communicated within US and Scottish academic and policy literature.

II. Rationale for Interview Methods

The interview questions were formulated, reviewed and considered to be acceptably related to the research questions of this thesis. Appendix D provides samples of the interview questions administered. Interviews were conducted in-person and by phone. The phone and in-person questions were semi-structured. Semi-structured interviews allowed for more flexibility and openness than structured interviews because there was opportunity to gauge the interview in real time in order to decide what additional questions could be asked. Questions could be re-emphasized by rephrasing or sequentially changing the questions. The interviews were not also intended to measure success or failure of the programs; rather, they were conducted to acquire a more well-rounded picture of the community education program by applying the analytical framework to understand youth outcomes within the programs.

Interviews with program administrators and policy leaders adopted various methods (1:1, small group and phone). The method depended on the availability and preferences of the interviewees. Interview questions were sent beforehand for the interviewees to review and have an idea of the nature of information wanting to be obtained. Because the policy leaders and program administrators had prior knowledge of the questions, they seemed more prepared with detailed and informed responses.

The preferred method of conducting the interviews with the youth participants was discussed with the program administrators because they have had years of experience working with young people and/or within the community education program. Therefore, their recommendations regarding the best way to interview youth were valued and incorporated. The program administrators suggested what was best for the comfort level of the youth and what circumstance would allow them to be most responsive. Program administrators' input was used, but flaws were identified (discussed in the section below) after the first focus group experience within

Dockline. Subsequent interviews in Dockline, Daniels and within the US, as a result, were mostly 1:1.

III. Overview of Interview Experiences

The overview provides a general summary and reflection of the interviews conducted in the USA and Scotland. Appendix E illustrates the interview schedules described in this section.

A. The United States

US Policy Leader: The interview was conducted by phone for approximately 30 minutes. The Policy Leader works at the Department of Education as a Director. She is a senior member of staff who oversees various programs, along with the Promise Neighborhoods Program, throughout the USA. The Policy Leader answered all questions to the best of her knowledge and even provided additional information that proved to be useful. She explained areas in which the Program needs improvement and repeated some information throughout the interview, perhaps to emphasize the Government's goals and agenda. Since the interview was not in-person, non-verbal responses could not be seen; however, this did not impede the process of question and answers nor did it cause any confusion. The Policy Leader expressed openness to answering any follow up questions.

I. Santa Clara

The **PN Program Director/Grantee**, repeatedly promised but postponed her interview. After 1 1/2 years of constant follow up, the PN Program Director/Grantee ultimately became unresponsive. Within that year, she did, however, provide documents and point me in the direction of the Program Director of a Youth Center with whom they contract to help implement the PN Program.

Youth Center Program Team: The program team consisted of three people— the Program

Director, Case Manager, and a Program Aid who is also a Case Manager. They took part in a group interview. Most of the responses were provided by the Youth Center Program Director. The interview was in a small conference room within the administrative building on the Youth Center property.

Youth Center Program Director: The Program Director was interviewed separately. This in-person, 1:1 interview, within the administrative building, served as a follow-up to the program team interview. This interview proved to be enlightening because information was gathered about the Youth Center's relationship to the PN Program grantee and the community. The interview also provided detail about program activities.

Youth Participants: Two youth participants were interviewed separately, 1:1. These interviewees were provided with the pseudonyms, Jerome and Tanisha. They were both 20 years old and have been participating in the program for over a year. 5 more interviews with youth were scheduled; however, after waiting a couple of hours, they did not arrive. Both interviews averaged the same length of time, approximately 10 minutes, and both answered all the questions. They seemed comfortable in giving honest opinions and accounts of their experiences. For example, they were willing to share areas in which the Program could be improved.

II. Lennox

Although there is no fieldwork data with young people, since the community education program has not implemented projects for young people to date, Lennox still provided useful information for how the PN program is being translated within the community. As a result, an interview with the Lennox Program Director/Grantee was important in understanding what the plans and goals are for the youth cohort and relationships between national and local level.

PN Program Director/Grantee: The interview was by phone and lasted approximately 33 minutes. The program administrator identified himself as the Director and is the senior staff member and the grant writer. Since the Program has not implemented the high-school phase, it was sufficient to only interview the Director. He had extensive knowledge in various aspects of the Program, from the grant proposal write-up, relationship with federal agencies to some practices within the school and future plans. In similar fashion to the US Policy Leader interview, the phone interview was beneficial. He shared areas where practice of the PN Program at the local level need improvement as well as areas that are a positive at the moment.

B. Scotland

Scotland Policy Leader: The Scottish policy leader is a Senior Education Officer at Education Scotland. The interview was approximately 40 minutes by phone. The Policy Leader answered questions about CLD management, goals and policies. She referred several times to the Education Scotland website. There was an unfulfilled hope of receiving more first-hand insight that was not already online or public information; however, her responses aided in triangulating data.

I. Daniels

Program Manager: The interview was an in-person, 1:1 interview, lasting approximately 25 minutes. It was a semi-structured interview and she seemed receptive to answering all questions. She provided useful information regarding the pertinent policy frameworks that drive Youth Work in CLD at the community level, local program goals and benchmarks. Additionally, she explained her perspective on the multi-variate nature of CLD (CLD as a profession, way of management, etc.). When asked if status reports on youth outcomes and progressions could be accessed, she answered that this information could not be shared, even if identities were made anonymous within the reports.

Key Workers: 2 key workers were interviewed separately in a 1:1 format at the community education program site in Daniels. The interviews were each approximately 21 minutes. Both key workers answered all questions and discussed what their role is within the community education program. They also explained experiences and challenges that they have encountered. Overall, both interviewees seemed quite open and honest during the interview.

Youth Worker: 1 youth worker was interviewed at the program site in a 1:1 format. The interview was approximately 10 minutes. The youth worker is a young adult and a former participant within the program before he became an employee. He answered all questions and his answers were useful in that he explained his position and conveyed how he represents a bridge between the youth and the program administrators.

Youth Participants: Seven youth participants were interviewed— six females and one male. For purposes of anonymity they are given the pseudonyms: Kristy, age 16; Ana, age 16; Jess, age 17; Catherine, age 17; Michelle, age 16; Lacey age 17; and Jeff, age 17. Learning from the prior focus group interview experience in Dockline, the interviews in Daniels interviews were decidedly 1:1. Moreover, during a previous informal meeting with the program administrators, they advised that 1:1 interview format would be best for the young people. Their views were that the youth would be more open and comfortable in a 1:1 setting as compared to a focus group setting.

The young people were scheduled to come in back-to-back, and for many, this was not a day that they would normally come to the center. I was not aware of any incentives that were given to the youth to attend the interviews. Each interview averaged the same length of time, approximately 5-6 minutes. For the most part, their answers were very short and did not provide examples or further explanation, which required at times, follow-up questions to be asked in order to acquire more

detail. Overall, the 1:1 interviews proved to be a better experience than the focus group interview in Dockline because I could focus on accents and youth seemed more relaxed in answering the questions, not concerned about others' interpretations of their answers.

II. Dockline

CLD Officer and Program Manager: The two Dockline program administrators were interviewed together within a recreation room at the community center. The interview was approximately 40 minutes. One of the program administrators is a CLD Officer and the other is the Program Manager of the community education program. As a result of their roles, the CLD Officer provided in depth responses to questions that related to the program's operation and governance at the community and regional level. He seemed to have an in-depth understanding of CLD partnerships and provided an overarching or meta picture of the program operation within the region and Scotland overall. The Program Manager works daily at the center, therefore, provided insight on first-hand experiences operating the program and personal dynamics with the youth and youth workers. Questions that the youth workers were not able to answer previously, were asked and answered during this interview. Such questions pertained to budget, partnership relationships with secondary schools and organizations, and related government policies. The interview was open and honest.

Youth Workers: There were 2 youth workers (YW1 and YW2) present for the interview. The setting was a large room with computers, couches, musical band instruments temporarily set up and a few tables. This was the room where activities took place. The interview was arranged sitting in couches. Both youth workers actively engaged in responding to the questions asked. Based on their responses and mannerisms, YW1 took on a more commanding role in answering questions, since she answered more frequently and occasionally interrupted YW2 with her responses.

Interviewing them together, allowed for them to validate, clarify or provide more detail to each other's responses. This was witnessed when one was not sure of the answer, he/she would look to the other for help in responding. Or, if one youth worker provided an answer, the other would provide more information with examples or more personal insight or reflection. The interview atmosphere was casual and open, which included momentary interludes of laughter and conversation about the program, but not directly related to the questions.

During the interview, responses (spoken and unspoken) were gauged to determine whether questions asked would provide full answers or whether certain follow up questions would be necessary. For example, when asked about funding, they were not sure and agreed that their boss would better be able to speak on that matter; therefore, asking follow up questions within this category of questions was not necessary. Additionally, when asking the YWs about national policies associated with the Dockline program, they first hesitated and thought for a bit. YW2 did provide a useful answer, but did not mention other policies. As a result, certain questions, specifically related to governance, structure, funding and outcomes were not asked. A decision was made to conduct a follow-up interview with 'higher ups' who could answer more about these specific questions.

Youth Participants: There were six youth interviewees along with one youth worker, YW2. Three youth respondents were female, and three were male. For purposes of anonymity, the following pseudonyms, with their real ages were given: Clara, age 18; Jackie, age 18; Beth, age 16; Colin, age 16-18; Mark, age 16; and Phil, age 21. It was stated before recording that the youth interviewees were familiar with or knew each other through participating in the program. Five of the youth participants are currently in the program, while one, Phil, finished the program. YW2's role within this interview was to be a 'translator'. YW2, at the least, was a passive participant. Although he did not answer the interview questions, his presence and input during the interview was an important factor— explained below.

The setting was a large room with computers, couches, musical band instruments (temporarily set up) and a few tables. The interview was arranged in a semicircle so that reactions and responses were easy to hear and see. The room was not good for recording because the community center had a lot of background noise within surrounding rooms. This frequently impeded the clarity of audio. Despite this issue, it was the best setting in accurately providing authenticity to the interview and program. This setting is where the youth congregate and participate in activities three days per week. Thus, it is a familiar, authentic space for them. The young people came on a day that they do not normally have sessions at the site. This communicated some level of willingness to voluntarily attend the interview. It also communicated a trust and comfort with their youth workers to take part in the interview. However, they were given incentives by the program administrators. These incentives were candy during the interview and free lunch at the end of the interview.

Overall, three out of six (Clara, Phil and Mark) spoke during the interview, while Jackie and Beth nodded a few times, and Colin answered a question with one word. YW2 was helpful in asking follow up questions, since a few times, the youth participants' answers were not easily understood. YW2 was also helpful in clarifying what the young people said, by rephrasing their answers. His presence did not seem to cause biased answers about the program. Clara said that she really did not learn anything and Phil said that the program did not really help him. Their responses seemed very honest and candid. YW2's input did try to 'jog the memory' of the youth participants. No conclusion could be made about how much his presence played a role with the participants who did not answer. At the end of the interview YW2 shared that they are usually not this quiet. This could be because of a number of factors, such as his presence, my presence, their moods during the interview and/or personalities. Overall, answers seemed honest and credible.

3.6.3. Addressing Challenges in Data Collection

The explanation in 3.6.2 revealed that the data collection process included some challenges. Addressing these challenges was a process that required patience, mental flexibility and understanding the nature of social science research and how it can unfold. Also, throughout the process, I further refined my skills in negotiating access with individuals to obtain data.

Overall, there were four primary challenges experienced. First, section 3.6.2 explained that the Santa Clara Program Director was ultimately unresponsive despite efforts of calling and writing to her for over a year. Her input might have garnered findings that could have contributed to understanding program operations and implementation plans. Despite having no interview evidence from her, this issue was resolved, because after several follow-ups on my part, she connected me with the Youth Center that worked directly with the youth. The Youth Center and its employees were receptive to my research and provided access to materials, staff and the youth. This alternative proved to be effective since the Santa Clara grant proposal provided the information about implementation plans, and I obtained the additional information I needed and used from the Youth Center.

The second challenge was instances where youth interview responses were limited. The group interview in Dockline, a setting that was arranged by the program administrators, resulted in an interview experience where some youth did not respond or responses were minimal. These challenges were addressed since I had the opportunity to conduct 1:1 interviews with youth in other locations. The 1:1 interviews proved to be more beneficial, as young people responded directly to all the questions posed to them. In Santa Clara, several of the youth scheduled for interviews did not keep their appointments. Although I waited on site while the staff helped to see if the youth would arrive, only two ultimately came for the interview. Being aware that I desired more youth responses in Santa Clara, I asked for any

written reflections from the program administrators and subsequently received these reflections.

Regardless of the instances where responses were limited, all of the youth's responses were informative and honest, explaining the positives and negatives of the programs and their experiences. Also, as a result of the youth who did not arrive for scheduled interviews, this situation contributed to analysis about the challenge of working with disadvantaged and vulnerable youth who are often times hard to reach. In the instance of Lennox, where I had no interviews, it was understandable because the program had not implemented the youth stage of the program. However, I interviewed the Lennox Program Director and obtained substantial data about the national and program administrative levels. This information was also useful in the comparison chapter.

Accessing monitoring reports and data from community members was a third challenge that was out of my control due to ethical privacy restrictions or because the information was none existent. For example, after asking the Daniels program administrator about monitoring reports, I was informed that it could not be provided. In Lennox, a program administrator explained that they could not provide meeting notes, which included information from and/or about community members, as they were confidential. I used, to the best extent, the information that I was allowed to access, and the information helped triangulating the data. Also, for the community data that was none existent, I incorporated this fact in my analysis when discussing community members' roles or the lack thereof within the program.

A fourth, and relatively minor challenge, was interpreting regional accents in Scotland and the US. Since I sought and received permission to record interviews, while transcribing them, I re-played the recordings at a slower pace in order to better understand certain parts of the recording. Furthermore, it was my practice to transcribe soon after the interviews were completed. This practice was helpful because the interview experience was more current in my mind.

3.7. Data Analysis

As described before, the two main case studies (Youth Work in CLD and PN Program) were each comprised of two embedded case studies. Since the national programs were the basis of comparison, the embedded case studies were not compared; rather they were analyzed and incorporated within the two main case studies. Yin (2009) asserts that it is best to begin with a general analytic strategy before deciding upon what techniques to employ. From the several general analytic strategies, this relied on two: 1) theoretical propositions;¹¹ and 2) the development of a case description.¹²

This study followed the propositions that first, operationalization of the NFE model is shaped by the context in which it exists, thereby creating avenues for diversity and differences. Second, the life chances of vulnerable and disadvantaged young people can be improved with non-formal educational opportunities. Third, community education programs for youth primarily incorporate social and human capital theories within all stages of the program. Fourth, the nature of non-formal education creates a non-universalized method of learning and outcomes for young people.

Also, the case description is identical to the Figure 2.1 (see page 52), the conceptualized framework for the model of NFE for community education.

With the general analytic strategy defined, analytical methods were then determined as relevant to the comparative case study. It was concluded that the research should have a two phase analytical approach. First, using content analysis to review all data collected, the goal was to create what Weber (1990) termed a ‘thick description’ for

¹¹ The theoretical propositions shape the original design and objectives of the case study, which in turn reflect a set of research questions, reviews of literature and new propositions. It is the theoretical orientation guiding the analysis and helps to focus on certain data (Yin, 2009).

¹² A case description is a descriptive framework for organizing the case study. It is an analysis organized on the basis of description of the general characteristics and relations of the phenomenon in question (Yin, 2003).

each level of analysis. Second, a qualitative comparative analysis was employed to compare the two case studies— PN Program and Youth Work in CLD.

I. Phase One: Content Analysis

Content analysis employs certain strategies to reduce data into “more relevant, manageable bit of data” by categorizing and interpreting data (Weber, 1990, p. 5). As a result, content analysis essentially began at the coding phase of the data (Berg, 2001; Weber, 1990). The data was coded (and recoded) and involved looking at words, sentences and paragraphs within all sources of data (documents, interviews and physical artifacts).

Priori codes were formulated and informed from the literature reviewed, previous knowledge surrounding the research topic, the analytical framework and the focus of the research questions (Gorden, 1992; Saldana, 2013). The priori codes included words and phrases like, social exclusion/inclusion, targeted youth, confidence, viability, trust, networks and relationship to formal education. Recoding aimed to provide more accuracy in data interpretation, which social scientists agree helps to achieve more credible and accurate data reporting (Baxter and Jack, 2008).

Subsequent (or emergent) codes emerged during the coding and re-coding process. Emergent codes included phrases like varying levels of non-formality, perceived divisions and roles of educators. Also incorporated was Berg’s (2001) input on analyzing content that extends beyond manifest content— those elements that are physically present and countable— to involve latent content. He defines latent content as data that are interpretive readings of the symbolism underlying the physical data. Latent content was interpreted to mean non-literal, subjective factors; as a result, this included physical mannerisms, stressing words, changes in the pitch of the voice. Also, word frequency was examined in order to see if certain issues or ideas were of greater concern or higher emphasis than others. Word frequency was important for analysis, because some of the interviewees placed emphasis on a particular program goal or initiative by being repetitive about certain words or ideas.

Another example is that language within policy documents repeated discussions about intended economic and/or social outcomes for young people.

Responses within the coded interviews were then organized and collated into charts, where they seemed to appropriately answer the relevant research questions (Schutt, 2012). The codes were eventually defined by certain meta-categories (or themes) (Weber, 1990). Meta-categories included labels like economic, social, youth policy, skills, and networks.

Table 3.3 provides an example of the analysis process for interview responses and documents for Research Question 3.

| Research Question 3: To what extent is there evidence for human and social capital development in the community education program? | |
|---|--|
| <p>Document Content Analysis (steps)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Searched for and selected program monitoring and outcome reports. Also used any written assessments about the program and reflections written by youth participants. 2. Within the documents, looked for language/thematic elements used to assess outcomes, such as, 'building', 'acquisition', 'growth', 'progression', 'inclusion/exclusion', 'transition', 'increase/decrease', 'helped', 'learned' and 'development' 3. Applied theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2 (see Figure 2.2 on page 66). | <p>Interview Content Analysis (steps)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Primarily relied on youth's interview responses and secondarily on program administrators' responses. 2. Within their responses, highlighted the same words/thematic elements that were flagged within the documents. 3. Applied theoretical framework presented in Chapter 2 (see Figure 2.2 on page 66). |

| Research Question 3: To what extent is there evidence for human and social capital development in the community education program? | |
|---|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">(USA examples)</p> <p>Santa Clara Youth Center Monitoring Report: Results given for placement in education or employment, attainment of degree or certificate, and literacy and numeracy (Human Capital: Special Skills: Qualifications, Further Education and Employment).</p> <p>Santa Clara Youth Participants' Written Reflections: 1. "I had the chance to be apart of an internship. This program has help me learn how to conduct myself on a real worksite. It has taught me how to manage money" (Amber) (Human Capital: Special & General Skills); and 2. "Day by day I was getting closer with my friends, parents and people... I learned that college is just not for sports it about education" (Marvin) (Bonding and Bridging Social Capital: Networks, Trust, Social Inclusion).</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">(USA examples)</p> <p>Santa Clara Youth Participants: 1. "They [the case managers] all call, see what I'm doing. See...if I'm gon' get a - if I have a job yet. Am I looking. Do I need one. They help" (Jerome) (Bridging Social Capital: Trust); 2. "They [the case managers] call me a lot, you know and make sure they're helping me out basically" (Tanisha) (Bridging Social Capital: Trust & Bridging: Networks); 3. "They had us going to churches and everything. Volunteering there. So that was my first time volunteering when I got there" (Tanisha) (Bridging Social Capital: Social Inclusion, Networks); and 4. The case managers help "me do applications and...resume building" (Tanisha) (Human Capital: Special/General Skills)</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;">(Scotland examples)</p> <p>Dockline Program Monitoring Report: 1. "progressed to a positive destination" (Most likely includes Hard Capital and Social Capital Outcomes); 2. "PX2 was successful this term with all young people receiving certificates" (Human Capital: General Skills)</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">(Scotland examples)</p> <p>Daniels Youth Participants: 1. "...they've showed me new opportunities and everything and I've learned quite a lot...I've got ... more qualifications since I've been here" (Catherine) (Human Capital- Special skills: Qualifications); and 2. "[I] learnt how to lay bricks...and my confidence has been built" (Ana). (Human Capital: General and Special skills).</p> <p>Dockline Youth Participants: 1. "I've made friends" (Bonding: Trust & Social Inclusion); 2. "I learned math and English" (p.2) (Human Capital- Special skills); and 3. "[I learned] to work as a group" (Social Capital Bonding: Trust & Human Capital- General Skills).</p> |

Table 3.3: Excerpt of US and Scotland Content Analysis for Research Question 3

This research further used explanation building (Yin, 2009) as its form of analysis once content was coded. Explanation building supports the analysis of "how" and "why" research questions. This stage of analysis looked at initial propositions and

compared the findings to these propositions. In so doing, it revised propositions within the analysis, when there was a change from the initial proposition. The intent was to have a gradual building of explanation. Analysis was open to other plausible or rival explanations throughout this process. Yin (2009, p. 144) explains the stages of this process as: 1) making an initial theoretical statement or an initial proposition about policy or social behavior; 2) comparing the findings of ‘an initial case’ against such a statement or proposition; 3) revising the statement or proposition; 4) comparing other details of the case against revision; 5) comparing the revision to the facts of a second, third or more cases; and 6) repeating this process as many times as needed.

II. Phase Two: Comparative Analysis

Chapter 6 of the thesis is the comparative chapter. Comparative analysis used the findings and analysis from the US and Scotland case study chapters to make comparisons. As a result, it is a continuation of the content analysis phase.

Understanding that comparison of extensive programs could be exhaustive, the research focuses on the national and local level administrative levels for the bases of comparison. Moreover, since more data from the national and local levels of the program was obtained, as compared to youth responses, this type of comparison had more data.

3.8. Issues of Accuracy, Validity and Credibility

The research aimed to achieve credible and accurate data reporting, analysis and ultimate conclusions. Triangulation of data contributes to validity in that it provides cross verification from multiple sources (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Berg 2001; Yin, 2009). Data was triangulated by first diversifying the sources of data through where it was obtained and from whom. Multiple perspectives were incorporated in the interview responses, by speaking with several rungs of the program staff levels as well as the youth. The combination of government documents, academic texts and

personal interviews helped to strengthen results by showing data agreement and even exposing areas where there were inconsistencies or rival explanations in the data itself. Credibility was also maintained by ensuring that the sources of data were from reputable government websites, and government papers were obtained through proper government protocol. The research also ensured that the interviewees were indeed people who could authentically and credibly speak about the programs. This was accomplished through the preliminary, informal interviews (discussed previously), which enabled the identification of relevant and qualified individuals. Additionally, during the interview phase, when a particular interviewee could not answer a question, the same question was repeated to another administrator who then had the experience or knowledge to respond.

Weber (1990) discusses coding mistakes, which ultimately affect analysis that researchers should safeguard against. Re-coding the transcriptions at different time periods aimed to increase accuracy and apply some level of objectivity to the process. Since, ethically, data could not be shared, transcription was done alone, versus in a research group. The importance that measurements in comparative situations should be congruent was also considered. This involved understanding the use of language between regions, specifically the similarity and dissimilarity of same word choices, meaning and context (Thomas, 2009). It helped that both case studies reside in Anglophone countries, additionally the general similarities between both case studies helped to illustrate commonality in language and terminology. For areas of difference, personal judgement and/or text that explicitly provided explanations to any differences were used.

3.9. Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a process that supports the goals of accurate interpretation of data. Reflexivity includes the component of an “honest and informative account about how the researcher interacted with subjects in the field, what problems he or she

encountered and how these problems were or were not resolved” (Schutt, 2012, p. 332). Another component to reflexivity is how the analyst aims to “display real sensitivity to how a social situation or process is interpreted from a particular background and set of values and not simply based on the situation itself” (Schutt, 2012, p. 332). Below, the two components are applied to the research experiences.

I. Component 1: Interactions (Positive and Negative) and any Resolution

Focus Group versus 1:1: A positive of focus groups is that it allowed me to see how the youth interact with each other and their youth worker. A few times, I allowed them to talk amongst themselves in order to observe these dynamics. What I saw was that there was a general comfort with each other. Also, I was able to see how each youth took on particular roles. For example, during the interview in Dockline, Phil who is no longer in the program, seemed to take on a leadership role, by answering many of the questions, and trying to get others to speak (even calling Colin shy). Mark answered a few questions but also provided humorous interjections during the interview. Within an earlier interview, the youth workers explained that Mark is a comedian and likes to joke. Therefore, he remained true to his personality. Clara was quite vocal in expressing her answers, but many times did not speak loud enough to be heard or she turned to Jackie for acknowledgement and support. Jackie, Beth and Colin had a passive and observant role during the interview.

Negatives of the focus group included that it was a contributing factor to why three of the youth participants spoke little to nothing at all. In the group setting, there were times that some laughed at other’s responses and jokes that may have influenced the participation level. Maybe the more quiet ones would have responded in a 1:1 interview where their responses would not be judged or reacted to by their peers. Also, maybe those who responded in a more joking manner would have been more serious with their responses in a 1:1, where they did not have an audience. There were many interjections during the interviews so transcribing and discerning responses were not the best. Also, a group setting did not allow me to focus on the

answer of one person that a 1:1 interview allows. For instance, I did not do frequent follow up questions to a respondent's answer because I thought that would focus on developing one person's answer, and exclude members of the group. A group setting did not allow me be more in tune to accents when there was more than one person speaking.

The issues within the focus group setting were resolved with the subsequent decision to have 1:1 interviews with the young people in the other community education programs. Even if they spoke minimally during the 1:1 interviews, they still had more comfort in expressing some response and none declined to answer. As a result, I was able to receive feedback from all interviewees. Additionally, 1:1 interview allowed me to have more focus and understand accents. A negative to the 1:1 (that the focus group enabled) was that I did not see how the youth participants interacted with each other. Seeing how the young people interacted would have provided insight into the relationships between the youth.

Phone Interview versus In-Person: The main positive aspect of conducting phone interviews was that they were convenient for both myself and the interviewee, especially the policy leaders and program directors who had busy schedules and/or were located in areas where I was not currently residing. The negative side of conducting a phone interview was that, especially for the Scottish policy leader, her accent had to be transferred into the recorder via the phone line. This created uncertainty in some words that she used. This issue was rectified, however, by sharing the draft transcript with her. She then provided any corrections or additions to possible misunderstandings and technical errors within the transcript.

Another possible negative to a phone interview was I could not gauge visual body language. This did not seem to be a large concern since I interviewed all young people and those directly working with young people in-person. In-person interviews, therefore, provided a benefit in seeing and interpreting physical behavior

and visual responses to questions. However, since my interpretation involves a matter of subjectivity, I could only factor it into my analysis with a minimal level of empiricism. In-person interviews were not inconvenient since I scheduled them in advance and around the timeframe I was either in the USA and Scotland.

Interpretation Barriers: All interviews were conducted in English, however, there were some strong regional accents, poor grammar and lack of clarity with the recording device that posed some barriers to interpreting what was said. Within Scotland, especially during the group interview, accents posed an issue. Having a youth worker attend the group interview helped to resolve the issue to some extent because he would rephrase some of the youth participant's answers. During a few of 1:1 interviews, accent and poor grammar created some issues in understanding. In the USA, one of the youth interviewees had a strong local accent with improper grammar usage. As a result, it was difficult to understand some of his answers. Recording the interviews helped to resolve most of the issue of understanding, since I was able to replay the interview at a slower speed in order to transcribe. Furthermore, I also restated the question whenever I could not understand clearly. Overall, understanding responses was not a hinderance to the analytical process.

II. Component 2: Factors that may have Shaped my Interpretation of Data

My age: I am not within the 16-24 age bracket, but I am close to this age cohort and I could understand the immediate concerns and issues that youth have to face. These concerns include finding work, transitions, the concern of unknown futures and wanting to be heard and recognized in society. My similarity in age with the young people probably allowed them to open up to me more comfortably.

My different socio-economic and educational background from the young people I interviewed: It would be inaccurate to exclude the influence that my background may have had on how I interpreted data. Although, I am not precisely certain in what way, I am aware that my analysis and views have been influenced by

my level of education and exposure to different experiences and opportunities than the youth.

My ethnicity as an American and a considered minority status in the US: Since race is stressed in the US programs (and in US society general), I believe this affected how the programs members responded to me in the US, because I am considered a racial minority. I think they felt more comfortable opening up to me and talking about how racial issues play a factor for young people and the Program.

3.10. Practical Matters

Section 3.10 discusses the necessary and required logistical matters that had to be addressed before conducting fieldwork and successfully moving forward with the research plans. These matters are negotiating access to the community education program sites, addressing timeframe of research and ethical considerations.

3.10.1. Negotiation of Access

During the spring-summer 2013, before fieldwork preparations, it was a goal to establish preliminary contact with the program administrators, who also function as the gatekeepers to the youth participants. Therefore, contact was made with individuals through semi-formal meetings via in-person, e-mail and phone. This preliminary contact created the necessary rapport that established understanding and some trust with the program administrators. The meetings and conversations enabled me to introduce myself, share my research goals and obtain a general understanding of the community education program, operations and schedules. During these meetings, ethical considerations were discussed and agreed upon (further discussion about ethics is provided in subsection 3.10.3).

As was envisioned, the programs had differing requirements and requests before explicit agreement was given regarding access to the site and conducting interviews.

Correspondences were done periodically, throughout the year, in order to answer further questions about my research, keep program administrators informed of my progress and create a feasible timeline for visitation to the program site.

3.10.2. Timeframe of Research

The literature review was the preliminary phase of my research and was ongoing throughout the research process. Also, as discussed before, contact with the program sites and other individuals was made during the first year of the research. Gathering documents for the community education program began winter 2013, and interviews with the community education program sites were conducted between mid-March and July 2014, with follow-up data collection when it was necessary. The interview with the US Policy Leader was within this timeframe, whereas the Scottish policy leader was in the fall 2014.

3.10.3. Ethical Considerations

I was aware that conducting research with young people required careful ethical consideration and that further consideration was needed since these young people are considered vulnerable and disadvantaged. None of the youth participating were considered legally under-age for this type of study. I judged the type of research to be conducted while considering these previous factors. As a result, this research is considered a Level 1 by University of Edinburgh, Moray House School of Education ethical review standards. A Level 1 research is:

...research with participants that is ‘non-problematic’, i.e. the likelihood of physical or emotional risk to the participants is minimal. This may include, for example, analysis of archived data, classroom observation, or questionnaires on topics that are not generally considered ‘sensitive’. This research can involve children or young people, if the likelihood of risk to them is minimal (University of Edinburgh, 2016).

I obtained written consent from all the youth participants and program administrators who were involved in the interviews. Since Scottish youth can legally vouch for themselves from the age of 16, parental/guardian consent was not needed. Also, it

was advisable not to seek parental consent, so that the young people would feel that their authority is being honored. Youth who were interviewed in the US were of legal age (18 and over). A consent form was also signed by the youth participants before conducting the interviews.

The written consent form provided a general overview of the research and the reasons for interviewing selected interviewees. It also stated that confidentiality would be upheld. To preserve confidentiality and anonymity, participants were allowed to initial the consent form. Also the interview did not ask for their names. Furthermore, the written consent explained the rights that interviewees had within the interview process. These rights included that: 1) participation is voluntary and they can choose to withdraw from the interview at any time, without giving a reason; 2) they can refuse to answer any question and still remain in the study; and 3) there is no penalty based on whatever action they choose to take during the interview process. Appendix F is an example of a research consent form submitted to program administrators.

Program sites were not named in the final write up of this research. Instead pseudonyms and/or descriptions were used. The data files are retained on my laptop and a USB stick, which is secured and locked, when not in my possession. In compliance with University of Edinburgh policy, the data will not be kept longer than necessary.

Confidentiality of monitoring reports and grant proposals was also honored. This decision was made because program administrators requested confidentiality or directly referring to information within these documents would reveal the identity of the embedded case study locations or participants. Therefore, findings were not directly quoted or written in a way to reveal the identity of the programs.

Chapter 4: Case Study One: Promise Neighborhoods Program, USA- *Findings and Analysis*

Chapter 4 is a narrative of the US case study's findings and analysis. It begins with a national level discussion, looking at the context and norms underpinning the Promise Neighborhoods Program (PN Program or Program). The national level discussion also includes an explanation of associated strategies. It then focuses on a community level discussion of how the Program is interpreted and implemented by program administrators. Following, the Program practices are examined. Reflecting on the findings and analysis presented throughout, the chapter concludes with a discussion that addresses three of the thesis' research questions:

Research Question 1: How is the community education program developed from national policies and reflected at the community level, and what ensuing challenges and issues have arisen?

Research Question 2: How are social and human capital theories reflected in the way that national governments operationalize the model of NFE?

Research Question 3: To what extent is there evidence for human and social capital development in the community education program?

4.1. Formation of PN Program at National Level

In section 4.1, examination of the PN Program includes interview responses from a senior level PN Program Policy Leader at the Department of Education in Washington, DC. Section 4.1 also analyzes US Government documents that provide information about the formation and goals of the PN Program. Furthermore, academic text and non-governmental reports are also examined to provide added discussion and points of views about the PN Program.

4.1.1. Policy Context

The PN Program was an executive decision from President Barack Obama, with funding and support backed by the US Congress. The Program was announced by

the Department of Education (ED) on April 30, 2010 (ED, 2010). Specifically, the PN Program was initiated through the White House Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative (WHNRI), an interagency collaboration. The PN Program, as one of the five WHNRI programs, is led by the ED (Office of Urban Affairs, 2013; The White House, 2010). Consisting of the ED and several other departments or agencies,¹³ the WHNRI collaboration is centered on five programs that focus on revitalizing poorer neighborhoods. From the WHNRI, the Government concluded that many neighborhoods already have existing community organizations “that have formed strong bonds and durable social capital,” which could be further strengthened so that more community members can have access to education, services and job opportunities (The White House, 2010, p. 1).

Although the PN Program’s conception was as early as 2007 when the then Senator, Barack Obama first discussed plans for a new educational agenda (PN Program Policy Leader; The White House, 2010), even earlier political frameworks and ideologies helped to establish its genesis. As discussed in Chapter 2, 19th and 20th century American traditions of community school movements, development programs and the War on Poverty helped to establish the basis for community education programs and the delivery of youth work (ED, 2009). Important influences that directly impacted the PN Program are the War on Poverty and the Harlem Children’s Zone, which are discussed below.

I. 1960s War on Poverty and ESEA Legislation

The War on Poverty was initiated by President Lyndon B. Johnson (LBJ), and was a response to the debilitating effects of racial and socio-economic segregation and discrimination (D’Angelo, 2000; The Leadership Conference, 2015; PBS, 2014).

The War on Poverty legislation established the precedent for numerous government strategies from the 1960s and onwards, and it continues to influence the formation of

¹³ White House Domestic Policy Council (DPC), White House Office of Urban Affairs (WHOUA), the Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Department of Education (ED or Department), Department of Justice (DOJ), Health and Human Services (HHS) and Treasury (Office of Urban Affairs, 2013; The White House, 2010).

current Government programs (The Leadership Conference, 2015; Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012; PBS, 2014). ED Secretary, Arne Duncan, described the important connection between the War on Poverty and PN Program in his speech about the formation of the PN Program:

[President Johnson] saw that rectifying injustices that stem from birth and race was the next and more profound stage of the civil rights struggle. I don't believe that any president since Johnson understands this truth more deeply than President Obama... The fact is that if we don't dramatically improve our inner-city schools, we'll never win the war on poverty (ED, 2009, pp. 1-2).

The 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) is legislation that emerged from the War on Poverty legislation and established the basis for several federal goals and funding for numerous youth programs during the 21st century (Fernandes, 2010). The PN Program is implemented pursuant to sections 5411-5413 of ESEA, under the legislative authority of the Fund for the Improvement of Education (FIE), Title V, part D, subpart 1 (ED, 2012a).

Then and now, ESEA claims to emphasize equal access to education, high educational standards and accountability. Incorporating a policy of prevention, ESEA regulations aim to provide vulnerable and at-risk youth with opportunities to develop skills and abilities to ultimately assist transitions into adulthood (Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012; Pittman, Irba and Ferber, 2001). Furthermore, ESEA initiated programs, like the PN Program, aim to provide counseling and mentorship support to help prevent social issues like teen pregnancy and violence. Overall, ESEA programs encompass a range of supportive services that include community learning centers, employment opportunities, career support, academic and financial support for low-income youth (Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012; Pittman, Irba and Ferber, 2001).

II. 1970s Harlem Children's Zone Program

The PN Program is also influenced by what President Obama saw were the successful outcomes and strategies of a previous program called the Harlem Children's Zone (HCZ) (ED, 2009; PN Program Policy Leader). HCZ is a

community based, nonprofit organization that started in the 1970s and operates in Harlem, New York. According to its website, HCZ gives children individualized support to help them become productive, self-sustaining adults (HCZ, 2014). Reminiscent of the historic community schools movement, HCZ uses a holistic approach to learning and rebuilding the community. Secretary Duncan said that, “President Obama was so impressed by HCZ that he made it the template of his Promise Neighborhoods proposal during the campaign” (ED, 2009, p. 1).

The PN Program’s design appropriates two main goals and attributes of the HCZ. First, is the aim of combatting poverty within particular communities and schools within these communities. These communities are considered to have the most need for services (PN Program Policy Leader, 2014; Harlem Children’s Zone, 2014). Here, communities are defined as a place and interest whereby socio-economic factors have a role in delineating community footprints for the PN Program and HCZ. Second, like HCZ, the PN Program wants to provide a pipeline of services that span from birth through college and career, as illustrated in Figure 4.1.



Figure 4.1: HCZ Pipeline of Services Model (HCZ, 2014).

Figure 4.1 of the HCZ then translates to the continuum of services that PN Program has designed in Figure 4.2.



Figure 4.2: PN Program Continuum of Services Model (USGAO, 2014).

In summary, the formation of the PN Program presents a story of continuation, in that it is a 21st century program that appropriates and essentially parallels frameworks and goals established by programs and policies that are 40-50 years old.

4.1.2. How Strategies Reflect the Model of NFE

I. Overarching Educational Agenda and Vision for the USA

According to the PN Program Policy Leader, Secretary Duncan proclaimed the PN Program to be the “spearhead of all of the programs in the [ED], because it really does bring together all of [ED’s] strategies.” Furthermore, the PN Program has the primary purpose of providing solutions that are centered on building quality schools and participation within formal education (ED, 2012a). The PN Program Policy Leader also explained that the reason for bolstering the formal educational system is because the “...emphasis is on education. So at the center of our efforts [PN Program included], are these strong schools...” Also, Secretary Duncan stated in a document that, “...the best community development programs have transformed poor neighborhoods, usually working hand-in-hand with local schools” (ED, 2009, p. 3). Together, these statements articulate how NFE has been incorporated within the

wider educational context. NFE is to function as a support to formal educational institutions, assist learners to (re)-engage in the formal school system, and ultimately help transitions primarily through complementary or supplementary relationships with formal education.

The *Department of Education Strategic Plan for Fiscal Years 2011-2014 (Strategic Plan)* sets out the ED's current strategies within which the aims of the PN Program presides. Specifically, Goals 1, 2 and 4 of the *Strategic Plan* relate to this research (ED, 2012c, 2012d). Goal 1 emphasizes transitions envisioned through building human capital. This is evident through the goal's focus on closing the opportunity gap for low-income students and underrepresented populations by improving their access to college and workforce training. Goal 1 also discusses increasing the degree and certification programs rates of completion and job placements. The ED conceptualizes lifelong learning within this goal as a way to support successful transitions into desired career paths that are considered "high-need and high-skilled areas." These areas are termed STEM (science, technology, engineering and math) (ED, 2012c).

Goal 2 aims to provide successful transitions for students into college and career; it does so by focusing on effective teaching and leadership. More specifically, Goal 2 wants to ensure that students in high-poverty areas, racial minorities, students with disabilities, and English learners are taught by qualified and effective teachers (ED, 2012c, 2012d). Unlike Goal 1, which primarily focuses on STEM subject areas, Goal 2 is more comprehensive. It aims to improve learning within all content areas, including arts, geography and foreign languages. Despite this difference between Goal 1 and 2, both reinforce building human capital through skills acquisition.

Illustrating how past policies underpin current educational agendas, Goal 4 connects with the civil rights ideologies of the War on Poverty. In so doing, Goal 4 states that, "Equity is embedded throughout its initiatives, and will vigorously enforce the

federal civil rights laws to ensure students are free from discrimination in our nation's schools and colleges" (ED, 2012d, p.8). PN Program directly reflects the goal of equity, in that community level programs address barriers for individuals and ensure steps are taken to have equitable participation within the Program (ED, 2012a). Through the scope of human and social capital, lowering barriers and fostering equitable participation can enable young people to build networks and have more access to learning opportunities that increase skills. Therefore, the relationship between the recognition of civil rights and human and social capital is that when civil rights are upheld, social and human capital outcomes can be fostered.

The *Strategic Plan* also reveals federal norms and motivations that shape a wider, overarching political agenda. These ideologies constitute the basis for national socio and geo-political goals for American society, and are found in quotes like:

A generation ago, we ranked first in the world in the rate of college degree attainment for 25 to 34 year olds; now we rank 16th, and the global achievement gap is growing (ED, 2012c, p. 1);

The success of the American economy, culture and national security depends on the talent of all Americans (ED, 2012c, p. 17); and

Ensuring that our students have the critical thinking skills and other tools to be effective in the 21st century economy means improving teaching and learning in all content areas (ED, 2012c, p.19).

Functioning as sort of a call for action, the statements stress the US administration's goal for improving America's global standing in the 21st century. The summation of these quotes is that more skilled individuals will have a direct and positive macro-level impact on the overall health of the nation. The overall motivation of the Government reflects Ferber, Pittman and Marshall's (2002, p. 1) argument of policy-makers who are motivated by "the realization that positive development of young people is good economic development [and that] the skills they build today will define [the US] future competitiveness in a global economy." The quotes above also reflect discussions presented in Chapter 2 regarding neoliberal ideologies that

employ education as an investment, and fit within the discourse of a knowledge-based economy.

The discussion below narrows the focus to specific PN Program strategies that support the overarching educational agenda. These strategies are discussed as: A. Place-Based strategy; B. ‘cradle to college to career’; and C. monitoring and assessment strategy.

A. Place-Based Strategy

The Place-Based strategy is a Government named strategy; it is a targeted strategy that claims to address the specific needs of the community through services that combine the socio-economic and geographic characteristics of the community. The PN Program is the ED’s ‘signature place-based effort,’ and is conceptualized in separate terms as a place and strategy (ED, 2012a). As a place the Program defines the geographic area that it considers to be distressed within the community.

Distressed areas are those communities facing inadequate access to high-quality learning programs and services, struggling schools, low high school and college graduation rates, high rates of unemployment, high rates of crime and indicators of poor health (ED, 2012a; Tackett, 2012). Promise Neighborhoods as a strategy aims to address the issues in these distressed communities (ED, 2012a). The Policy Leader explained that since the Program is a targeted initiative, the learning activities for young people will vary depending on the community. She stressed the idea that the PN Program is adaptable in its application and offers assistance that is tailored by the particular need of the community:

Within any given Promise Neighborhood community, no two communities are going to look alike. Because it’s definitely driven by the needs of that community and the makeup of that community and that particular footprint (PN Program Policy Leader, Department of Education (ED)); and

I think that flexibility is given to the grantees. They get to come up with the strategies. So we [the Department of Education] tell them what it is we want them to achieve, and they [the grantees] will tell us how (PN Program Policy Leader, ED).

These distressed communities, which contain individuals with perceived levels of deficits, are also perceived as having assets that can be utilized. Community education programs are to use these assets to transform areas of concentrated poverty to areas of opportunity (ED, 2012a, 2012b; The White House, 2010). Neighborhood assets include developmental and social assets (ED, 2012a). Developmental assets “allow residents to attain skills needed to be successful in education” (ED, 2012a, p. 23698). As a result, the use of developmental assets will advance human capital outcomes. Social assets help to create well-functioning social interactions such as community engagement and partnerships with youth (ED, 2012a, p. 23698). Social assets, therefore, help to build bridging social capital because interactions aim to link young people with community based organizations in their community.

In order to effectively coordinate the range of services, the Place-Based strategy illustrates the PN Program’s reliance on networks through collaboration between and at the national and community levels. A 2010 *Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies* outlined the federal government’s goal to modernize its place-based programs by increasing the connections between government agencies and groups through interagency collaboration and community level partnerships (Orzsag et al., 2010). The ED envisions that:

Only through the development of such comprehensive neighborhood revitalization plans that embrace the coordinated use of programs and resources in order to effectively address the interrelated needs within a community will the broader vision of neighborhood transformation occur (ED, 2012a, p. 23691).

Community level collaborations can also include combined PN Program initiatives and/or outsourced programs, and PN Program money is linked with other federal funding streams in the communities (ED, 2012a). According to the Policy Leader:

We’re [PN Program] creating partnerships with individuals that we may not have worked with before and in a manner in which we’re asking the partners to work with Promise Neighborhoods (PN Program Policy Leader, ED).

The partnerships between community level organizations are conceived to foster bridging and linking social capital at the community level. Social capital networks at the community and national levels are therefore perceived as a vital element within the model of NFE for community education because they aim to ensure the effective and successful delivery of community education programs.

The discussion about this strategy reveals that the Government's conception of partnerships seems to be based on causal assumptions. First, there is an overall presumption that grantees who coordinate their efforts and/or enter into partnerships represent the community's economic and social diversity and are helping to create a beneficial impact on the neighborhood. This position seems premature since implementation of the program and evidence therefrom would be the true measure of the dynamics and outcomes of partnerships. Second, there is an assumption that through addressing the diverse and unique needs of each community, solutions can also be brought under a universal national goal. Therefore, partnerships are perceived as representing and acting as a coalescent, broader vision of neighborhood revitalization. However, there could be unanticipated effects on intended goals, which the causal assumptions do not seem to recognize. For instance, there is a possibility that partnerships can also result in varied perspectives that could prevent cohesive results and do not synchronize with national goals. Varied perspectives within a group could create tension and a negative impact on intended solutions.

B. Cradle to College to Career

Figure 4.2 (on page 115) explains the Program's aim to support successful transitions through a person's lifespan. The Government conceptualizes this life path as 'cradle to college to career' (or 'cradle to career') (ED, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; PNI, 2011; The White House, 2010). The Government looks at educational and developmental outcomes to determine successful transitions (ED, 2012a). Re-emphasizing the model of NFE's strong reliance on partnerships and coordination to accomplish synergetic outcomes, the 'cradle to college to career' strategy further substantiates

the aim to stimulate bridging and linking social capital at the community level. Furthermore, the Policy Leader explained how the Program integrates NFE specifically geared for youth. She explained activities “can range from career exploration programs to violence prevention program, with domestic violence, even gangs and anti-bullying.” Furthermore, the Policy Leader’s quote provides a perspective of how the Government views young people within the Program.

The Policy Leader underscores this strategy’s aim when explaining what she calls the “shared results framework”:

...even if I may be a health care provider, I still share the same results that our educational providers are seeking to achieve with their services. And then I’m looking for ways within my system that I can also help and support them achieve their results and vice versa (PN Program Policy Leader, ED); and

[Cradle to college to career] is really a strategy or an approach to try to address challenges that a community is facing that span areas from education to housing to health and you know mental health as well (PN Program Policy Leader, ED).

Overall, through this strategy, emphasis on successful transitions is through an individual’s development to self-sustainability and productivity that contributes to macroeconomics. This inference is evident within the phrase itself — ‘cradle to career’ — as it communicates an ultimate goal of progression within the institutional frameworks of formal schooling and the employment sector.

When asked if there are any areas the PN Program could improve, the Policy Leader revealed a possible imbalance in this strategy:

Given I think the federal interest in early childhood education, many States already had mechanisms and systems in place that allowed them to, once they received our money, to really excel and scale up (PN Program Policy Leader, ED); and

The area where I think we are still struggling a little bit, and this is not to be unexpected in a sense that this was an area where a lot of the applicants were weak in their application as well. And that’s on the college and career readiness end of the pipeline. Just in trying to build out those services and

trying to connect them with other portions of the pipeline. So that's one area where again we're seeing, like...I don't want to say lag behind, but struggle the most (PN Program Policy Leader, ED).

The Policy Leader presents this emphasis on early childhood as a potential weakness as it may be at the expense of providing needed resources for the youth cohort.

Therefore, potential implications at the community level is that emphasizing early childhood can lead to neglecting, minimizing or postponing needed strategies for young adults. At the same time, the focus on children could be seen as prudent in that services provided to children allow for a better chance to have an earlier impact on their transitions. As a result, the focus could build foundational learning, which can positively impact children's later learning stages.

C. Monitoring and Assessment Strategy

The WHNRI states that the PN Program is driven by data and results to achieve four main priorities: 1) facilitate monitoring and evaluation; 2) guide action needed to make any adjustments in policy or programming; 3) learn about what works; and 4) develop best practices (Urban Institute, 2013; The White House, 2010). From the data and results driven approach, the monitoring and assessment strategy for PN Program is established (ED, 2012b). Also, the PN Program Policy Leader explained:

So the intended outcomes are absolutely to a large extent set by national government...What the indicators are that each site should use, and so we've sort of set that landscape, but that is based on research. It is based on what we know to work... So we're absolutely driven first by, at the federal government level and with national policy (PN Program Policy Leader, ED).

Program officers within the ED in Washington, DC comprise of a team that is responsible for a portfolio of grants in which they monitor grantees. Monitoring ranges from desk audits to communications on a quarterly, weekly and sometimes daily basis (PN Program Policy Leader, ED). Within this construct, the Policy Leader also added that there is:

An advisory board or governing board and it has to be made up of representatives from the community, as well as experts in the field. And they

really do guide the work of the grant—the strategies that are chosen, the partners that are chosen, etc (PN Program Policy Leader, ED).

The strategy not only intends to monitor and evaluate a community program, but also relates to the Place-Based strategy in that it aims to promote ongoing communication between community and national levels. This communication is done to share good practices and for federal Program officers to provide technical assistance (PN Program Policy Leader, ED; Urban Institute, 2013; The White House, 2010).

To assess and monitor the Program at the community level, this described managerialist structure employs technocracy. Specifically, indicators are the primary tools that assess planning and implementation stages of PN Program grantees and support a methodological goal of universalization. The *Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 (GPR)* is a management statute used by all federal agencies and departments to “manage their activities with attention to the consequences of those activities” (ED, n.d.). Agencies and departments must report its progress to the Congress (ED, n.d.). The PN Program has 15 *GPR* measures or indicators, eight of which pertain to the 16-24 age cohort.

Appendix G illustrates these eight indicators and the expected outcomes that community education programs (grantees) are required to follow (ED, 2012b, Urban Institute, 2013). *GPR* requires grantees to collect and measure data, and “PN Program implementation grantees must report on these measures as one of the requirements of their federal funding” (Urban Institute, 2013, p. 1). The ED provides some flexibility for PN Program grantees to set their own project indicators, and leaves room for community level grantees to formulate their own solutions and envision outcomes that would be unique to the type of project being offered at the community level (Urban Institute, 2013). This corresponds with the Place-Based strategy’s recognition of the uniqueness of each community. Although project indicators are specific to the community, there still remains a kind of universal

framework since *GPR*A measures are principal and overarching (ED, 2012a; Urban Institute, 2013).

Analysis of the eight *GPR*A indicators reveals how they reflect intended social and human capital outcomes. *GPR*A indicators presume social capital gains to achieve stable and safe communities with access to learning tools. Specifically, social inclusion and trust can be perceived through *GPR*A indicator 10, which states that students feel safe in their communities. *GPR*A indicator 15 states for students to have access to 21st century learning tools through internet and computing devices. Learning tools in turn can be seen to promote the acquisition of special skills, in that they provide exposure and options to a variety of learning methods. Further, the indicators repeatedly emphasize measures for young people's activities and results within the context of formal school, such as *GPR*A indicators 6, 14, and 15 which respectively address graduation rates, supportive discussions on the importance of college to career, and having both home and school access to up-to-date technology for learning purposes (ED, 2012a). Human capital development is therefore intended within these goals. The process of obtaining further education through recognizable qualifications seems to be primary to the Program. Outcomes are illustrated primarily through the pathways of formal school or job readiness— as discussed in the 'cradle to career' pathway. Behavioral or psychological indicators are not assessed more than what has been stated as 'students feel safe at school and in their community'. Also, relationships other than feelings of safety are not addressed. Thus, indicators that address further social capital considerations are not evident.

The Program's reliance on managerialist structures coupled with the aim to achieve expansive and in-depth goals requires governance that employs systems of accountability, accurate management and self-assessment to ensure that the Program is operating systematically and effectively. With various groups in the Program, some with competing interests as Krol (2011) explains, it is vital for Government

leaders to have “the final say in what programs are funded, based on the evidence of what truly works to meet the overarching goal of poverty reduction in these high-needs communities” (Krol, 2011, p. 5). While there is a strong imperative for leadership to effectively manage the Program, there has already been a noted weakness in the Government’s managerialist structure. A 2014 performance report¹⁴ entitled *Education Grants: Promise Neighborhoods Promotes Collaboration but Needs National Evaluation Plan (GAO Performance Report)* stated that:

[ED] has not developed an inventory of federal programs that could contribute to Promise program goals that it could share with planning and implementation grantees and use to make its own decisions about coordination across agencies (USGAO, 2014, p. 21) and;

Without a federal level inventory, [ED] is not well-positioned to support grantee efforts to identify other federal programs that could contribute to Promise program goals. Further, [ED] lacks complete information to inform decisions about future federal coordination efforts and identify potential fragmentation, overlap and duplication (USGAO, 2014, p. 24).

These quotes suggest that top-level management is experiencing difficulty in effective coordination. This may have an impact on levels below, which is examined further within the local level discussions of this thesis.

Whether the common metrics of success strategy (and corresponding *GPR*A measures) adequately identifies the primary needs of the community and can accomplish the goal of rigorous evaluation is debatable, as reflected in the *GAO Performance Report*. It questions the efficacy of how the strategy is implemented at the national level, stating that:

While [ED] is collecting a large amount of data from Promise grantees that was intended, in part to be used to evaluate the program, the [ED] offices responsible for program evaluation... have not yet determined whether or how they will evaluate the program (USGAO, 2014, p. 24).

¹⁴ The USGAO report conducted its performance audit of the PN Program February 2013-May 2014. Data was obtained through interviews with grantees, education officials, subject matter specialists from Promise Neighborhood Institute and technical assistance providers.

The *GAO Performance Report* also explained internal challenges between ED program evaluation offices regarding the analysis of longitudinal data, explaining that:

Grantees are also required to provide longitudinal data to [ED], which [ED] officials said they may use to create a restricted-use data set. [ED] currently does not have a plan for analyzing the data... restricted-use data set would only be made available to external researchers after [ED] determines that the data quality is adequate and appropriate for research (USGAO, 2014, p. 26); and

While [ED] recognizes the importance of evaluating the Promise program, they lack a plan to do so. If an evaluation is not conducted, [ED] will have limited information about the Promise program's success or the viability of the program's collaborative approach (USGAO, 2014, p. 27).

4.1.3. National Level Summary

The Place-Based, 'cradle to career' and monitoring and assessment strategies interconnect to activate the US national policy for the PN Program. They ultimately aim to build stronger schools through improving communities. Table 4.1 has been formulated to illustrate an overview of what the federal government aims to answer and address with its strategies. Working in tandem, the three strategies reflect important components of the Program. The common metrics of success uses technostructure for monitoring and measuring community-level program at intermittent time periods. The Place-Based strategy aims to have seamless coordination across and between several sectors. Furthermore, the strategy enables the ED to provide resources that can focus on the interactions between communities and schools (Tackett, 2012). The Brookings Institute, a nonprofit public policy think-tank institution, typecasts the PN Program (and HCZ) as being a 'Broader, Bolder Approach to Education' (Croft and Whitehurst, 2010). As such, it is questionable whether the strategy for monitoring and measuring can be applied to all PN communities, given the level of diversity that is encouraged.

| Strategy | Question |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Place-Based | WHO: Who is offered the NFE services? Who is helping to coordinate and implement the Program? |
| Cradle to College to Career | WHAT: What are the intended services? What is being assessed? |
| Monitoring and Assessment | HOW: How is the Program assessed? How are outcomes understood? |

Table 4.1: Overview of PN Program Strategies

An important question to consider is whether quality and/or intended outcomes could fall short of their expected goals due to PN Program’s scale. The flaws that have already been identified at the national level suggests that it can be problematic. According to the Policy Leader, some awarded programs are new, while in most cases, the remaining awarded programs have been previously operating. Therefore, grantees are enacting services at different stages of organization and implementation across the US. Because of the extensive framework, community level administrators have the opportunity and complex challenge to decide how they will enact the Program guidelines within their respective community. From this perspective, there is an ongoing challenge regarding how the mix of services can be organized and outcomes accurately measured at the national level (Smith, 2011). *Focusing on Result in Promise Neighborhoods: Recommendation of the Federal Initiative*, a 2010 discussion paper co-authored by HCZ, PolicyLink and The Center for the Study of Social Policy, provides a possible methodological focus that acknowledges the expansiveness of the Program and aims to address how to manage this characteristic. The paper recommends that community level grantees should focus on a core results framework. In summary, this focus recognizes that:

No community should be expected to aim for or achieve all of the core results at the start, since they span a period of child development from early childhood to college graduation. However, overtime, as communities put in place the full pipeline of opportunities, services, and supports for children, they would adopt more and more of these core results (Jean-Louis et al., 2010, p. 7).

This quote acknowledges the potential issues communities may face and provides a possible solution for translating federal goals at the local level. It also helps to direct the discussion of this research to the local level of the Program, found in the next section.

4.2. Local Level: Interpretations of National Strategies

Using the findings from the embedded case studies of Lennox and Santa Clara, section 4.2 discusses the influence and impact national level policy has on community (local) level implementation. Specifically, it examines the relationship between national level and local level through program administrators' interpretations of the Government's three strategies, and any ensuing challenges that have been experienced. For purposes of anonymity, the program administrators are called:

- Santa Clara Youth Center Program Director;
- Santa Clara Youth Center Case Worker;
- Santa Clara Youth Center Case Manager and Program Aid; and
- Lennox Program Director.

Section 4.2 also includes analysis of Lennox and Santa Clara grant proposals, which are the main documents that explain the Program's implementation plans within the community. With the aim to include more community level perspectives of the Program, section 4.2 also uses the *GAO Performance Report*. The report provides some additional findings from local level grantees across the nation.

4.2.1. Local Governance and Corresponding Management Structures

According to the Lennox grant proposal, the grantee is a prominent, higher education institution within the greater Lennox area. As a public sector body, the higher education institution has partnered with local nonprofit organizations, businesses and State agencies, the school district and philanthropic agencies to create the community education program:

The bulk of the managerial structure is [the grantee]. When I wrote [the grant], I tried to create a situation where we had co-managers in each of our service domains, and we still have quite a bit of that. There are organizations that are reactively involved like [name of a national organization] and some of their funded organization that do work in [Lennox]. But the key accountability is around our managers that work for [the grantee] (Program Director, Lennox).

Furthermore, the “collective community impact model,” as the Lennox grant proposal calls it, aims to have collaboration across a range of actors to provide physical locations, services, expertise, and/or deliverers for the community education program. Echoing the federal government’s macro-vision for American prominence, the Lennox grant proposal explains that PN Program’s intended work within the community is not only done through benevolence, but also aims to engage in collective leadership to ensure “America’s continued greatness.”

In the Santa Clara case study, the grantee is a local office of a nationwide, nonprofit organization in the USA. The office is located within the city-center of Santa Clara. With the federal grant money, a community center was subsequently established directly within the Promise Neighborhood community. As the lead applicant for the grant, the grantee is the fiscal agent, program planner and core entity for promoting collaborations. The grantee management team links with an advisory board; the board is comprised of churches, local government authorities, the school district, neighborhood associations and parents and other stakeholders. The board helps to assess and analyze the local needs of the community and create responsive solutions for young people living within this PN community. Additionally, the grantee emphasizes that as an initiative, it is the grantee’s partners who administer specific projects. Partners can be the school district, churches or local service providers. The option and use of contracting services with partners is an example of the community education program’s aim to promote the Place-Based strategy of collaboration. The PN Program in Santa Clara contracts with a local area provider, which is called

Youth Center in this research, which also demonstrates the Place-Based strategy of outsourcing services.

Overall, Lennox and Santa Clara present governance descriptions that reflect an aim to model managerialist structures and partnerships in line with the framework of the Place-Based strategy. The embedded case studies parallel national level ambitions to have bridging and linking social capital networks at the community level. Also, management responsibilities reside mainly with the grantee who is funded.

Therefore, other community entities serve as partners in subsidiary roles to the lead managing, entity (the grantee).

Along with the embedded case study findings, the *GAO Performance Report* provides a useful overview regarding how partnerships at the community level have been operating. The report is an audit of PN Program grantees throughout the USA. Its purpose included an assessment of the extent to which grants enabled collaboration at the local level and grantees' experiences through a nationwide web-based survey and site visits to 11 planning and implementation grantee locations. Regarding experiences with coordination practices, the report illustrates the following outcomes:

A significant majority of the grantees we interviewed stated that working with partners to establish common outcomes and strategies helped foster closer relationships between stakeholders in the community (USGAO, 2014, p. 29).

The report's findings are general, not providing a detailed description of the grantee's responses. However, the quote reveals community level perspectives that align with the Government's envisioned use of partnerships within its Place-Based strategy. Social capital networks were promoted at the community level through "closer relationships." Also, the *GAO Performance Report* explained:

Three of the eleven grantees we interviewed also stated that one of the benefits of working collaboratively was building relationships between school administrators (USGAO, 2014, p. 29).

This quote illustrates that there are instances where coordination is linking NFE and the formal school sector. These relationships could help to facilitate a greater merging between both sectors within the model of NFE. However, this quote also reveals that bridging closer relationships has been the minority experience, since eight grantees did not experience such relationships. This suggests that there could be possible challenges in the Place-Based strategy occurring across the nation.

4.2.2. Challenges in Implementing the Place-Based Strategy

The findings showed that principal challenges associated with translating the Place-Based strategy within the communities of Lennox and Santa Clara centered on trust, commitment and the lack of strong relationships. Primarily, these challenges created issues or tensions that hindered the establishment of effective partnerships and coordination with community members.

In Lennox, pre-existing social issues within the community had adverse effects on the implementation of Program goals. First, the challenge in attracting and retaining good leadership in PN Program schools represented a weakness in the communities' infrastructure that needed to be rectified foremost:

There's also been a challenge of getting a strong principal...an interim principal at [school name] essentially quit. So actually the place was amazingly well run because of the structures from the grant, and certainly not from the principal... And again the history is that in the high poverty schools, you're going to find your worst teachers (Program Director, Lennox).

The Lennox Program Director further explained how this challenge impeded progress in implementing the Program:

We could've made a whole lot more progress with a whole building of solid teachers as opposed to half. We would've had more progress if we had a principal that was actually an inspirational leader, as opposed to somebody that left in December. So you just can't get past the need for the solid fundamentals in teaching and school leadership (Program Director, Lennox).

As discussed in section 4.1, the federal strategy envisioned that using social and structural assets within the community would support coalescent networks of leadership. The impact of pre-existing deficits within community leadership was not initially considered and implementation was difficult as a result. The Lennox Program Director's statements raise an implication about whether the federal government effectively envisioned how to address foundational issues in community leadership. In conjunction with the Place Based strategy recognizing assets, there perhaps needed to be further federal consideration of the level of impact that issues within community institutions have had on hindering progress for program administrators.

The second pre-existing issue within Lennox was evident through the relationship between community members (parents) and the establishment (formal school and community organizations). Based on the interview with the Lennox Program Director, the community members have feelings of mistrust and experienced social exclusion:

...because most residents in [the named area] did not have successful academic experiences and their mindset about it is not so great...And so what you see across the United States is that parental involvement in high poverty schools is not very good (Program Director, Lennox); and

So you cannot [tell parents how to parent and share with them what the developmental benchmarks are for their children] without extremely good trusting relations. So we're really being super challenged to think about how to do that, because what we already know is that we are going to have to do training for families and friends that are taking care of these kids, and they have to be willing to open the door and get the training (Program Director, Lennox).

The Lennox Program Director's perspective seems to align with the view that anti-educational norms within communities have had a negative impact on the educational aspirations of community members (Halpern, 2005). Since the Lennox Program Director is a top-level actor within the managerial structure, rather than a community member, his perception could be one of an external person 'looking in

from the outside'. Therefore, his opinion may not represent the views of the community members.

The disconnect between community members and program administrators is further illustrated through differing opinions about how federal funding should be spent:

In the early stages of the grant, when it was announced that we got it...some people start imagining what they might do with some of that money... there were appeals, like some in the community were saying, you know, we need jobs. We need this and we need that.

...When you get the impression of community revitalization, that can lead to a million different possibilities that we would go with that. And so there has been a little bit, not extreme, but there's been a few cases where people didn't really understand what it was all about or what the Feds intended it to be about (Program Director, Lennox).

These findings show that national goals have not aligned with the more immediate or fundamental needs and perspectives of some community members. Also, there has been a lack of cohesiveness regarding what the Program's purpose should be within the community. Although physical organization occurred through group meetings, the social element of collaboration within the organized partnership did not seem to be fully present. This challenge may be in part due to an ineffectiveness of program administrators to communicate the relevancy of its aims to community members. Another perspective is that national aims do not effectively incorporate the primary needs of the distressed community. This latter point is reflected in the Lennox Program Director's stances that the "people didn't really understand" and that the assessment and monitoring standards are primary to the Program.

In Santa Clara as well, the national goal of seamless coordination and collaboration presented tensions. According to the Youth Center Director, there was a perceived breakdown in coordination between the Youth Center and the PN Program Director/Grantee. His explanation describes the relationship with the PN Program Director/Grantee:

We were supposed to have a meeting with the [named the PN Program Grantee] tomorrow so that we can sit down with them, my superiors, and we were going to show them all that [Youth Center name] does, everything we do. Some of the problems, some of the challenge we have with the [PN Program Director's name], is this. Simply they're not aware of all that we do... So we have to heighten their awareness (Youth Center Program Director, Santa Clara).

Furthermore, when referring to the management of PN Program, the Youth Center Program Director openly critiqued the PN Program Grantee's use of money. He rhetorically stated, "How is it that we can flood the community with mass amount of dollars and still have no turnout." These quotes raise important points about an ongoing lack of communicating desired goals and action plans between networks. The Youth Center Program Director's statements about having 'no turnout' reflects a similar challenge of not addressing the needs of the community members because he perceived that there has been limited outcomes as a result of the Program being disconnected from the norms and values of the community. Also, the Youth Center program administrators explained there has been an ongoing desire to extend the contract with the PN Program Grantee. However, there has been little follow through by the Grantee to promise an extended contract. The Youth Center Program Director conveyed that without effective coordination and resultant continuity in services, social and human capital gains from their projects run the risk of being diminished.

His claim may be true, since it was also a constant struggle for me, as the researcher to receive any firsthand information from the PN Program Grantee. At the same time, the PN Program Grantee's choice to discontinue the current contract with the Youth Center could still guarantee continuity for the overall national goals of the PN Program within the community since the Grantee could contract with someone else who can successfully provide services within the community. The Grantee's treatment of the Youth Center partnership, nevertheless, suggests that similar problems may occur with other contracting entities.

Like the Lennox case study, the issue of trust seems to be a challenge between Program partners and with community members in Santa Clara. The Youth Center Program Director explained that:

A lot of it boils down to trust. That's what it really boils down to. If the [PN Program Director's name] would run their collaboration with the [Youth Center name], they would find themselves very, very successful because the community trusts us...

But when it comes to the African-Americans and the minority of the Latino community, the [PN Program Director's name] doesn't have the relationship, and that's the difficulty that's going to be experienced (Youth Center Program Director, Santa Clara).

The lack of trust as a primary factor for the lack of coordination in Lennox and Santa Clara, implies that there could be a deficit or breakdown in the development of social capital within the partnerships formed by the Program, since trust is important within social capital. With sufficient social capital, trusting relationships could support dialogue and understanding between individuals. Also, the challenges at the community level support the Government's determination that social capital is a needed asset between community level groups, in order for the Program to operate seamlessly. Ultimately, this issue presents a difficulty in the goal of increasing community level social capital. If, as these findings suggest, developing social capital is impeded by persistent problems, then it will be challenging to develop more social capital.

Overall, the challenges experienced in implementing the Place-Based strategy in Lennox and Santa Clara may reveal an initial inference about the model of NFE for community education. Tensions between administrators and community members suggest that implementing a top-down model of NFE within the existing social climate may not be advantageous, because top-down relationships were initially strained and not ameliorated prior to the implementation of the Program. Despite searching, no data (e.g., personal reflections and joint meetings) was available to provide community members' perspectives on these issues. There can be several

interpretations why community member information is not available, one of which could be a matter of ethics— respectfully keeping community members’ identities private. Another perspective is that the voices of the community members have not been dominant narratives within the Program. With this latter interpretation, the community members would not be presented as primary actors within the model of NFE.

4.2.3. Translation of the ‘Cradle to College to Career’ Strategy

Based on the national level discussion, the ‘cradle to career’ strategy is about facilitating successful transitions primarily through formal pathways. This national goal incorporates a combination of social and human capital considerations and outcomes, with the ultimate aim to facilitate young people’s transitions into school or work. Translation of the strategy can be found within each case study’s grant proposal, which set out the implementation plans for the Program at the community level.

I. Social and Human Capital in Implementation Plans

The Lennox and Santa Clara grant proposals specifically reference the ‘cradle to college to career’ strategy. The proposals explain how they aim to align implementation plans with this national strategy through a continuum of services from early childhood to young adults (see Figure 4.2 on page 115). A look at the two plans shows that the Lennox local level strategy incorporates a phased approach that first focuses on directing most of its resources on implementing the early childhood and middle school cohort before the youth cohort. The Lennox Program Director substantiated this finding, stating that, “So as opposed to high school...which we still [are] going to do what we said in the grant, what we’re really focusing on is early childhood education.”

As a result, this implementation strategy mirrors what the PN Program Director conveyed in the earlier section regarding how many local level grantees first focus on

implementation plans for children. The Santa Clara grant proposal also has a phased approach to its continuum of services; however, the approach is not based on age, but rather sectors of the population. Within the first year of implementation, the Santa Clara plan focused on children and young people living within the PN neighborhood. During years two and three, plans later incorporate children and young people who live within the neighborhood and attend schools within the PN area. The contrast between these two grant proposals proves that local level grantees have exhibited the national intention to create plans they deem most effective within their community.

According to the Lennox grant proposal, implementation plans include mentoring, exposing students to career options, enabling confidence building and providing paid internships. Specifically, mentorship plans aim to build human and social capital. With the help of university mentors, high school students will see what college is like by attending informational classes. Included within the mentorship plans, there is specific targeting of Hispanic and African American young people, particularly males, who are considered most 'at-risk'. The plan selects higher education students of color to be peer mentors within the Promise Neighborhood. This plan aims to increase young students' social networks and build trust with institutions and college students beyond their immediate community. The plan also aims to build avenues of trust and/or social inclusion through the basis of a shared racial minority experience, or what Halpern (2005) describes as ethnic homogeneity in bridging social capital.

This approach can be interpreted as being narrow in its view of increasing social capital because it limits the opportunity of interactive experiences between youth and other college students, irrespective of race. According to Silverman (2004a), social capital should be seen beyond 'color lines' to build trust and transcend divisions that could be restrictive to the advancement of social networks. For these reasons, Silverman (2004a) argues that race based social capital should be a last resort for organizations/programs. However, social interactions that are predicated on shared identity can be beneficial because they can serve as an initial approach to developing

bridging social capital. This initial relationship could then be followed by social networks beyond color lines.

Goals for human capital development can also be seen in the Lennox plan to increase confidence and productivity through career opportunities. Also, there is the aim to improve high school drop-out rates; this corresponds with *GPR*A measure 6.¹⁵

Furthermore, plans to reach out to the parents aim to increase community engagement and could promote social inclusion. In this instance, such services use Coleman's (1988) concept of social capital, which argues that parents can serve to re-enforce societal norms through their closeness to community institutions. The challenges experienced in Lennox show that there have been difficulties in implementing this community engagement strategy.

Similar to the Lennox program, the Santa Clara program aims to build stronger schools and provide services within the community. According to the grant proposal, STEM activities use project-based learning and aim to equip young people with the necessary human capital skills that enhance successful transitions into college or a career. As a result, STEM aims to increase *GPR*A 15 measure of building technological capacities. The community component provides the opportunity for NFE for young people. For example, the community component aims to expand parent forums, home visits and have partnerships with area colleges. The community education program adopts the claim that improved neighborhoods in turn contribute to the improvement of low performing schools. Also similar to the Lennox case study, Santa Clara incorporates race as an important factor for social capital development for young people. The Youth Center Program Director explained this by stating that the projects:

...take [young people] out of the 10 block radius...Now they're exposed to agencies and organizations that we're connected to... And I'll be candid

¹⁵ *GPR*A measure 6 looks at graduation rates.

enough to say the minority Hispanic and African American, these folks are not normally exposed to a Caucasian or white population, business world. So they're exposed to a white population, business world (Youth Center Director, Santa Clara).

Incorporating the Place-Based strategy that uses existing community assets, the Santa Clara grant proposal claims to recognize initial social and human capital assets amongst and within individuals. This point is seen in the proposal's explanation that community members' insights and critique were incorporated within plans. As a result, the plan essentially claims to leverage neighborhood and community assets to coordinate social capital networks across an array of community service providers and community members. This is seen through five main implementation activities.

First, according to the grant proposal, local service providers are invited to present programs that are responsive to the needs of the community and can be incorporated into the Program. Second, recognizing that religion has a strong and consistent presence within the community, the program claims to have empowered local churches to become strong actors in helping to fill resource gaps as well as advisory positions. Third, the plan aims to establish parental support groups in order for parents to build networks within their community. Fourth, area businesses plan to provide paid internships for young people. These internships aim to help young people build social networks as well as increase skills within the workplace, which in turn supports the *GPRA 7* measure.¹⁶ Fifth, tapping into human resources within local institutions, the Santa Clara program aims to provide NFE services for young people, like tutoring and mentoring for college entrance tests for high school seniors (age 17-18).

The evidence presented in section 4.3 revisits these plans to discuss whether they have been addressed or achieved in Lennox and Santa Clara program practices. Already the research has shown that the Program plan to invite local service

¹⁶ *GPRA 7* is the number and percentage of students who are enrolled in college or university.

providers to present programs has happened through the contract between the Santa Clara Youth Center and PN Program Director.

II. Program Administrators' Views on Transitions

The interview responses of the program administrators in Lennox and Santa Clara reveal what they perceive to be key aspects about youth transitions. From the statements of the Lennox Program Director, he primarily explained transitions through formal school. As result of the school children participating in the Program, “standardized test scores were not amazing, but they were pretty decent” (Program Director, Lennox). He also stated that the Program’s mentoring project (designed to work with children after-school) was about “trying to focus on monitoring the kids’ ongoing progress in an intervening way and not trying to let kids fall through the cracks.” Since the mentoring services were primarily about trying to prevent children from leaving school, they are aimed at achieving transitions within the formal school. Even though the mentoring could also help children’s bridging social capital, the Lennox Program Director did not explain the success of the Program in this regard. Rather, he focused on human capital considerations of improved grades and increased skills to achieve the outcome of progression in the formal school system.

The Santa Clara Youth Center Case Manager and Program Aid described how the Program benefits young people’s transitions:

I think once they get those certifications, they are now able to be gainfully employed. Otherwise, they wouldn’t have. And I believe for some of them, otherwise, they would’ve never went back to school to get their high school diploma as well. So, I think of course their standard of living goes up, because now they’re employable (Youth Center Case Manager and Program Aid, Santa Clara).

Her statement communicates that increased human capital increases one’s quality of life and standard of living. Furthermore, the Youth Center Program Director stance is that in order for youth to realize successful transitions, building human capital

requires effective incorporation of what the theoretical framework (see Figure 2.2 on page 66) calls general and special skills:

You have to deal with them in the traditional sense, but you also have to deal with them in a non-traditional sense... You can give them the traditional training, but if you don't teach them anger management, if you don't teach them conflict resolution. Because they have grown up in that type of environment that has not produced that type of value system in them... if we do not give these inner-city persons all of the tools, then we're wasting their time and our time (Youth Center Director, Santa Clara).

The Youth Center Program Director illustrates the need of NFE for young people through "dealing with them in a non-traditional sense." NFE seems to be a beneficial form of learning within this community because it enables young people to acquire a diverse set of skills to help them to engage more fully in the learning process. While the Youth Center Program Director seems to understand the characteristics of a Program that is best suited for these young people, his position also seems to incorporate the deficit model when he communicates that the young people's environments lack good value systems.

The Lennox and Santa Clara program administrators' judgments provide insight into how the Program may be influenced and delivered as a result of administrators' views. Program administrators may impress their personal values and norms or ideas shaped by the federal authority, and perhaps at the expense of not recognizing and/or incorporating the values and assets young people already bring to the Program.

Therefore, although the Youth Center Program Director is aware of the value of NFE, his normative stance may thwart his perception of what services are actually most beneficial to deliver. As a result, such an approach would be what Martin (1987) described as stifling and regressive, because the values and norms of the youth and other community members are suppressed by macro-institutional standards and goals (Fukuyama, 2001; Martin, 1987; Schuller, 2003; Woolcock, 2000).

4.2.4. Implementation of the Monitoring and Assessment Strategy

The implementation plans discussed above helped to illustrate how the monitoring and assessment strategy is an important, interlinking strategy. This is shown through the *GPR*A indicators referenced throughout the plans. They are used to understand outcomes and seen as viable measurements to accomplish the ‘college to career’ strategy.

As the sole measurement and assessment strategy for the Program, it has major implications for how the Program interprets outcomes, youth transitions and overall success of the Program. Section 4.3 explains how this strategy is actually interpreted at the practice level and questions whether *GPR*A is indeed the optimal method of Program assessment. At the local administrative level, program administrators have expressed overall acceptance of this strategy. The Lennox Program Director explained his stance on how management incorporates monitoring aims:

...you got to manage results, or you don’t manage programs... So [the ED] are really pushing this notion of continuously monitoring the results and modifying and adjusting the program to do what is necessary (Program Director, Lennox).

As the Lennox Program Director explained, the *GPR*A “drive everything”:

They [the ED] have us set benchmarks and targets. And they have us work on those. We’ll recalibrate [benchmarks and targets] in the fall. We have performance agreements with specific implementers and the performance agreements... they trace back to the *GPR*A measures and they are specific as what they say they are going to do and the data they’re going to collect to ensure that they both apply the effort and they’ve had some impact (Program Director, Lennox).

The Lennox Program Director interview responses supports the national, technocratic construct of the PN Program and sees managerialism as an effective approach to help substantiate valid changes or improvements in more objective terms:

We’re constantly pushing on data, data, data, data, data, and that’s what needs to happen... That’s absolutely the right kind of focus... In regard to the grant

the articulation of those *GPR*A measures are really excellent in assuring accountability... [*GPR*A] are extremely detailed and on target (Program Director, Lennox).

Although the Lennox Program Director supports the technostructure, he also recognized the difficulty in adopting the approach when he stated that:

We're focused on a program. We do the program. We're ideologically driven. We think this is the right thing to do, we're working hard, but we're not managing results. We're managing the program...people just got to [monitor results], but that's hard for 99% of us, because we're all kind of used to managing our program as opposed to results (Program Director, Lennox)

The Lennox Program Director suggests a potential future challenge in evaluating the Program in Lennox. Since managers in Lennox are not used to the Government process of measuring, they may have issues in assessing outcomes in terms of federal monitoring practices and language. This presents a circumstance where Government plans, interpreted at the community level, may not create a situation where the Program can be enacted seamlessly. In this instance, non-alignment is at the managerial level, rather than with community members. This potential issue raises an important point made earlier within this chapter. Section 4.1 addressed the imperative for top-level management to be solidified in order for coordination efforts to run smoothly. In this regard, if top-level management in Lennox does not have a clear understanding of Government assessment strategies, then it could be problematic for delivering the Program and accurately assessing its outcomes at the community level.

The Santa Clara program administrators did not provide much response about their personal views of the monitoring and assessment strategy. They did, however, confirm that they are assessed and tracked by the national government. The Youth Center Case Manager and Program Aid explained they send data reports to the federal government and "the [federal government] can track and see how many people we have enrolled. How many received a high school diploma, certification. What type of social services we have provided to them as well. So all of that is

tracked.” After asking the Santa Clara program administrators whether they thought the national strategies were in line with the needs of the community, the Youth Center Case Manager and Program Aid answered, “From the federal level, yes, I would say that the grant is on target...” An added perspective, which generally illustrates varied levels of support for *GPRA* indicators across the nation, is presented by the *GAO Performance Report*:

Seven of the twelve implementation grantees we surveyed said the guidance documents... were extremely or very helpful, while four found it moderately helpful and one somewhat helpful (USGAO, 2014, p. 25).

The responses of the case study program administrators along with other grantees in the *GAO Performance Report* reflect the level of impact the strategy has within community planning. From the program administrators’ interpretation, they find no issue with the federal measurements and in fact, support them. This has implications for how Program practices are interpreted, since the strategy is highly quantitative and seems to focus on human capital. As a result, outcomes from the perspective of the program administrators are also interpreted mainly through this lens. This conclusion is also supported by the previous discussion in 4.2.4, where program administrators primarily conceive successful transitions through the scope of measurable, human capital outcomes.

4.2.5. Local Level Summary

The local level analysis of the Program found that implementation plans at the community level consistently aim to incorporate the three federal strategies. However, there have been challenges, mainly seen through implementing the Place-Based strategy and potentially within the monitoring and assessment strategy. Implementing a top-down model of NFE has created challenges primarily because there is not enough alignment between federal strategies and community member’s viewpoints. Despite the issue of alignment, program administrators in Lennox and Santa Clara still remain faithful to and concur with the federal government’s design of the Program. Their concurrence is reflected in each community’s grant proposals

and their responses about the Program. It is not surprising that the grant proposal would align with federal aims, since it is what each grantee submitted to the ED to receive federal funding. Nevertheless, program administrators' responses provided additional insight that revealed that they approve of the Government's ambitions for the Program. The program administrators seem to parallel the national importance placed on human capital outcomes to increase productivity for young people. Also, although there have been issues regarding networks and partnerships at the community level, it would seem that program administrators, especially in the Santa Clara case study, would agree with the federal imperative of strong partnerships.

The challenges discussed in 4.2.2 present questions of how social capital networks can flourish at the community level when community members' viewpoints may not be given the prioritization needed to accurately address the real concerns of their own community. This conclusion is reflected in, for example, the strained relationship between the Youth Center and the PN Program grantee as well as the lack of evidence provided to the public and researchers that would chronicle community members' role during the implementation of the Program.

Section 4.3 discusses if and how the Santa Clara's implementation plans are translated to practices and outcomes for young people, and how the Government strategies translate at the practice level. The Lennox program concentrated on middle childhood and had no data relating to young people, ages 16-24. Therefore, section 4.3 only uses data from Santa Clara. However, as section 4.2 demonstrated, the Lennox case study provided useful findings for the local level discussion.

4.3. Practices and Outcomes of Learning in Large Urban Area, Santa Clara

The Youth Center is a primary provider of NFE for youth within the community. According to the Youth Center Program Director, the Youth Center is located in a neighboring area to the Promise Neighborhood community, and many of the young

people who participate live within the Promise Neighborhood community. The Youth Center provides two projects that are linked with PN Program and specifically provide NFE for young people. The projects are named for purposes of this research, Job Training and Development (JTD), and STEAM Internship. Two young people from the JTD Project participated in a 1:1 interview. They have been given the pseudonyms, Jerome and Tanisha. Additionally, the Youth Center Program Director provided five scanned copies of reflection letters written by participating youth in the STEAM Internship. These five young people are given the pseudonyms, Tyrone, Amber, Brittney, Marvin and Charlene.

I. Job Training and Development Project

The JTD Project is a pilot project that began in 2012. The project is not newly formed or developed, rather it has been an ongoing project offered by the Youth Center. However, for purposes of the PN Program, it is considered a pilot project because since 2012, it has been funded by the PN grantee through a contract with the Youth Center as its local provider. The project focuses on getting young people engaged in school or work. Since the project helps young people who are not in work or school, it is completely alternative to formal education, reflecting Hoppers' (2006) descriptions of para-formal education and professional and vocational training as categorizations of NFE.

In general, the project provides job training, career exploration, education development and social services for a cohort of 22 participating youth. According to the Youth Center Program Director, the JTD Project:

Enables and empowers young people, minorities, that have fallen outside of the formal education center or arena I should say to come back into that association and go ahead and obtain a high school diploma by looking at their current credits and accreditation, and then pursuing whatever necessities in order to graduate from high school (Youth Center Program Director, Santa Clara); and

...it not only allows them to have a high school diploma, but there's an attachment to it. There's a skill acquired, a certification program that's

attached to the [program name] that allows them to obtain a skill set (Youth Center Program Director, Santa Clara).

The Youth Center Case Manager stated that the project targets youth who are “mostly at risk. Single, teenage parents, [and] ex offenders.” According to the Youth Center Program Director and Youth Center Case Manager and Program Aid, the Youth Center recruits young people through the court system, ‘word of mouth’ and by being an influential, visual presence within the community:

The community trusts us... We’re the organization that educate their kids that dropout of the mainstream system, from elementary to our junior high to our high school level. We’re the organization that runs the gamut that goes door to door to these homes, making contact with their parents... We have the relationship with the people in the community (Youth Center Director, Santa Clara).

The Youth Center Program Director revealed that the Youth Center is effective in reaching the young people because there exist high levels of the social capital component of trust between the Youth Center and the community members. The Youth Centre Director’s quote supports the conclusion presented in Chapter 2 that states that in order for social capital to build, there must be initial levels of trust. The two young people interviewed, Jerome and Tanisha, represent the ‘at-risk’ category described by the Government, program administrators and the grant proposal. They are both racial minorities, 20 years old and live in neighborhoods near the Promise Neighborhood community. Tanisha, a pregnant mother of two, heard about the project through ‘word of mouth’ by her cousin who attended previously. Jerome, who has a history of parental neglect and incarceration, was recruited into the project by his current case manager. Based on the evidence presented through the interviews, and the background of two youth interviewed, the Youth Center is successful in enrolling disadvantaged and vulnerable youth.

The project operates on a semester basis. Mondays through Thursdays, young adults have classroom instruction (at the Youth Center) and on Fridays they have practicum, which is working within the field. Youth can also attend a nearby community college

to receive certified skills training in construction (HVAC, plumbing and electrical work) and become familiar with the college atmosphere. These activities illustrate that youth are given the opportunity to build human capital. They also can build social capital through social networking at a college, therefore, expanding the notion of community beyond their geographic locale. The case managers explained that construction training is what is offered because this is what is in most demand within the area. However, in the future, they foresee that they will be offering training services in the health field. Currently, the project links young people with local construction companies and voluntary organizations, like Habitat for Humanity. This relationship aims to build not only social networks but also social inclusion through volunteerism and personal investment in community infrastructure.

Aligning with the national goals of the PN Program, the JTD Project also includes social services. Specifically, social services are provided through the support of case managers. Each young person is assigned a case manager who is responsible for providing social service needs and doing follow up services:

In addition to helping them obtain their high school diploma and a certification in construction, we also help them with social service needs. So if there's a participant that may need help with rent or food, we also help with those supportive services as well (Youth Center Case Manager and Program Aid, Santa Clara).

In response to how the case managers work with them, Tanisha answered:

Uhm, schooling, and you know, helping me get a job. Helping me do application and uhm...and what do you call those resumes... They call me a lot, you know, and make sure they're helping me out basically (Tanisha, Age 20, Santa Clara).

Jerome answered:

Really, it's...more than one person. They all call, see what I'm doing. See how I'm- if I'm gon' get a- if I have a job yet. Am I looking. Do I need one. They help (Jerome, Age 20, Santa Clara).

Also, in reference to getting into a Santa Clara college, outside of the Promise Neighborhood Jerome said, “Ohh, they help me get into it all. Anything I need, they’ll gonna help.”

According to the young people, case managers help them to acquire skills and function as a link to expand their networks. Both Jerome and Tanisha provided evidence that social and human capital outcomes are linked. Although both are currently unemployed and out of school, Tanisha and Jerome said that the Youth Center helped them find previous employment and continue to assist them in finding future work. On this point, Tanisha stated:

Well, they already started helping me. I just had to slow it down a little. But I’ve already been through the process of going to college and everything. So they’ve already helped with that pretty much. I just need to go up and follow up with that (Tanisha, Age 20, Santa Clara).

Jerome stated that what he gained from the project was:

Several trades, a high school diploma, a better way of thinking... I learned HVAC, plumbing, electric wiring, carpentry and several others (Jerome, Age 20, Santa Clara).

When Jerome was asked to further explain what he meant by ‘a better way of thinking’. He revealed that the project has helped to reform his behavior:

See you have groups. You have other people in the group so sometimes you can blow up. You gotta talk things over with somebody or, you know... It’s more than the aggressive manner, because I was taking the aggressive ways of things if I was angry. I was going to take the aggressive road. Now I just talk to ‘em... So they can laugh a little (Jerome, Age 20, Santa Clara).

While bridging and linking social capital was experienced for the youth through their connections with the program administrators and institutions outside their community, they also experienced human capital outcomes through building their skill sets and working and/or attending college classes. Tanisha and Jerome presented differing perspectives on social capital outcomes. First, based on their responses to one question, asked with the goal of deriving information about the bonding form of social capital, Tanisha and Jerome explained two different social

capital experiences within the same project. Tanisha explained that the project did not support meeting new friends and believed that it would be a better experience if the project included that activity. She also said during the interview that, “I’m quiet. I stay to myself.” On the other hand, Jerome seemed to have an outgoing personality and also explained during the interview that he met friends through the project. The difference between Tanisha and Jerome’s bonding social capital outcomes could be, in part, due to their subjective interpretations. Since bonding social capital includes building networks through friendships, achieving this outcome can be individualistically interpreted and driven by certain personality traits.

When I enquired whether they felt more socially included within their neighborhood as a result of the Program and if they have any critique of the Program, their responses also seemed to be a matter of personality and perception. Tanisha said:

I mean, I’ve always been an inside person. I don’t really get out much. So I see it as the same really; and

We did stuff, but it was like a lot of the same stuff. Maybe they could change it up and do something different. When we volunteered, we only went to like churches and stuff. Maybe get out a little more. That was really all (Tanisha, Age 20, Santa Clara).

At the same time, Tanisha’s response also suggests that the Program did not enable her to link extensively with different employees; therefore, the Program provided limited opportunities to diversify and expand her networks.

While Jerome’s response to the Program and feelings of social inclusion showed that his personality has been an important determinant in how he perceives relationships and opportunities:

I’ve always been an open minded person. I always feel like it’s more than a ghetto anyway, so they just open my mind to see it more, you know.

As a result, his feelings of social inclusion may or may not be a complete or direct credit to the Program. Both of the young people’s responses also reveal an important

idea that youth agency is a valuable component within the equation of determining outcomes. In conjunction with the NFE that the Program provides, young people's perspectives and personality also play an important role in the decisions they make and ultimately what outcomes they can experience.

Outcomes of the project were also presented through a 2012 monitoring report. This report was drafted by the Youth Center program administrators and submitted to the PN Program Director/Grantee. Ultimately, this report communicates outcomes in terms of measurable, data driven results that are related to the national *GPR*A. Specifically, the Santa Clara report looked at what it calls 'preparation items' and 'short and long term indicators of performance'. The preparation items could be interpreted as implementation plans and have social and human capital measures. The preparation items are listed as: receipt of job training activities; workforce preparation activities; post-secondary exploration and planning activities; mentoring activities; and health and supportive services. These categories show alignment with the national *GPR*A and implementation plans for the Program. The indicators of performance are modeled as measured outcomes and focus on human capital. The short term indicators are listed as: initial job placements; number obtained GED or high-school diploma; obtained certificate; and entered pre-apprenticeship. The long term indicators of performance are: placement in education or employment; attainment of degree or certificate; and literacy and numeracy attainment.

The report showed some evidence of the national indicators being achieved. Based on the short term indicators, of the 22 participants, 12 received initial job placements, 1 obtained a high school diploma or GED, and 1 entered vocational/occupational skills training. The report does not show any data on long term indicators of performance. Although the JTD Project was implemented with a focus on building both capitals, it does not formally assess (through its reporting methods) social capital outcomes.

II. STEAM Project

The Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts and Mathematics (STEAM) Project was a summer internship operated by the Youth Center through a contract and collaboration with the PN Program. The STEAM Project was a 6 weeks project for fifty 11th and 12th graders (approximately 16-18 years old) who live within the Promise Neighborhood area and may or may not be attending formal school. The young people voluntarily participated. They were recruited by word of mouth and Youth Center outreach throughout the community.

Based on the descriptions from the daily itinerary, the STEAM Project tried to provide a holistic set of activities that aimed to build and link human and social capital outcomes. The schedule included daily activities in matters like dress and appearance, financial literacy and management of saving plans. Also, on several occasions, guest speakers spoke about professional development and career exploration. Icebreakers and workshops amongst young people focused on sharing their dreams and goals after high school. As an internship project, youth were also given paid work assignments outside of the PN community. Young people visited local colleges and had an end of project field trip to another State to visit historic African-American colleges. This experience expanded their networks beyond their community setting, therefore, potentially provided them with the opportunity to develop bridging social capital. The description of the activities would seem to have a close relationship to what Hoppers' (2006) has categorized as 'personal development' NFE. As a result, it was not designed to be solely an alternative form of learning, like the JTD Project. Since the STEAM Project operated during the summer months and involved youth who were enrolled in school, NFE complementary or supplementary related to formal education, aiming to continue further engagement within formal school through college readiness activities.

At the end of the STEAM Project, youth were asked to submit written reflections to the Youth Center. Five written reflections were provided by the Youth Center

Program Director, four of which were essays while one was a short answer and survey that asked questions like: 1) How would you rate the overall performance of the Promise Neighborhood and Youth Center? 2) In what way was your academics affected based on your participation in the Promise Neighborhood and Youth Center Program? and 3) How would you say your understanding of STEAM careers is now that you have completed the internship? Analysis in this part has taken into consideration that these young people's reflections may have been limited or skewed by the instructions given to them. Furthermore, since there was a lack of anonymity, the responses may not have had full disclosure and/or these written reflections may have been selected by the program administrators, because they reflected the project in a positive way.

The responses of young people who participated in the STEAM Project included the following reflections. Amber wrote:

I had the chance to be a part of an internship. This program has help me learn how to conduct myself on a real worksite. It has taught me how to manage money...My job was to empower them with the games and activities. I was on my job and I had a whole team of interns working with me to make sure the children had things to do and place to go (Amber, Age 16-18, Santa Clara).

Amber's reflection revealed three outcomes associated with building human and social capital. First, her general skills were increased through learning how to interact with people by 'learning how to conduct' herself and how to manage the responsibilities of children on a job site. Second, learning how to manage money increased her numeracy skills. Third, working in groups with interns enabled her to have bonding social capital with her peers. Brittney wrote:

...on Friday's we have leadership development and then there's the job, which I worked at the [named worked site]...On the first Friday we went to [named center] where we learned about entrepreneurs. Another time we went to college cafe where they told us about the help they provide for our age group with children (Brittney, Age 16-18, Santa Clara).

Brittney's reflections reveal how her social networks were expanded through the college visits. She also gained work experience. Marvin wrote:

At the end of the day they took care of me and I really thank my managers for that... Day-by-day I was getting closer with my friends, parents and people... I learned that college is just not for sports it about education cause at first I thought that sports is all but I see you have to stay focus and reach your goal from this trip (Marvin, Age 16-18, Santa Clara).

Marvin's experiences showed essentially all forms of social capital outcomes.

Bonding, bridging and linking networks were experienced through his interactions with friends, parents and managers. Furthermore "getting closer" with the people "day-by-day" showed that through the project, his levels of trust and feelings of social inclusion increased. Furthermore, linking with managers and 'people' gave Marvin the opportunity to build more social networks. Charlene wrote:

My favorite part was when we had went to the college tour and went traveling on the bus (Charlene, Age 16-18, Santa Clara).

Similar to Brittney, Charlene's experience helped her to expand her networks beyond her community. As described previously, the college tour was a way to get young people thinking about their future while taking them out of their locale. Tyrone wrote:

The [STEAM Project] changed my point of view on working and how growing up can be hard or it can be easy because there is a lot of great jobs that is easy to get a hold to if you actually go out and look (Tyrone, Age 16-18, Santa Clara).

Although Tyrone does not explain any direct or explicit social or human capital outcomes, his reflections provide insight into how certain ways of thinking have changed for him. The impact of the project, could therefore, in turn affect his social and human capital outcomes. This includes, for instance, how he will socially engage within his community or seek job opportunities. As a result, the project presents a potential initial step to later social and human capital impacts in his life.

The written reflections describe personal experiences that encompass social bonding with peers, gaining work experience and networking with learning institutions and job sites. Also, they describe direct and positive correlations between human and social capital. The reflections reveal that participating in the project helped to enlighten and empower young people. They were exposed to new social experiences and realized how the value of work and learning can positively direct the trajectory of their own future. The young peoples' responses revealed that an effective model of NFE for community education should include supportive program administrators and people within their networks who not only consider the goals of work and school, but also help to expose them to new experiences of learning and social situations.

A 2014 Santa Clara neighborhood survey also provided some evidence of Program outcomes through residents' perceptions of the Program. Consultants from higher education institutions were used to conduct the survey, further demonstrating the Program's technocratic structure. They conducted a random sampling of the Promise Neighborhood area. In terms of education and work outcomes for youth, the report only provided information stating that residents read to their children and that a majority of them actively helped their children in high school prepare for college. However, the report did not indicate how the Program impacted rates of change in these behaviors nor did it provide further details about youth's perceptions of the Program. Another point is that the average age of the 361 respondents who completed the survey was 46.2 years old, with the minimum age being 19; therefore, there is an imbalance in accessing information from the youth cohort.

4.3.1. Program Practice Challenges

In conjunction with the top-down challenges that program administrators experienced with the PN Program, program practices revealed further challenges about the Program beyond its implementation stage.

Program practices revealed a challenge in dealing with some of the most vulnerable category of young people. These are young people who are not only economically deprived, but have also suffered abuse, neglect and/or have been incarcerated. The motivational levels of young people to fully take part in the Program continues to be a great challenge. The Youth Center provides an incentive of a stipend and case managers continuously follow up with young people. However, money seems to have its limits when it comes to affecting psychological motivations, and human contact can be difficult when young people are often times difficult to contact. Even through my visit to the Youth Center, I experienced this challenge. As described in Chapter 3, seven young people were scheduled to be interviewed; however, only two came and participated in the interviews. After several hours of waiting, the case managers tried to reach the other five young people, with no success. The decision was made ultimately that it was no longer necessary to wait. This situation prompted the program administrators to explain that nonattendance is not a new issue. The Youth Center Program Director stated his views about what helps to make young people more engaged and motivated within the Program:

People in the inner-city don't care about how much you know. They don't even care how much you have, in terms of money or what you can provide them. They care about how much you care...If they get a sense that you don't really care for them, they'll turn away and reject your money. But they know that our organization cares. They know that they're going to get an education. They know that they're going to get wrap-around social services. They know that they are going to get a case manager that cares about them and be committed to them personally and not just a job (Youth Center Program Director, Santa Clara).

The reason why there is this challenge of motivation is yet to be answered. What can be determined at this point is that the Youth Center does not seem to have a problem in recruiting young people within the community. Also, the Youth Center embraces the Program model of providing social services and work/training opportunities to help address the social and economic well-being of the young people within the community. As a result, the model aims to include different aspects of youth's needs. Perhaps the challenge has to do with deeply embedded structural issues within the

community framework. This seems to be a viable reason since, at the community level, there have been ongoing issues between community members and Program managers. Also, the Youth Center administrators communicated a lack of trust with the PN Program Grantee. With this picture of social disconnect at the administrative level, young people may also share feelings of mistrust for establishments and organizations that have been operating within their community. To further emphasize the Program's disconnect to the community, the Program lacks recognition from the very young people it aims to serve. Tanisha and Jerome expressed unawareness that services they received were due to PN Program's funding and collaboration with the Youth Center. In fact, Tanisha thought the PN Program is for younger kids, and she did not know much about its level of outreach to young people. Jerome explained that he was aware of PN Program's actions in rebuilding the neighborhood's infrastructure, but nothing further. Furthermore, the 2014 Santa Clara neighborhood survey also concluded that older residents are more familiar with the Program than younger residents.

Another issue found within practices is the unbalanced recognition of social and human capital. Across the macro and micro-level narrative of the PN Program, the research shows policy that prioritizes human capital over social capital. However, the young people showed that social capital is highly important within their experiences. Tanisha even expressed that she would have liked more opportunities to build relationships. Also, the young people in the STEAM Project expressed how much social capital was important to their overall well-being. Building human capital was considered by the Government as important; however, in practice, evidence of young people's transitions on the basis of human capital outcomes was not widespread. Particularly Tanisha and Jerome's unemployment status calls into question the sustainability of human capital outcomes in terms of long-term employment opportunities. Also, monitoring reports did not communicate whether the young people, in either project, gained sustainable employment. This argument about sustainable human capital and successful transitions is currently a conjecture

since evidence of long term employment would require long term data collection. Thus, it would be premature to definitively conclude that transition to work and sustainable employment are challenges for the Program and the youth.

4.4. Discussion of Research Questions

Section 4.4 finalizes the chapter by addressing 3 of the thesis' research questions. In so doing, it recaps and summarizes discussions presented throughout the chapter.

I. Research Question 1: How is the community education program developed from national policies and reflected at the community level, and what are the ensuing challenges?

The PN Program follows the traditions of historical narratives through its appropriation of previous political and community education frameworks. This story of continuation depicts how presidential administrations continue to believe in past policies and faithfully incorporate them as solutions to 21st century problems that persist in the USA. The model of NFE for community education, as a result, is developed from this paradigm.

A. Development from National Policy into Community Education Programs

The PN Program policy reflects the ongoing NFE discourse that community education remains broad and organic in its function, because it aims to consider the needs of each unique community (Bartholemeus, 2006; Gruenewald, 2003; McInerney, Smyth and Down, 2010; Smith, 2002a; Smith and Sobel, 2010). Within the model of NFE for community education, place and people are incorporated within the idea of community. As a result, the Program targets specific demographics as well as geographic areas. As evident through the discussions of Place-Based and monitoring and assessment strategies, the Government conceptualized a top-down, managerialist model of NFE that employs technocracy. To recap, this model was designed to ensure that Government strategies are followed,

coordination and partnerships are happening between actors and practices are effectively assessed.

With stronger schools as the central purpose of the PN Program, the Government perceives NFE and formal education as mutually reinforcing within the model. As a result, community education programs primarily have a supplementary or complementary relationship with formal schools. The option for NFE to have an alternative role with formal education is a possibility due to the Government's expectation that local level projects can work with young people in and out of school. This diversity in practice is further supported by the use of project indicators within the PN Program design, whereby it is the grantee that identifies solutions that will be enacted at the local level in order to achieve the national *GPR*A (ED, 2012a).

At the community level, the implementation plans remained faithful to the Government strategies and presented different projects with varied practices. These findings support the interpretation that NFE is flexible and adaptable to specific community footprints. Both PN Program grantees, as a part of the management structure, maintained control of the Program by determining expenditures and services. Within Santa Clara, the PN Program Grantee contracted its services with a local Youth Center who had prior experiences in the delivery of needed services for young people. Additionally, the young people in Santa Clara were given opportunities to learn vocational training and engage within the community while receiving needed social services. In Lennox, the PN Program grantee decided to operate the Program within the local school.

The consistent policy focus on ameliorating inequality for socio-economically disadvantaged populations has framed young people through a primary policy language of prevention and rehabilitation. Consistent throughout the policy language and local level implementation is the message of targeting 'distressed', 'disadvantaged' and 'at-risk' young people and their communities. The policies

position young people in two primary ways. First, the PN Program incorporates race when framing the narrative of distressed communities. Combining socio-economics status with race has implications for how the Program targets services at the community level. Both the Lennox and Santa Clara program plans incorporate race within planning structures, either through targeting minorities, mentioning them as an ‘at-risk’ category and/or offering services led by minorities. Given the historical issues and current state of race relations in the US, there might be added value to building social capital through common racial backgrounds because there may be some level of implicit trust within races. On the other hand, building capital through a racial paradigm can be restrictive and preclude diverse networks from developing. The Santa Clara Youth Center Director appears to agree with the second perspective since he believes that it is important to bridge young racial minorities with Caucasian populations, in order to provide more opportunities for them to progress within mainstream society. Overall, race is an ongoing, relevant factor tied to vulnerability, social relations and the lack of opportunity, even decades after LBJ’s State of the Union Address and the Civil Rights Movement. National policy therefore views community education programs as a way to deal with these inequalities.

Second, youth development is framed through the lens of developing youth's skills to support a robust, national workforce. As a result, the community education program aims to facilitate successful youth transitions through work and/or school, and include social services to employ preventative measures for young people. The ‘cradle to college to career’ strategy reflects these aims. At the community level, implementation plans and program administrators discuss transitions and outcomes in terms of these national measures, as they communicate direct adherence to federal standards and stress human capital outcomes.

Overall, the model of NFE for community education was not altered at the community level since program administrators and implementation plans aimed to translate Government goals and strategies. Program administrators critiqued issues

existing at the local level but did not see areas of improvement for the Government. This further reflects their concurrence with the Government.

B. Primary Challenges

Challenges and issues throughout the chapter show that overarching, Government level priorities do not always align with community perspectives. This has occurred, in part, by Government assumptions that have inadequately addressed embedded issues within the community, local level challenges in implementing the strategies and the emphasis of certain plans over others, which seem to minimize or even neglect social capital considerations.

The first challenge was about establishing and maintaining relationships between actors. The research found that the Place-Based strategy suffered from weaknesses in establishing partnerships at different levels. Translating top-level norms to community level practices in Lennox and Santa Clara was difficult since community members as well as program administrators had to replace or merge norms already embedded within their structure. Furthermore, at the administrative level, there was a breakdown in trust between the Youth Center program administrators and the PN Program grantee in Santa Clara. As a result, networks experienced strained relationships.

The second challenge stemmed from the community members and program administrators' perceptions about each other. These perceptions impacted strategies and projects that were to be delivered within the communities. Ultimately, the Government and program administrators' primary view of communities as 'distressed' in conjunction with not fully incorporating the concept of community as a value, resulted in community values and norms not adequately incorporated. Resulting implementation plans were constructed through a primary perception of acting for and upon communities rather than with communities. Since community values were not fully integrated into the Program implementation, there was

disagreement and distrust from community members towards program administrators. Related to this second challenge is the Program's perception of young people within the community. The Government's perception of youth played an integral role within this challenge. Since youth perspectives were not considered as central during the planning and implementation phases of the Program, projects delivered at the local level have not fully understood what NFE services would be optimal in addressing the actual needs and interests of young people. Seeing young people through a deficit perspective, Program planners focused primarily on how to build youth's human capital in order to rectify issues within their school performance.

A third challenge, also reflected throughout the discussions of the next two research questions, is enacting the monitoring and assessment strategy. At all levels of the Program, there have been issues in how to assess and monitor data, determine how networks can be built within and between groups and measure developments within both areas. These challenges centered on flaws within management structures and the need for the strategy to address more closely the needs of the youth at the community level.

II. Research Question 2: How are social and human capital theories reflected in the way that national governments operationalize the model of NFE?

A direct correlation between human and social capital development is reflected in policy language, which mirrors Coleman's conceptualization of a mutually beneficial relationship between both capitals (Coleman, 1988). Also, the classical input-output model of human capital of Becker's (1962, 1964) traditional conceptualization of human capital theory is perceived in policies through the acquisition of skills and qualities that help to progress young people's transitions into work, training and/or formal education. The Government concludes that individual and community level outcomes will aggregate to achieve its macro-level, overarching goal of improving the geo-political status and economic health of the nation.

In more detail, social capital outcomes for communities are perceived to increase the effectiveness of Program goals through correctly managed partnerships and activating assets within the community. The Program acknowledges initial social and human capital assets within community institutions and parents. Social capital is primarily conceptualized at the community level whereby social assets are employed between community members and program administrators to help implement the Program. Despite the recognition of social assets within the community, it would seem that further effort could be taken to adequately identify the extent to which these assets exist. In so doing, community assets could be more integrated and partnerships could operate more seamlessly.

Along with initial social capital assumed, initial levels of human capital are assumed at the community level since program administrators bring knowledge and skills to the Program. However, policy language and program administrators also describe a perception of social and human capital deficits within the youth and parents of the community. The duality is exemplified through policy language aiming to employ initial community assets by forming parent groups to help expand the Program; while, at the same time, there is a notion of ‘distressed communities’, anti-educational norms (perceived by the Lennox and Santa Clara Program Directors), and youth as a deficit. This paradox could be as a result of parents and community institutions being unsuccessful in transferring their own capital to youth through unsuccessful networks and relationships. This would cause an imbalance between levels of social and human capital between young people and their parents and/or community institutions. Another explanation for this duality is that policy language reflects a miscalculation of the initial levels of human and social capital or how they translate between levels. To recall, these issues were reflected in the challenges presented at the community level. In Lennox, management has not been entirely clear about how to use monitoring strategies. Also, initial levels of social capital at the leadership level were also at a deficit. This was illustrated through the Lennox

example of not having quality principals initially within the schools as well as a breakdown in trust between the Youth Center and PN Program Grantee in Santa Clara.

Furthermore, policy language identifies social capital at the community level, but does not address the extent to which social capital outcomes can be experienced as outcomes of learning for young people. Human capital development for young people seems to be stressed and described at greater length. Repetition and elaboration of human capital outcomes, such as skills development, employment and graduation rates, are expressed throughout implementation plans. This may be because focusing on human capital outcomes seems to be an efficient, manageable way for program administrators and policy makers to validate projects and assess outcomes. Since human capital is not the only factor that helps to understand social and economic goals and progress (Halpern, 2005; Schuller, 2005), further understanding of how social capital outcomes can affect or influence overall outcomes may be overlooked. Schuller's (1996, p. 3) conclusions helps to substantiate this point when he argues that education seen solely as an investment (an instrument of human capital) "cast[s] a shadow over forms of learning, which cannot adequately prove they are a profitable investment." In so doing, forms of learning that promote social capital can be neglected.

Without negating the benefits of the economic perspective to development, the PN Program does not seem to perceive youth through the prism of a youth development discourse that would help to cultivate plans to increase youth agency beyond an economic scope (Ferber, Pittman and Marshall, 2002, Fernandes-Alacantha, 2012, Pittman, Irba and Ferber, 2001). Also, based on policy language, youth are not primarily perceived as an influential resource that can build stronger communities through democratic action and further civic engagement (Ferber, Pittman and Marshall, 2002). If these other perspectives were used in conjunction with the current Government conceptualization it could result in further understanding how

social capital, as well as human capital, could be used to address and identify outcomes.

III. Research Question 3: To what extent is there evidence for human and social capital development in the community education program?

From Government and administrative perspectives, strategies present straightforward, technocratic means to determine and assess outcomes. The response to research question 2 discussed how and why planned methods address human and social capital development, with more emphasis placed on human capital development for young people. However, findings and analysis show that the relationship between human and social capital, reflected in policy, presents a complex and obfuscated picture of how to measure outcomes. To what degree social and human capital development is linked and to what extent each play a role remains unclear and highly dependent upon context and interpretation, as reflected in the embedded case study interview responses as well as the *GAO Performance Report*.

Although Government policy and local administrators seem to emphasize human capital, Santa Clara findings showed that social capital development for young people was very important to their positive experiences. Making friends, networking with organizations beyond their community and remaining in contact with the program administrators were some examples of outcomes that were repeatedly emphasized throughout the young people's responses and reflections. Even with these expressed outcomes, Tanisha revealed a desire for the Program to provide even more opportunities to increase social capital development. This perhaps reflects a desire from youth for the Program to provide further opportunities for social capital development. Therefore, while the Program has presented a narrative in which human capital development is what primarily provides and represents successful outcomes for young people, in actuality, young people have illustrated the importance of social capital in this equation.

As previously discussed, the aim to build social capital networks between and amongst program administrators and community members through increased partnerships was evident, but there were challenges that hindered further development of social capital at this level.

Human capital outcomes, from the perspective of young people, were conveyed through employment and internship opportunities and general skills development (such as learning how to communicate with others). The Santa Clara monitoring report communicated few human capital outcomes for the JTD project. With the Program's effort and focus on designing and expertly measuring human capital, one would expect greater evidence of human capital outcomes. Currently, this has not been the case, as evidenced through the limited outcomes of the monitoring report, the neighborhood survey and Tanisha and Jerome who had previous employment, but were not employed during the time of the interview. Furthermore, the experiences of the young people within the STEAM Project did not reveal whether the project helped them to actually transition into sustainable schooling or employment. These findings may be as a result of the relative newness of the Program; therefore, more time would be needed to determine whether outcomes are achieved and/or sustainable.

It is evident there has been social and human capital developments as a result of the Program, but more developments could have been experienced if challenges were addressed. Furthermore, more time is required to fully assess the impact of human and social capital development.

4.5. Conclusions

Chapter 4 examined how the community education program, PN Program, was developed at the national level, translated at the community level and experienced through practices and outcomes. Through this exercise, overall conclusions can be

made about the PN Program. The Program presents an extensive and promising model with resources and plans that can garner development within the communities it aims to serve. There have been issues present at all levels of the case study, which have created challenges and tensions during implementation. Also, while human capital development is inarguably an important factor for an individual and the overall growth of a nation, its combined importance with social capital development is a factor to further consider throughout all levels of the Program.

In a similar macro to micro level fashion, Chapter 5 examines the Scotland case study.

Chapter 5: Case Study Two: Youth Work in Community Learning and Development, Scotland- *Findings and Analysis*

Chapter 5 discusses the findings and analysis of the Scottish case study, Youth Work in CLD. Since Youth Work in CLD operates within the broader context of CLD, the chapter begins with the national framework of CLD, and then narrows the discussion to pertinent Youth Work CLD policies, guidance and strategies. Thereafter, Chapter 5 presents the findings and analysis of the local level, using two embedded case studies. The theoretical framework is applied throughout this chapter to help shape the overall narrative of the Scottish case study. This chapter ultimately aims to address the research questions:

Research Question 1: How is the community education program developed from national policies and reflected at the community level, and what are the ensuing challenges?

Research Question 2: How are social and human capital theories reflected in the way that national governments operationalize the model of NFE?

Research Question 3: To what extent is there evidence for human and social capital development in the community education program?

5.1. National Level

Section 5.1 is based on the analysis of national policy documents, an interview with a senior CLD Policy Leader at Education Scotland and CLD government documents. For purposes of anonymity, the policy leader is called, CLD Policy Leader. The analysis is also supported by discussions from Chapter 2 and the publications of key CLD partners, like YouthLink and Youth Scotland.

The CLD sector represents an amalgam of identities, found in its multi-faceted status as a profession, practice, value and concept (Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan, 2012; Wallace, 2008; Walter-Scott and Delaney, 2009). To further illustrate this point,

when the CLD Policy Leader was asked whether CLD is conceptualized as a concept, a way of practice and/or a technique, she replied:

I think everything. I think since being involved in CLD way back in the day... It was really, really difficult to define as a concept or a way of working. However, it is a profession. I think it's very much a profession (CLD Policy Leader, Education Scotland).

Her statement helps to clarify what CLD is, but at the same time shows how CLD has been evolving and embodies multiple interpretations. CLD objectives and strategies represent these interpretations and are ultimately subject to political agendas.

5.1.1. Policy Context

The *National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019* explains the overarching goals for Youth Work in CLD; its focus and aims are said to be embedded throughout applicable policies. These policies are discussed in this chapter. It states that young people should be empowered, active participants. Furthermore, it explains that partnerships between key service providers, schools, young people and other sectors are necessary for increased engagement in the sector and ultimately improving young people's life chances (The Scottish Government, Youth Link and Education Scotland, 2014).

The *Working and learning together to build stronger communities (WALT)* (The Scottish Executive and Communities Scotland, 2004) and *Strategic Guidance for Community Planning Partnerships: Community Learning and Development (Strategic Guidance)* (The Scottish Government, 2012e), led by the National Performance Framework (NPF),¹⁷ aim to define the policy context for CLD (CLD Policy Leader; Education Scotland, 2014d). They are, therefore, conceptualized as primary policy documents for CLD within this research.

¹⁷ The National Performance Framework is a single framework in which all public services in Scotland are aligned (The Scottish Government, 2015a).

Furthermore, since CLD is part of the lifelong learning provision in Scotland, it can be found within several strategies and policies relating to education. Some of these strategies cover broad areas of education that take place in schools, colleges and communities while others are more strongly focused on the contribution that CLD can make. As a result of the diverse raft of policies related to CLD, interview responses, CLD partners' websites and the *National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019* guided the selection of which documents to analyze and which are pertinent to Youth Work in CLD. The CLD Policy Leader stated:

[The youth strategies] are very much in harmony with *Getting it Right for Every Child* and young person. I think within that, those goals are ambitious and are very much what CLD as a profession prescribes (CLD Policy Leader, Education Scotland); and

Well, we're working closely with *Curriculum for Excellence*, because that is underpinning... It's very much about being a driver of where youth work particularly has a huge role to play and does play; and then that's where things like *Opportunities for All* and *Skills for Scotland* are also tied into it and related (CLD Policy Leader, Education Scotland).

Her input overlaps with the policy and strategies identified by YouthLink Scotland (2015) and Education Scotland (2013b) as well as the program administrators' in the Daniels and Dockline. They stated that:

More Choices, More Chances, which is the key strategy... Making sure we're providing more choices and more chances to the most vulnerable of young people to move into employment, training or more further education. And obviously *Getting it Right for Every Child...Skills for Scotland...* In addition, there's all the employability side-economic development side, there's a whole raft, of things like the Wood Commission¹⁸ (Program Manager, Daniels); and

There's a new one, the Wood Commission... We've got the *Opportunities for All...* which is a government program. *GIRFEC* does impact in terms of working alongside that young person... The work that we're doing at that foundational level is really guided by 16+ Activity Agreements (CLD Officer, Dockline).

¹⁸ The Wood Commission document is formally known as *Education for All!: Working for Developing Scotland's Young Workforce*.

Furthermore, the *National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019* explains that the *Strategic Guidance, GIRFEC, Curriculum for Excellence, Opportunities for All, More Choices, More Chances* as well as policies that support developing Scotland's workforce are "key areas that those working with young people in any setting should be aware of and take into consideration when planning and delivering work to achieve better outcomes for young people" (The Scottish Government, Youth Link and Education Scotland, 2014, p. 10).

As a result, along with *WALT* and the *Strategic Guidance*, the following policy documents were selected for review in this chapter:

- *Curriculum for Excellence (CfE or Curriculum for Excellence)*;
- *Education for All!: Working for Developing Scotland's Young Workforce (Education for All)*;
- *Getting it Right for Every Child (GIRFEC)*;
- *More Choices, More Chances: A Strategy to Reduce the Proportion of Young People not in Education, Employment or Training in Scotland (More Choices, More Chances or MCMC)*;
- *Opportunities for All: Supporting all young people to participate in post-16 learning, training or work (Opportunities for All)*; and
- *Skills for Scotland: A Lifelong Learning Skills Strategy (Skills for Scotland)*.

I. Underpinning Policies: WALT and the Strategic Guidance

WALT sets out the broad focus of CLD, and has three components— achievement through learning for adults, young people and building community capacity (The Scottish Executive and Communities Scotland, 2004). Additionally, according to Education Scotland, the *Strategic Guidance* is the “foundational policy document for all aspects of CLD... It sets out the purpose and outcomes of CLD, the kinds of activity this term includes and the partners who should be involved” (Education Scotland, 2015b).

Since this thesis is about young people, it focuses on *WALT*'s national priority for young people:

Engaging with young people to facilitate their personal, social and educational development and enable them to gain a voice, influence and a place in society (The Scottish Executive and Community Scotland, 2004, p. 1).

Enunciating goals of development, participation and increased democracy through young people gaining a “voice, influence and place in society,” the priority seems to remain faithful to the formative principles of empowerment, participation, inclusion and self-determination (The Scottish Government, 2012e). Outcomes of learning for young people are promoted through a relationship of cooperation with young people, illustrated by the phrase “engaging with.” This portion of the guidance language communicates a youth development discourse through a message of empowerment.

Supporting an argument made in Chapter 2 about youth policy in the UK (Bradford, 2005; Fyfe, 2010; Jeffs and Smith, 2010; Mannion, 2005), the overtone of this national priority is about social inclusion, especially for vulnerable and disadvantaged youth. This is exemplified in the document's aim to close the opportunity gap between “disadvantaged communities and the rest of the population” (The Scottish Executive and Communities Scotland, 2004, p. 11). This quote suggests that although there is a premise of social inclusion, there is also an added perspective of labeling disadvantaged communities as separate, rather than viewing them as a part of collective society having various socio-economic demographics. Additionally, from this phrase, communities are interpreted on the primary basis of place, more specifically place is considered through socio-economic indicators. Another example that communicates the overall policy narrative of social inclusion as well as the implicit connotation of vulnerable/disadvantaged youth as ‘other’ or ‘different’ is found within the following excerpt:

CLD makes an important contribution to preventing anti-social behaviour. By providing...young people, with lifelong learning opportunities aimed at helping them fulfill their individual potential and make a positive

contribution to their communities, CLD can help prevent anti-social behaviour. By building community confidence, skills and understanding, CLD can develop the social cohesion required to ensure that anti-social behaviour does not take a hold (The Scottish Executive and Communities Scotland, 2004, p. 11).

Employing a policy language of prevention, the quote depicts young people through the perspective of being at-risk and at a deficit. Therefore, social capital and human capital development, as seen in the phrase “building community confidence and skills,” are conceived to help prevent social exclusion. Furthermore, repeatedly depicting the prevention of young people’s anti-social behaviors connotes a perspective that vulnerable and disadvantaged young people are in opposition to mainstream, social norms.

Social capital, at a community level, is also explicitly referenced in the *WALT* when it states that it “sees CLD as central to social capital— a way of working with communities to increase the skills, confidence, networks and resources they need to tackle problems and grasp opportunities” (The Scottish Executive and Communities Scotland, 2004, p. 1). *WALT* further explains that social capital outcomes are conceptualized in four ways: 1) more organized and influential communities; 2) more skilled communities with better access to education; 3) communities with better access to resources and more control over assets; and 4) more inclusive communities with wider involvement (The Scottish Executive and Communities Scotland, 2004, p. 31). As a result, there is a presumptive direct correlation between community and individual levels of capital development. It concludes that more empowered and skilled individuals will yield more empowered and skilled communities. Community level social capital is also perceived to galvanize resources and networks in order to build individual level social capital. Although the *WALT* solely states social capital outcomes, it implicitly merges them with human capital outcomes through the statements, “more skilled communities” and “increasing confidence.”

The *Strategic Guidance* also states the core principles of social inclusion and learning through personal development, empowerment and active citizenship (CLD Policy Leader). The *Strategic Guidance* also focuses on CLD as a mode of prevention because “CLD practitioners prioritise preventative measures, work to reduce inequality and target underlying causes of inter-generational deprivation and low aspiration” (The Scottish Government, 2012e, p. 5). Furthermore, the *Strategic Guidance* (along with *WALT*) aims to promote stronger, more resilient, supportive, influential and inclusive communities (CLD Policy Leader; The Scottish Executive and Communities Scotland, 2004; The Scottish Government, 2012e). These aims present policy language that is normative and values based, as they require further inquiry into, for instance, what “more resilient or influential” communities would actually look like.

Another component of the *Strategic Guidance* is the importance it places on establishing the management side of CLD. The CLD Policy Leader explained this imperative saying that the *Strategic Guidance* is “very much this shift into partnership working.” The CLD Policy Leader further explained that:

[The Government is] about promoting...and raising the profile of CLD... We are working with our partners and national agencies-YouthLink and YoungScot and Youth Scotland-to implement the actions in the youth work strategy. So that’s very much our role, as making sure that the implementation phase happens not just writing the policy. But working with partners to do that because there’s lots of partnership around that (CLD Policy Leader, Education Scotland).

According to the *Strategic Guidance*, it is the responsibility of the local authority to provide clear leadership and direction by having a defined framework for planning and delivering CLD at the local level. The *Strategic Guidance* claims that in an effort to maximize the impact of CLD, Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs) are responsible for setting clear and measurable targets for CLD national priorities, through developing the CLD strategy and monitoring its progress. The *Strategic Guidance* also states that CPPs should ensure that CLD providers are part of the planning and reporting process supporting Single Outcome Agreements (SOAs), with

particular attention paid to local indicators (The Scottish Government, 2012e).¹⁹ Furthermore, the *Strategic Guidance* concludes that existing social capital networks are necessary to activate these partnerships, since CPPs, for instance, need to be set in place in order for CLD to function at the community level.

In summary, the *WALT* and *Strategic Guidance* consistently reference each other and concur on an overarching vision for CLD. Both documents provide evidence to help illustrate the model of NFE for community education, in that they stress the pertinence of CLD for targeting vulnerable and disadvantaged youth in order to provide them with opportunities for social and economic advancement (The Scottish, Executive and Communities Scotland, 2004; The Scottish Government, 2012e). The *WALT* and *Strategic Guidance* also employ social capital to promote multi-sector partnerships and prescribe the roles and responsibilities for local authorities within these partnerships.

II. Monitoring and Evaluation

Found within *WALT* and the *Strategic Guidance*, is the new outcomes-based focus that sets out CLD's monitoring and evaluation approach. The outcomes based focus is different from the past "when the focus was often on what you did, how you spent money and what activities took place" (Education Scotland, 2014e). Chapter 2 explained how researchers have perceived this new focus as a shift away from the ideological principles of CLD. The new prioritization has invariably influenced the creation of strategy documents that aim to measure and evaluate outcomes and impacts. These outcomes and impacts aim to more clearly communicate the purpose, recognition and credibility of lifelong learning strategies through NFE (Gillies, 2008; Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan, 2012; Tett, 2010; Weedon et al., 2010).

The *National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019* explains that "Education Scotland will ensure that the approaches and tools we promote... are reviewed regularly and

¹⁹ CPPs and SOAs are discussed in Chapter 2.

updated to ensure they are fit for purpose” (The Scottish Government, Youth Link and Education Scotland, 2014, p. 17). Education Scotland identifies three monitoring and evaluation frameworks that include the outcomes-based targeted strategies and guidelines; they are: 1) *How Good is Our Community Learning and Development (2)? (How Good is Our CLD 2)* (HMIE, 2006); 2) *Delivering Change* (Communities Scotland, n.d.); and 3) *Learning Evaluation and Planning (LEAP)* (The Scottish Government, 2007a).

The Government requires local authorities to lead the development of CLD strategies for monitoring and evaluation. It relies on information gathered from stakeholders to monitor and evaluate programs at the community level. HMIE along with another body (Learning and Teaching Scotland) were subsumed under Education Scotland. Although within Education Scotland, HMIE’s former roles remain intact (CLD Policy Leader; Education Scotland et al., 2012). HMIE has a responsibility to evaluate how well CLD provision meets the needs of young people, and their inspections form part of the evidence for local self-evaluation. Inspection by HMIE follows the same framework as the self-evaluative process. “Inspectors will gather evidence, make professional evaluations using the quality and performance indicators...” (HMIE, 2006, p. 14).

Also, Education Scotland briefly announced in 2015 that they are currently reviewing the inspection process, and will have new inspection ‘try-outs’ starting late autumn 2015 (Education Scotland, 2015a). These updates to the inspection process may change the functions of HMIE and/or inspection roles or purposes within communities. These future changes may signal changes towards a different type of evaluation, for example, evaluation may become more target driven.

How Good is Our CLD 2 states that it does “not see evaluation as a technical process” (HMIE, 2006, p. 10). As a result, it uses a qualitative scale to evaluate overall performance of CLD, inclusive of youth outcomes. The qualitative scale

applies the labels: excellent; very good; adequate; weak; and unsatisfactory to CLD performance. Appendix H shows how quality and performance indicators are incorporated to determine where CLD practices fall within the scale (HMIE, 2006). Review of these indicators further explain the self-evaluative process, as they use a series of reflective questions for CLD providers, such as “What key outcomes have we achieved?”, “How well do we meet the needs of our stakeholders” and “How good is our delivery of key processes” (HMIE, 2006, pp. 20-22).

Through these questions, there is an intention to facilitate engaging and reflective dialogue amongst CLD providers. These questions are associated with what are called indicative themes; indicative themes seem to emphasize social capital considerations for young people as well as the community. For example, there is consistent focus on building relationships, levels of engagement and promoting social inclusion through indicators like “relationships with participants that support learning/development” and “building effective relationships with participants” (HMIE, 2006, pp. 20-24). Additionally, there is opportunity for community practitioners to evaluate human capital outcomes through indicators that focus on progressions and collate quantitative and qualitative data to evaluate achievement and attainment.

Delivering Change also helps to explain that desired outcomes include attaining the capacities of *Curriculum for Excellence*²⁰, which are confident individuals, effective contributors, responsible citizens, useful learners and skilled and active members of the community (Education Scotland, 2014f). The document describes that expected outcomes include using ICT, applying numeracy to solve problems, present information and communicate with others (Communities Scotland, n.d., p. 19). In these examples, *Delivering Change* demonstrates an interest in skills development.

²⁰ *Curriculum for Excellence* is discussed later in this chapter.

The *LEAP* demonstrates that there is variability within the Government's monitoring and evaluation strategy because it aims to be needs-led and remain flexible to changing social factors that cannot be preconceived:

...because the way in which activity develops is often unpredictable we will need to think broadly about the kind of information that will provide convincing evidence that outcomes are being achieved. It is important to take this broad view rather than commit ourselves in advance to specific indicators which might turn out not to be relevant (The Scottish Government, 2007a, pp. 31-32)

Overall, the three frameworks—*How Good is Our CLD (2)?*, *Delivering Change* and *LEAP*— aim to evaluate both human and social capital outcomes for youth. These documents indicate that evaluating human and social capital development is too variable to be universally applied and measured across Scotland. As a result, the strategy promotes flexible, self-evaluation for monitoring and evaluating outcomes and impacts at the community level. This quote further illustrates this point:

There are lots of different frameworks for monitoring and evaluating community capacity building activity in operation at a local level... It provides a system for recording quantitative and qualitative information relating to participation, retention, progression and achievement (Education Scotland, 2014b).

Policy language, resultantly, gives community practitioners a level of autonomy to determine what outcomes and impacts are best measured within their communities. Community practitioners may opt to focus on human capital over social capital development (or vice versa) if they see one to be best aligned with achieving recognized targets for their respective community education program. At present, evaluation and monitoring plans still have to comply with the *WALT*, *Strategic Guidance* and NPF. However, these strategies may change when the evaluation process is updated (Education Scotland, 2015a).

5.1.2. How Additional Policies Further Reflect the Model of NFE

Youth Work in CLD policies ultimately explain how education authorities and people are expected to adhere to the ‘Achievement through Learning for Young People’ national priority. The *WALT* defines youth work as “informal learning [²¹] and personal and social development work with young people, enabling them to gain a voice, influence and place in society” (The Scottish Executive and Communities Scotland, 2004, p. 34). Successive policies documents have culminated in a body of work that supports and underpins overarching Government goals (Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan, 2012).

In conjunction with the *National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019*, *WALT* and *Strategic Guidance* documents, which presented Youth Work in CLD goals, partnership and monitoring evaluation strategies, the additional documents in section 5.1.2 contain guidances and strategies that further explain three additional elements in the model of NFE for community education programs in Scotland. They are: 1) the employability approach; 2) the relationship between NFE and formal education; and 3) Government perceptions of vulnerable and disadvantaged young people and how youth work should relate with them.

I. The Economic, Employability Approach

More Choices, More Chances, Skills for Scotland, Opportunities for All and *Education for All* reflect the Government’s ambitions to increase skills in Scottish youth in order to develop a more highly skilled workforce. The policy documents, discussed in chronological order below, were established to address how the nation can impact young people’s prospects in the labor market, thereby improving their life chances.

²¹ Although learning is called ‘informal’ in the *WALT* definition of youth work, the conception fits within this thesis’ definition of NFE.

A. More Choices, More Chances, 2006

More Choices, More Chances (MCMC) is a youth strategy that is complementary to the Government's employability framework; as a result, its overarching aim includes linking youth transitions with education, training and ultimately employment (The Scottish Executive, 2006). In so doing, the strategy states that various sectors "need better to engage with the concept of employability to enable the individuals concerned to progress towards the labour market" (The Scottish Executive, 2006, p. 1). *MCMC* strategy makes it an imperative to address barriers in a holistic way, engage multiple sectors of the society and have continuous quality evaluation of program activities.

Targeting vulnerable and disadvantaged youth, *MCMC* explains that its focus is centered on lifelong learning goals that are about sustainable employment. As a result, the *MCMC* strategy states that importance should be placed on progressing youth into education and training rather than into jobs without training. Although the strategy recognizes that youth progressions are not always linear, its explanation of progressions beginning from education then to training and ultimately work/career suggests a pathway that seems linear. *MCMC* also uses a policy language of prevention and intervention for these targeted youth, a theme that is echoed in the overarching *WALT* and *Strategic Guidance* policies.

B. Skills for Scotland, 2007 & 2010

Skills for Scotland is relevant to Youth Work in CLD and applicable to the wider government policy context (Education Scotland, 2014c). This lifelong learning strategy is one of the early education strategies under the 2007 minority Scottish National Party (SNP) government. Also, in comparison to the 2003 lifelong learning strategy that was composed under the Labour/Liberal Democrat coalition (The Scottish Executive, 2003), the 2007 *Skills for Scotland* has a stronger focus on developing skills and human capital to bolster the national economy. This distinction between the two government parties reflects an emphasized focus on employability that has had a continued support by the current SNP administration.

Within the 2007 *Skills for Scotland*'s preface, the overarching national ambition for young people is explained:

Scotland has a long tradition of valuing learning for the wider benefits it can bring to the individual, to society and communities and to the economy. This Government continues to support fully the view that the years we spend in education generate a form of capital that has the potential to produce a long-term return (The Scottish Government, 2007b, p. 6); and

Skills development contributes to economic development from which we believe other benefits flow such as social justice, stronger communities and more engaged citizens (The Scottish Government, 2007b, p. 6).

Phrases like “long tradition,” “we believe,” “stronger communities” and “more engaged citizens,” portray the value base that has been patterned throughout CLD’s historical discourse. *Skills for Scotland* defines skills as personal and learning skills, literacy and numeracy, communication and problem solving, employability preparation and vocational skills (The Scottish Government, 2007b). It conceptualizes the success of lifelong learning programs through the “generation of capital,” predominantly human capital development. Furthermore, the preface concludes that economic development through work related skills acquisition begets human and social capital outcomes. As a result, human capital is viewed as an important generating point for the development of further social and human capital. In the subsequent 2010 *Skills for Scotland* publication, the Scottish Government reaffirmed the economic basis for delivering lifelong learning, including CLD:

Scotland’s capacity to become a more successful country in the rapidly changing global innovation driven economy will be significantly influenced by the skills of its people. Continuing to develop a highly, relevantly skilled population, whether in schools, colleges, universities, communities or workplaces, and ensuring this talent and ability is applied effectively in sustainable employment is a priority (The Scottish Government, 2010b, p. 23).

C. Opportunities for All, 2012

Opportunities for All reflects the dominant, ongoing narrative of youth as a category in transition, stating that youth “require different interventions in order to support them as they move along the Strategic Employability Pipeline towards and into work” (The Scottish Government, 2012c, p. 3). Furthermore, poverty is conceptualized as a key factor of social exclusion (Spence, 2005), since the Government’s “explicit commitment [is] to offer a place in learning or training to every 16-19 year old in Scotland who is not currently in employment, education or training” (The Scottish Government, 2012c). To achieve these goals for successful transitions, *Opportunities for All* employs 16+ Learning Choices²² approach through Activity Agreements (AAs) (The Scottish Government, 2012c; YouthLink Scotland, 2011). An AA is “an agreement between a young person and an advisor that the young person will take part in a programme of learning and activity which helps them to become ready for formal learning or employment” (Education Scotland, 2014a). AAs aim to enforce educational equity through ensuring that Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET) youth have the right and access to provision in the same way as those in formal schooling (Walter-Scott and Delaney, 2009).

Youth’s involvement in AAs is considered voluntary, and AAs offer what is called “a tailored package” of activity, learning and support (Stevenson et al., 2011, p. 54). Therefore, AAs establish a contract between youth and education practitioners, suggesting some level of recognition that youth are empowered individuals who have a say and responsibility within the process of learning. This arrangement claims to fit the developmental needs of each young person, and activities range from employability skills to arts and sports. Outcomes of the AAs are described as

²² 16+ Learning Choices is a national approach aimed at reaching all young people but gives particular attention to “those at risk of moving into a negative destination” (The Scottish Government, 2012a, p. 3).

‘negative or positive destinations’²³ and reflect either continued participation in or disengagement from learning and work (The Scottish Government, 2013). The claim is that AAs prioritize a flexible approach to learning and a one-to-one level of response with youth. Therefore, AAs help to provide opportunities for social capital development. It is still, however, controlled by the overarching goals and evaluation standards of the outcomes-based approach. Ultimately, it seems that the primary aim of AAs is to achieve human capital outcomes since the ultimate goal is for young people to acquire skills to enhance employability and/or educational prospects.

Illustrating the model of NFE’s element of partnership, the employability approach calls for effective networks between employers, local authorities and the third sector (e.g., voluntary sector, social enterprises and charities). The Government claims that local authorities and CPPs are regarded as best placed within the community to understand and respond to the needs of young people; they are also important in helping to reduce duplication of services. Specifically, local authorities are responsible for providing leadership and direction on the implementation of the AAs. As within the *WALT*, here lies another demonstration of the Government’s reliance on social capital networks at the community level to help mobilize resources and garner services that promote further generation of capital.

D. Education for All, 2014

Education for All, also referred to as the Wood Commission by the Dockline program administrators, is a report commissioned by the Government and has already begun to have an impact in the delivery of CLD (The Scottish Government, 2014b). The Wood Commission claims to operate independently from the Government and be comprised of people from employment and educational sectors of Scotland who were all tasked with drafting recommendations for improving youth’s transition into work. The drafters of the document stated that they consulted with CLD stakeholders,

²³ Negative or positive destinations is a national indicator measure used for all school leavers. This indicator is called Increasing the proportion of young people in learning, training or work (The Scottish Government, 2015b).

including youth. It agrees with *Opportunities for All*, stating that AAs are good, but advises that earlier intervention would help transitions, and this is where the Wood Commission claims it can assist. With the conclusion that “increasing skill and education levels within Scotland are an important driver of productivity,” the Wood Commission specifically focuses on building human capital for young people through STEMs (The Scottish Government, 2014b, p.16). The Wood Commission claims that it wants youth to become active participants in the labor economy, but does not include them as active participants within democratic processes. These findings reflect a greater prioritization of human capital than even the previous documents, suggesting a shift towards outcomes that are based primarily on employment factors. Also, specific to vulnerable and disadvantaged youth, the report highlights the More Choices More Chances group and states that intervention for this group should be focused on helping them “engage on labour market relevant pathways” (The Scottish Government, 2014b, p. 33). Overall, the report’s emphasis on human capital development primarily uses the language of output, with a key measure of output being positive destinations within the labor sector.

II. ‘Synergy’ between NFE and Formal Education

Since 2004, *Curriculum for Excellence (CfE)* has “been at the centre of the reform agenda in Scottish education” (Humes, 2008, p. 73). *CfE* is an important document because it explains how NFE and formal education relate within the model of NFE for CLD in Scotland. It is the Scottish Government’s strategy and method for delivering education to learners within and out of formal schooling, ages 3-18.

A number of national documents reviewed in this chapter refer to *CfE*. For example, the Wood Commission conceptualizes *CfE* as providing the opportunity for a more balanced and inclusive approach to merging academic and vocational education (The Scottish Government, 2014b). *Skills for Scotland* references *CfE* as a supporting guidance to the Government’s central narrative of employability. Further evidence that these strategies underpin each other, is that *Opportunities for All* cites *CfE* as it

claims to meet the needs of young people during their senior phase of *CfE*, providing a flexible system that offers opportunities and choices of learning through a range of providers (The Scottish Government, 2012c). In this context, Activity Agreements are used in the senior phase to provide young people with these learning opportunities through CLD, schools, less formal settings, colleges and universities. The ultimate goal of the senior phase is to “ensure that all young people can experience a coherent curriculum in the full range of settings” (The Scottish Government, 2010a, p. 4).

The *CfE* explains that youth “progression into, through and beyond [phase 2] is critical to ensuring a young person’s ongoing participation in learning, training and ultimately work” (The Scottish Government, 2012d, p. 6). It is designed to enable schools and partners to build a flexible learning system to meet the needs of young people. *CfE* aims to build on four capacities through a phased approach. The capacities are: 1) successful learners; 2) confident individuals; 3) responsible citizens; and 4) effective contributors for learners. These capacities are conceptualized within the phases: 1) pre-birth to 3 years; 2) ages 3-18 curriculum that is fully integrated within schools; 3) adults and young people within CLD, and 4) higher education (Education Scotland, 2014f). Specifically, CLD plays a role within phases 3 and 4 of the *CfE*.

Explaining how the relationship between formal and non-formal education has been conceptualized, the CLD Policy Leader stated:

[Education Scotland is] working closely with *Curriculum for Excellence* because that is underpinning. It’s looking at both attainment and achievement. So the achievement side of it, is not just about achievement in school. It’s wider achievement and that’s where CLD comes in and young people who are participating in programs... So there has to be a synergy between formal sector and CLD, because between them there’s huge hope for young people to achieve their potential (CLD Policy Leader, Education Scotland).

Also, her statement suggests that the linkage between formal and non-formal education establishes the overall educational framework for youth learning in Scotland, whereby young people learn through a wider network of educational opportunities.

Partnerships are used by the Government to facilitate this intended synergetic relationship between non-formal and formal sectors. The *National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019* states that teachers, youth workers and others who work with young people, inside and outside of school, are central for young people to achieve the four capacities (The Scottish Government, Youth Link and Education Scotland, 2014). Also:

Education Scotland's team of HMIs expect to see evidence of joint planning and partnership work when they carry out school and community inspections. An effective partnership requires both parties to speak a common language (Youth Scotland, 2014).

III. Conceptualizing Targeted Young People and Working with Them

MCMC, discussed previously, is a key strategy that illustrates the Government's description of vulnerable and disadvantaged youth. In this document, the Government refers to this category of youth as Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET). It sets forth that the NEET category is quite diverse, facing unique and differing challenges. *MCMC* also explains that disadvantage can also be conceptualized through socio-economic determinants and describes sub-groups within the NEET category as including young parents, individuals with low level of qualifications, persistent truants and drug and alcohol abusers (The Scottish Executive, 2006). The *MCMC* description of vulnerable and disadvantaged youth helps to provide some context as to why the Government has chosen to target them within CLD strategies and sheds some light into the motivations behind the political agenda aimed at this group.

From discussion of strategies relevant to CLD in this section, the Government has conceptualized vulnerable and disadvantaged youth as at-risk of social and economic exclusion. The overall language of *WALT*, for example, suggests that CLD is used to empower, and at the same time, reform young people. These two intentions could be seen as disjointed since empowerment puts authority and autonomy in the hands of young people while reform can incorporate strategies of conformity and correcting what is perceived as wrong. As a result, this duality would support Jeffs and Smith's (2010) argument that youth policy messaging in the UK has been incongruent. Furthermore, it seems that education in this context is conceived as a means to instill status quo norms and practices that produce what is considered appropriate social behavior (Weisbrod, 1971).

Getting it Right for Every Child (GIRFEC) also defines not only the Government's stance on young people, but also illustrates its views on how CLD should approach working with young people. *GIRFEC* was shaped from national and international frameworks, like the *Children's Charter*, *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child* and *Curriculum for Excellence*. *GIRFEC* is based on ten foundational principles (see Appendix I).

GIRFEC is seen as important in relation to CLD, because it is "threaded through all existing policy, practice, strategy and legislation affecting children, young people and their families" (The Scottish Government, 2014c). Also, it defines an approach to help practitioners deliver services to young people. The CLD Policy Leader conveys how *GIRFEC* also defines CLD as a profession, and how it links with the current goals of the youth work strategy:

...are very much in the front of the Scottish Government ambitions to make Scotland the best place for young person to live... they are very much in harmony with *GIRFEC*. I think within that those goals are ambitions that are very much what CLD as a profession prescribes (CLD Policy Leader, Education Scotland).

GIRFEC explicitly places the needs of young people at the center of its framework, stating that practitioners and managers within CLD and other learning sectors should apply this vantage point. Not only does *GIRFEC* place young people at the nucleus, its language aims to empower young people because it recognizes them as active participants in their learning process. This includes, for example, provisions that ensure that young people are listened to, involved in appropriate discussions and decisions and have access to appropriate help in a timely manner (The Scottish Government, 2012b).

Despite *GIRFEC*'s promising and enlightening language regarding young people, of the ten cited principles, only two (nos. 1 and 3) particularly focus on youth well-being and empowerment in a way that is independent from the greater, national employability narrative or management side of CLD. The remaining seven principles, although meant to operate in the interest of youth, focus on the activities of administrative practices and responsibilities.

GIRFEC in conjunction with the other strategies, creates a diverse view of the Government's perceptions of vulnerable and disadvantaged youth. Such a policy framework seemingly adopts at least two of Coburn and Wallace's (2011) three types of youth work, which are functional and critical youth work. To recap, functional youth work meets preconceived norms and sees youth through a deficit. Critical youth work views young people as actors who can be empowered through decision making processes. *GIRFEC* is on the track of establishing youth work through this critical definition. Coburn and Wallace's (2011) third category of youth work—liberal youth work—was not found, as there was no identifiable evidence that could support such an analysis.

5.1.3. National Level Summary

The national strategies and guidance provide options for CLD operators and identify the role for community education programs in Scotland. Community level

implementation relies on these national guidances, because they provide roadmaps for establishing and managing partnerships as well as monitoring and evaluating CLD within communities. Table 5.1 provides a summary of the strategies and what they address.

| Primary Youth Work in CLD Policies | The Role of Youth Work in CLD Policies |
|--|--|
| National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019: Sets out overarching Youth Work in CLD aims and goals, which are embedded throughout applicable policies. | Employability: Increase workforce to improve life chances and social inclusion of youth as well as national well-being (<i>MCMC, Skills for Scotland, Opportunities for All, Education for All</i>) |
| WALT: CLD Main Goals + Outcomes Based Approach | 'Synergy' between NFE and Formal Education: <i>Curriculum for Excellence</i> |
| Strategic Guidance: CLD Main Goals + Governance (Partnership) Strategies + Outcomes Based Approach | Conceptualization of Young People/Working with Young People: Vulnerable/Disadvantaged youth are seen through multiple perspectives (<i>GIRFEC, MCMC, Skills for Scotland, Activity Agreements</i>). |
| Monitoring and Evaluation: Reflects the outcomes based approach. (<i>LEAP, How Good is Our CLD 2, Delivering Change</i>) | |

Table 5.1: Overview of Youth Work in CLD at National Level

The national level discussion raised some important implications for the delivery of CLD. The outcomes-based approach of monitoring and evaluation used in conjunction with the Government's employability approach can be considered through two different perspectives. One perspective is that the new approach can or may have already veered from the focus of formative community education concepts towards more outcomes that focus on economic viability. As a result, services produced could become incongruent to core democratic principles. An alternative perspective is that current strategies for CLD do not pose the risk of ignoring the core principles of CLD. Rather, they are responding to the current, primary needs of communities and flexible evaluation strategies support the uniqueness of each

community. Therefore, CLD is simply evolving to address new, 21st century challenges. Policy language for vulnerable and disadvantaged youth shapes them as empowered individuals and at the same time describes these youth as in need of reform and at-risk. These varied perceptions of youth may produce contradictory or confused practices and perceptions for youth work at the community level. The challenging interplay between these perspectives seems to be an inevitable circumstance of a sector that is multi-faceted, with a complex and changing governance structure. Whichever the case, both stances influence how practices are guided; thereby, certain impacts and outcomes may be stressed over others at the community level.

Also, the Government perceives partnerships to be objective, self-evaluating institutions (i.e., as explained in *LEAP* and *How Good is Our CLD 2*), which may impact on the management of CLD. National strategies reflect that a large responsibility is placed on community level program administrators to effectively coordinate, manage and evaluate partnerships. However, without clear strategies and/or if partnerships are flawed, there may be ineffective translation of CLD policies within communities. Field, Schuller and Baron (2000, p. 262) provide further insight about possible challenges in the Government's partnership strategy when they argue that "the current emphasis on partnerships may unintentionally lead to bureaucratization through the proliferation of quangos and committees, where what is needed are looser and more informal connections."

Section 5.2 further addresses the research questions by linking these national level discussions with community level examples.

5.2. Local Level: Interpretations of National Guidance and Strategies

The discussion in section 5.2 is primarily based on the findings from the embedded case studies— Daniels and Dockline. The section examines, from the perspective of

the program administrators, the influence and impact national level strategies have had on community level implementation of CLD. Through this examination, the section relates national strategies to local level interpretations and discusses ensuing challenges that have been experienced.

Data used for this section is derived from interviews with program administrators, available monitoring reports, and online local authority information on governance and partnerships. For purposes of anonymity, program administrators are called:

- Daniels Program Manager;
- Dockline Program Manager;
- Dockline CLD Officer; and
- Dockline Local Authority Partnership and Policy Manager.

To provide more texture to the narrative, this section also uses data from surveys conducted within communities across Scotland.

5.2.1. Implementation of Partnerships and Challenges

The Daniels program is managed by the city council through the Daniels Partnership, and is part of the Employability Core Group. The Partnership includes local colleges, hospitals, law enforcement and community centers. According to Daniels Partnership documents, the local Single Outcome Agreements (SOAs) aim to emphasize jobs, the economy and social inclusion. The Daniels Program Manager also described that:

In terms of the youth employability side...we are well connected in [Daniels] Partnership through 2 routes. So there's employability— learning and workforce side, and then there is an integrated children's services side. So there's an employability partnership, and we're a part of that. So I make sure that we're well connected in feeding all the way up into [Daniels] Partnership (Program Manager, Daniels).

Her statement of “feeding all the way up” supports and recognizes a top-down modeling of NFE, in that she is aware of the different administrative levels present in

the partnership model. Also, the partnership seems to prioritize the Government's employability approach to youth work. This employability focus is also illustrated in the activities of the Daniels program examined in Section 5.3.

As a program that coordinates with the local authority, but not managed by the local authority, the Daniels program adopts CLD practices. The Daniels Program Manager explained how CLD is incorporated:

You could say we take a CLD approach. I'm a CLD worker so I have a background in CLD...one of the [key] workers, has a background in CLD as well so we use CLD approaches. We are not formally connected to CLD service in [Daniels] City Council, we sit in a different department (Program Manager, Daniels).

Therefore, the program incorporates CLD as a concept and technique rather than a management body. When asked to provide more detail on the CLD approach, the Program Manager replied:

In terms of how we approach and do the support for young people. How we develop the group work, how we develop the 1-to-1 support. The value base, that's all part of that (Program Manager, Daniels).

Although the response does not provide content description of the approach, it demonstrates that the Daniels program is influenced by national CLD goals and steered by CLD initiatives, values and guidance to deliver its program. The Daniels example therefore helps to illustrate how CLD's multivariate capacity has been translated at the community level.

Furthermore, the Daniels Program Manager stated that, "Our bosses are quite happy. As long as we're making the results and moving in the right direction, they're not nitpicking about how we actually achieve that." This suggests that relationships with higher-ups seem to remain okay as long as outcomes are being achieved. This conclusion links with the Government goal of partnerships working towards outcomes based results.

The Program Manager's interview also helped illustrate the *Strategic Guidance's* partnership aim through described relationships with third party sectors:

We always stand our ground. We get hassled by the voluntary sector organizations. And we say, No, we're going to make it more complex. We're going to make it more needs led... We think that's the way to do it. So we stand our ground, and I think we're fairly autonomous. I think we know our group, and we know what works for them (Program Manager, Daniels).

Her statements provide insight into the nature of social capital relationships between the community education program and the wider community. She reveals that partnerships involve program administrators negotiating to maintain their influence within the program. Her use of the phrase "getting hassled" also suggests that dialogue between partners have involved some conflict or tensions. However, the program has the ultimate decision-making role for delivering its program. As a result of connecting with other sectors, more NFE services are provided for the participating youth. The Program Manager explained that, "We'll commission other providers for groups and other activities that we might need... We try and also link with other employers." This partnership arrangement illustrates how the program's social capital networks help to expose youth to wider networks. The networks in turn enable a greater range of services for youth, increasing their opportunities for social and human capital development.

The Dockline program is managed and operated by the local authority, and according to the Dockline Program Manager, most of program funding is from the Scottish Government. The program essentially must conform to the CLD standards set by the national and local governance structures, as the CLD Officer explained, "We'll have to go with what we're told by the Scottish Government, but we'll also have to go with what we're told by the council administration and that changes every election."

Like the Daniels Partnership, the Community Planning Partnership (CPP) in Dockline is comprised of various sectors of the local community, including the Council, health services, fire and police departments, voluntary organizations, local

colleges and Skills Development Scotland (SDS). The Dockline area partnership is a part of the CLD Partnership, and currently has representation from the Dockline area CLD Team, NHS, voluntary sector, local law enforcement and colleges. The CPP monitors the delivery of their community plan as a subset of the SOAs. The relationship between CPP and CLD Partnerships is explained by the Local Authority Partnership and Policy Manager:

Broadly speaking the CLD Partnership is a cross-cutting partnership that sits underneath the CPP but without a direct reporting line to it. The CLD Partnership contributes to a number of the CPP's 16 long term outcomes... and this work is reported by designated 'outcome lead officers'. I suspect this varies across CPPs (Local Authority Partnership and Policy Manager, Dockline).

Like Daniels, the Dockline program links with external providers to help deliver NFE services. Furthermore, the CLD Officer explained how partnerships have an impact on how the management side of the program is evaluated:

We bring the staff together. The community workers and the Activity Agreement support workers, they come together once or twice a year to look at the program, share good practice, identify what's not working so well. And we form a small working group looking at how can we improve the program from a worker's point of view (CLD Officer, Dockline).

Overall, the community level networks adhere to the national approach of managing CLD, and partnerships try to fit into the NPF through formulating related SOAs. The interview responses and governance structures within Dockline and Daniels revealed that both locales' networks (i.e., external providers and organizations) were cohesive and operative. Building social capital networks at the community level plays an integral role in facilitating these partnerships. Partnerships are still managed from a top-down approach as practitioners have to conform to prioritized agendas set by the local authority or the national government. Also, partnerships do not include youth or community members outside of organizations within its governance structure.

I. Challenges in Implementing Partnerships

While there has been positive partnership experiences at the local level, there has also been challenges. These challenges present issues for further social capital development, and stem from reasons that include confusing partnership structures and presiding perceptions of vulnerable and disadvantaged youth.

Within Dockline there is expressed ambiguity regarding how management structures connect:

...there isn't a particularly clear relationship between the CPP and the CLD Partnership...the general picture is that the relationship between CLD Partnerships and CPPs is unclear and, at times, confusing (Local Authority Partnership and Policy Manager, Dockline)

As a result, the national intention for strategies to help create clear partnerships is not completely evident in Dockline. Lack of clarity about network structures and responsibilities could negatively affect the management of partnerships, ultimately impacting the delivery of CLD.

Program managers are expected to work in partnerships with a range of entities, such as schools. Despite some strong social capital relationships between the programs and external providers described previously, coordinating with local schools has been a challenge within Dockline. This challenge stems from three main reasons at the community level. First, the community education program has the challenge of brokering mutually engaging relationships that support youth work activities:

It comes back to aligning personalities. Like finding a teacher in the school who is of the same thinking. Where they're of the same mindset, or passionate about young people then it will work. But if that staff member gets promoted, or leaves to a different school, you're starting all over again, because there's nobody else in the school that really buys into it (CLD Officer, Dockline).

The CLD Officer's statement also suggests that effective partnerships rely on continuity and like-mindedness for program plans to have longevity. Furthermore, according to the Program Manager, coordination with schools is a heterogenous

process due to the different areas within Dockline. As a result, she stated, “From a strategic level it is...a bit disjointed as to what we’re trying to do.”

Since relationships with the schools are dependent upon individual connections, initial level of social capital between schools and program administrators is important for an effective partnership. Furthermore, these relationships have to be based on compatible or common conceptualizations of how the youth work strategy fits with formal schools and thereby within the wider educational discourse. A situation which can exacerbate this challenge is that, as explained by the Dockline Program Manager, these types of linking social capital networks can be variable across the region and are constantly changing.

A second reason for the challenge of working with schools in Dockline is that the program administrators described a level of disconnect between schools and vulnerable and disadvantaged youth. The program administrators explained how the schools view these young people:

I think [schools] don’t really value the students who are on the Activity [Agreements] ... There was no pupil support (Program Manager, Dockline); and

The school really struggles to comprehend. Also, because they’ve left school, they’ve had their leavers form signed, so they’re no longer a school problem... So the school can wash their hands then. They really don’t have to engage with us on this program, because they’re not in school, they’ve left (CLD Officer, Dockline).

The described division within the community stems from misjudgments and values based conclusions. This situation has created differing conceptions about the young people. As a result, the youth may face further challenges to become more included within their community because of negative norms placed upon them.

The strained relationship with schools extends beyond the youth to include their families, which ultimately impacts youth’s participation with schools:

The families don't engage in school. Like they won't go to parent's night or if they're called in because there's discipline issues, the families just don't bother, because they've had bad experiences at school. They could be quite nervous about going back into school and dealing with the teacher. So they don't go (CLD Officer, Dockline).

The weak relationship between youth (and their families) and the schools endangers levels of trust between important actors. In order for the community education program to be effective, as illustrated by the Government, these stakeholders (actors) need to be more coordinated and aligned so that a more holistic approach to CLD delivery can be enacted in Dockline.

The third reason for this challenge of working with schools is that there is a lack of recognition of the purpose of CLD:

[The schools] see it as the fun, you know the bad boys and girls being treated to fun activities. They don't really buy into it because they can't comprehend how it works. It's not textbook, it's not 45min classes...They just don't comprehend it. And we're often are used by schools to deal with pupils who they can't cope with... All the work that's on, that's the things that agencies don't really understand (CLD Officer, Dockline).

In this context, the synergy between NFE and formal education is not as seamless as the *CfE* has intended. The breakdown within the relationship seems to persist because certain norms are not challenged, and even perhaps supported by Government who still uses rhetoric that frame youth through the lens of anti-social and excluded. Also, the lack of recognition for NFE services within the community may place stress on CLD program administrators to prove the program's viability to agencies and schools in order to maintain a credible reputation.

Beyond direct community level factors, the challenge of managing partnerships at the community level is also perceived to be caused, in part, by the Government. From the perspective of the program administrators in Dockline and Daniels, the Government tends to overlook the multiple needs of vulnerable and disadvantaged

youth. Their interview responses illustrated a situation of ‘us and them’ when they spoke about the (local and national) government:

It is difficult because the government is setting the outcomes for 32 authorities. They’re not taking into account of individual authority needs... Funders like the local councilors. They need to start to understand (CLD Officer, Dockline).

As a result, Dockline program administrators have a difficult task of balancing national priorities with the needs of the young people when managing partnerships. Specifically, the misalignment of program goals reveals that local council and national government are not truly understanding the work of CLD program administrators. This challenge is similar to the previous challenge between the schools and the Dockline program, suggesting that the issue is pervasive throughout multiple levels of the NFE model.

Within Daniels, the misalignment between the Government and community level experiences has impacted the program’s partnerships with schools and third party sectors in a way that youth’s transitions are negatively affected:

The problem is the AA key workers can’t work with anybody until 3 months from their school leaving date, and that’s the Scottish Government funding decision. There’s nothing we can do about preventing that (Program Manager, Daniels).

Thus, the transitional difficulties faced by youth are seen to be impacted by bureaucratic stipulations of the Government. Furthermore, the Daniels Program Manager stated that the challenge in working with the young people is:

Making sure that you are keeping them engaged and not losing them, because often a lot of young people get lost in that transition... It is about moving people forward and not keeping them stagnated and holding them on just for sake of it. I mean people have different times (Program Manager, Daniels).

The Daniels Program Manager’s statements stress that this Governmental restriction can be detrimental for youth who require a greater need for services to be streamlined efficiently in order to not lose them within transitional processes.

Challenges within partnerships are not exclusive to Dockline and Daniels. In *The Strategic Review of Learning Connections*, which interviewed Learning Connections staff and key CLD stakeholders within Scottish communities, the report findings identified similar conclusions about the CLD governance structure:

...during the review most stakeholders reported that whilst they recognised the important contribution CLD could make to their policy area, they were confused about the exact nature of that contribution and who to contact about it (Walter-Scott and Delaney, 2009, p. 18).

These findings seem to illustrate that the policy language about flexible partnerships structures can result in uncertainty in implementing governance structures at the local level. Smith (2008) also alludes to this confusion when he argues that the complex set of CLD relationships has created a challenge for practitioners and administrators to clarify their roles within these partnerships.

Due to the multiple challenges experienced with partnerships and social tensions, CLD program administrators have to balance delivery of youth work they deem effective within their community while meeting the expectations of partners and governments. Providing a wider perspective, which also supports the previous arguments, *The Strategic Review of Learning Connections* concluded from a nationwide survey that CLD stakeholders believed:

...there is a lack of coherence between the support organisations, intermediaries, membership organizations and delivery organizations in CLD.... This can result in the practice development activities and interventions not being clearly prioritised and not being aligned with policy priorities (Walter-Scott and Delaney, 2009, p. 17).

5.2.2. Implementation and Challenges of Monitoring and Evaluation

According to a CLD local authority report, the Dockline CLD Partnership is subject to inspection from Education Scotland. Inspection notices are given 3-4 weeks in advance, and focus on indicators from the *How Good is Our CLD 2* (HMIE, 2006). The report explains that due to the new outcomes based approach, there is particular focus on indicators that cover outcomes and impacts, performance and service improvement. The outcomes/impacts are: 1) Increased number of young people

completing forms of accreditation; 2) Increased skill, confidence and achievement of young people; 3) Young people are more confident individuals and successful learners; and 4) Improved links and coordination between schools, colleges and CLD regarding accreditation opportunities. The four outcomes/impacts emphasize personal skills development and reflect the national goal to create partnerships that link formal education with NFE. Additionally, the report states that inspection emphasizes self-evaluation, which parallels the Government's monitoring and evaluation goal.

When the question was posed about whether program approaches have changed since commencement three years ago, the Dockline CLD Officer explained:

Yes, when we first set out, the idea was that we would build programs around the young person. So the young person would come to us, and we would do some work with them, and identify what their program was to be. And that could be a range of providers. We had a lot of external providers and media companies... [Now] our core program is universal across [the Local Authority] (CLD Officer, Dockline).

The Dockline Program Manager also agreed with the CLD Officer's statement.

Their statements suggest an environment where youth work has shifted away from the more youth-centered and individualized approach to greater universality. They are in favor of this change, as both stated that the program has evolved in a positive direction. The CLD Officer stated that, before, the program was "quite wide and all-encompassing." Now, according to the administrators, the new approach seems to have helped define and create a better focus for delivery. Their approval of the new changes perhaps ties to an opinion that more universalized practices are more easily evaluated from an administrative perspective. Since the program administrators' responses are solely from their personal perspectives, they do not illustrate whether this shift has been positive from the youth's perspectives. Furthermore, the shift away from the flexible nature of NFE, may create unforeseeable challenges to deliver programs that adhere to prescribed outcomes-based standards while addressing the diverse needs of youth.

The Daniels case study did not provide any information about their experience or views of the outcomes-based approach. The program administrators did not express any challenges or critique regarding the implementation of the outcomes-based approach. Inspection reports were not made available when asked because it is sensitive information. However, the Daniels Program Manager generally stated that they:

...don't do impact reports necessarily. It's more manage performance reports... It just goes to [Daniels] Partnership group to look at performance, because it's all the contractors performance, rather than the individual's performance. It's more about how many starts they've had and how many progressions (Program Manager, Daniels).

Her description of the Daniels evaluation strategy is different when compared to the Dockline evaluation strategy that looks at personal skills development. This difference reflects the variability that occurs when evaluating CLD within communities. Recalling the policy language of *LEAP* and *Delivering Change*, the difference is expected since community level administrators can choose what monitoring and evaluation strategy is best for their respective programs.

A report that surveyed and interviewed CLD participants and administrators throughout Scotland provided other community level perspectives on the outcomes-based approach. According to the report “participants felt that there is now an ‘outcome industry’ (not just within CLD) which makes outcome-focused practice more complicated and confusing than necessary” (Donnelly, 2008, p. 5). The report also explained that developing meaningful and relevant outcomes directly related to diverse communities have presented challenges; it concluded that “many [CLD] staff are working to output driven work plans... and are under pressure from elected members for quantifiable results” (Donnelly, 2008, p. 5). The report also stated that “a lack of consistency is apparent in how outcomes are measured. This is partly due to the range of stakeholders such as HMIE, CLD Partnerships and funders asking for different information” (Donnelly, 2008, p. 5). These findings support the analysis

made at the national level that the *LEAP, How Good is Our CLD 2* and *Delivering Change* provide varied interpretations of what can be measured, and goes further to suggest that the national strategy to have flexibility within monitoring and evaluation has been a perceived weakness by CLD practitioners. This lack of clarity could be further exacerbated by subjectivity found within community level partnerships interpreting how management structures should apply modes of evaluation. Additionally, using different evaluation language may be a more difficult or time consuming task to collate at the national level in order to understand the overall impact of CLD throughout Scotland.

5.2.3. Implementation and Challenges of the Employability, Economic Approach

Section 5.1 established that the employability focus promotes and even emphasizes human capital development. In Daniels, important evidence about the implementation of this national approach is seen through its employment partnership strategy. The community education program, as a result, primarily embeds its goals and implementation plans within the employability approach for delivering youth work. Also, program administrators within Daniels and Dockline cited *Skills for Scotland* and *Opportunities for All* as important, guiding frameworks for youth work delivery within their communities.

Perhaps the most important evidence that points to how the Government's employability strategy has been implemented within the Daniels and Dockline can be found through their use of Activity Agreements as core to their respective projects. To recall, AAs are contractual agreements that aim to engage young people from learning to work opportunities. The Daniels Program Manager stated that using AAs are a "key part" of their employability, partnership strategy. She explained further stating that:

It's more of a bespoke nature. So it's all more about needs identification. So until you know what the young people's barriers or issues they want to address. We don't know necessarily what provision we'll put on. It's about

making sure that we got good evaluation, understanding needs and then looking at what would address those needs (Program Manager, Daniels).

Her statement illustrates the needs-based approach to youth work delivery as well as the flexible evaluation strategy that has been described within such policies like *GIRFEC* and *LEAP*. Also, through her interpretation of AAs, there is opportunity to provide youth work that can focus on social capital and human capital development, depending on the needs or interest of the youth. She explained further what the provision could look like:

Whether that's employability training, whether it's vocational training, whether it's personal skills and social development or whether it's just independent travel, or it's just for meeting your 1-to-1 worker and just getting out of the house and being supported. It's all varied (Program Manager, Daniels).

However, since Daniels is operated by an employability partnership it seems that plans stress skills acquisition for the sake of employment more so than providing social service needs:

We know that they need those skills if they are going to progress. So if they don't have any employability skills, don't have a CV, don't know how to attend an interview or do job search or that. So we know if they can't do that, they can't find a job. We know all the other skills because it's identified through evaluation... So a lot of it will be based on what the individual requires, but a lot of it is what we know is required by employers, the labor market to match them in the best opportunities that we can for them (Program Manager, Daniels).

In Dockline, as well, program administrators explained that their program is delivered 100% through AAs, and it is foundational to their program. The CLD Officer explained a similar bespoke nature to the AAs in that they “engage with the young person and family around about looking at what is the right choice for that young person.” Because AAs are the central focus, they drive the activities and type of youth work delivery. The Dockline program administrators also aim to recognize that young people are central to the framework of youth work delivery. In contrast to Daniels' employability focus, the Dockline's partnership strategy indicates an aim to

balance employment with social service strategies. Based on the responses of the Dockline program administrators, it seems that there is a combination of including national employability goals along with other social services needs for the youth. This difference between the two locales shows the difference that exists in the provision of NFE for youth at-risk as a result of flexible partnership arrangements and interpretations of the outcomes based approach. Ultimately, it reflects different applications of CLD.

The employability approach has presented challenges at the community level. The Daniels Program Manager recognized the need for employability skills, when she stated that, “Everybody knows that we want to get young people into jobs, and I’m not at odds with Scottish Government and policies about that or getting them in further training.” She also described an incongruence between government prioritization and youth’s needs:

Sometimes the government is sort of pushing expectations... I think there is an unrealistic expectation. They’re saying from a policy side, No, it’s not happening. Kids are definitely in school. And we start saying, Well, no. So I think sometimes when we’re saying we need a lot more support work, and they’re saying you should be doing employability skills work. That’s often when we start saying, sexual health is a big issue or...wanting to be a parent at a very early age (Program Manager, Daniels).

The Program Manager suggests that the Government does not completely understand, recognize and/or identify the extent of how to fully address the issues of vulnerable and disadvantaged young people. Her stance is that the Government’s approach is too narrowly focused on employability, rather than encompassing areas of well-being and health that also should be addressed.

To further highlight this point, according to the CLD Officer, employment programs in Dockline receive far greater amount of funding than the Dockline community education program.

So the economic development team, who are really employer focused. They have over £5,000,000. To deal with apprenticeships for young people, and

those young people who get apprenticeships, are so far removed from our young people. That's the difficulty. So that £5,000,000, we can't get, because it's a different program. They've got their own views in how that's spent (CLD Officer, Dockline).

When stating that the young people within the employment program “are so far removed from our young people,” the CLD Officer also highlights that the local employment programs do not even target the young people within the community who are considered the most in need.

5.2.4. Local Level Summary

The local level analysis revealed that, overall, program administrators aim to follow Government strategies and guidance for CLD. Despite their critique of Government strategies, the community level design reflects Government priorities. This is evident through the organization of the partnerships and delivery of CLD plans that align with the national strategies, for instance, *Strategic Guidance, Skills for Scotland, GIRFEC* and AAs. When comparing the two locales, there was some variance in their partnership structures and youth work delivery goals. For instance, Dockline's partnership more fully combines employability skills with social services, whereas Daniels emphasizes employment.

At the community level, there was conflict regarding national priorities of youth work delivery. For example, the Government's perspectives on young people affect how to work with young people and what services to emphasize. There are conflicting interpretations of whether youth work should emphasize employability, social services or a combination. This impacts CLD practitioners who continue to battle negative perceptions of vulnerable and disadvantaged youth and CLD, which may also be perpetuated by the Government's misconception of what youth work strategies should actually promote within the communities. Another example is that the flexible policy language of partnerships structures, evaluation and monitoring have not been seamlessly translated within the communities. As a result of these

circumstances, top-down tensions and lateral tensions between CLD practitioners and sectors within the community have manifested.

Section 5.3 discusses if and how Dockline and Daniel's implementation plans and ensuing challenges have influenced practices and outcomes for young people.

5.3. Practices and Outcomes of Learning

Section 5.3 explains the practices in Dockline and Daniels. The section, as a result, aims to link with the ongoing narrative of this chapter. In so doing, it examines the community level projects' outcomes for youth and discusses any challenges experienced at this level.

5.3.1. Embedded Case Study 1: Small Urban Area, Dockline

Program administrators explained that the Dockline program offers two projects, which are anonymously named: In-School Learning Project, and Job Skills and Personal Development Project (JSPD Project). The In-School Learning project operates in school settings, whereby selected young people are given an alternative curricula. Due to the timeframe of data collection and the availability of the youth during the period of data collection, this research only provides findings on the JSPD Project. For the JSPD Project, the following participants were interviewed:

- Dockline Program Manager;
- Dockline CLD Officer;
- Two youth workers (YW1 and YW2); and
- 6 young people who are given the pseudonyms Clara, Phil, Jackie, Beth, Mark and Colin.

The interviewed youth participants are considered to be vulnerable and disadvantaged; their responses illustrate this point. When asked why they joined the community education program, those that answered said:

Clara: So I could leave school;

Phil: There was nothing else to do. There were no other programs going on about for our age; and

Mark: Cuz I never went to school.

Along with the youth participants' responses, the program administrators also confirmed that the youth participants are indeed a part of the nationally targeted vulnerable/disadvantaged category:

YW1: Most of them haven't gone to school since they were in second year;

YW2: School wasn't the best thing for them they discovered... And they've been out of the system I suppose for quite awhile; and

Program Manager: You know we've got families that are 4th generation unemployed that have no routine.

I. Job Skills and Personal Development Project

The site where the JSPD Project takes place is at a community center located in the center of Dockline. Along with NFE, the center offers informal recreational activities as well as other services to members of the community. The JSPD Project is modeled on the national 16+ Learning Choices approach and uses Activity Agreements (AAs). The ultimate goal of the JSPD Project is to help facilitate successful transitions of young people into work and/or school, which reflects the national strategies and goals of employability strategy and youth transitions (positive destinations).

The roles of key workers and youth workers within the operational aspect of the JSPD Project are distinct. The YWs explained that they work more closely, on a daily basis, with the young people and recruit young people. Whereas the key workers mainly recruit young people to the Project:

YW1: We see [the young people] everyday... I'd say because we're quite central where we're based, the key workers can pop in easily. Whereas, I think in other areas, it's not as easy for them to pop in... [Key workers] come

in at the middle and then the end. But sometimes they do pop in and say hello; and

YW2: I couldn't say exactly like how often the key workers see them. I'm not too sure on that but I know obviously we work directly with them delivering programs

As a result, youth workers in Dockline are integral in ensuring the JSPD Project links young people with their wider community and facilitate human and social capital development through their personal interactions with youth and helping to deliver activities. Also, for purposes of data collection, youth workers are best placed to provide first-hand accounts of the project's outcomes.

The youth workers, Program Manager and CLD Officer explained that their program is a stage 1 program; therefore, the JSPD Project is considered a stage 1 project within a larger progression pathway. The AAs are aimed at helping them progress to stage 2 at another community organization. Ultimately, the goal is for young people to achieve stage 3, which is college or employment. Therefore, along the sliding continuum of the NFE scale (with informal and formal education positioned at opposite ends of the continuum), the JSPD Project is conceptualized as closer to the informal range when compared to stage 2 programs. The community education program relies on and uses relationships with external providers to facilitate youth transitions, and so it has bridging and linking social capital networks with other programs and entities within the community.

The JSPD Project is divided into twelve week blocks and lasts up to nine months. Within each block, there are 25 youth participants who are 16-18 years old. The 25 young people attend the JSPD Project 3 days per week from 10-3pm. Participation is considered voluntary and youth sign an AA in order to participate. The JSPD Project has five key components. As a universalized community education program across the region, young people are required to take part within these activities when entering the AA. According to the Dockline CLD Officer, "So when a young person comes on, they must complete their literacy and numeracy work, they must do team

work skills; they must do some personal development activity.” The Dockline Program Manager further explained that these requirements are made because, “It’s just to ensure that they have the core skills to move in the next stage.” Voluntary participation, therefore, is within the limit of signing into an agreement that assigns mandatory program activities. Also, the level of diversity is within the limits of the universalized program structure.

The five components of JSPD Project are explained below and entitled: 1) PX2 Personal Development; 2) Team Building Exercises; 3) Literacy and Numeracy; 4) Creative Technologies; and 5) Youth Issue Workshops.

First, the PX2 Personal Development is, according to the Dockline Program Manager, about “confidence. Belief, self-belief.” In fact, she stated that from her perspective, the primary benefit of the JSPD “[is] the personal development element of what we deliver.” The youth workers explained PX2 in more detail:

YW1: It’s a confidence building course. Just trying to get them to look at things differently. It’s sort of psychological based but it’s getting them to think about why...they think the way that they do and why. How they could change that... You’re showing them that if you’re thinking negatively all the time, you know then, it’s going to affect the way that you behave and the way that you think; and

YW2: It’s all positive and goal setting.

Based on these responses, PX2 is about developing participants’ personal (general) skills, such as learning how to interact. Furthermore, building these skills are perceived as having an impact on how the young people will progress. Interestingly, the youth’s opinions of the PX2 did not align with the program administrators’ perceptions:

Clara: Well I learned something from PX2, but I didn’t really understand it; and

Phil: I don’t think anyone understands that... I say we ditch PX2.

When asked who else is not a fan of PX2, at least two other young people shook their heads ‘no’. Based on their perspectives, PX2 did not yield any notable social or human capital outcomes. Their responses could be due to a number of reasons, which would have to be explored individually and with more time. In a general sense, such reasons could include that the methodology of delivering PX2 is confusing, unclear or ineffective. This was communicated by Clara and Phil when they stated they did not understand PX2. Also, PX2 may not suit the participants’ needs or priorities.

Second, Team Building Exercises focuses on human and social capital outcomes as they are aimed at building social skills and working in groups. When I asked the youth workers what were some of the most important aspects to the JSPD Project, they stated it is about developing social skills, and:

YW2: Team building... Learning to work with others, and getting to work in a routine from us as well...it’s sort of easing them into the weekly routine and help them to develop their social skills at the same time.

The youth did not provide much insight into how this specific program affected them; only Phil stated that overall, through the JSPD Project, he learned “to work as a group,” which could be linked to the Team Building Exercises. Limited responses from the young people, however, do not mean that the program is ineffective. Their minimal responses, as discussed in Chapter 3, could be due to the setting of a focus group.

Third, Literacy and Numeracy according to the Dockline Program Manager “is a big part of the program.” It primarily focuses on achieving human capital outcomes and enables young people to receive qualifications:

They do the literacy programs...So they will receive Scottish Vocational Qualifications-3 to... it can go up to a Standard Grade which will be a National 5 now. So they can get up to a National 5 which is a standard grade through the literacies, which is to say numeracy, communications (Program Manager, Dockline; also see Appendix J for diagram of SCQF, which includes SVQs).

The youth workers explained:

YW2: They get to choose whether they do maths or English and we try and put it across in a way that's relevant to them. Instead of at school where you're stuck and there's the board and the teacher just tells you that's what you're doing and if you don't get it, you're left behind; and

YW1: It does work quite well in this setting because you've got a good chance for one-on-one situation almost in that way. Rather than, as you say the classroom setting so everyone can get their own little program to work from.

Within this specialized setting, the JSPD Project's alternative relationship to formal education is re-affirmed. Also, a level of diversity within program practices is promoted by way of responding to the individualized needs of the young people. The youth workers have concluded that this approach is more effective than formal schooling because the flexible characteristic of NFE supports the needs of each learner. As a numeracy and literacy program, it ties with Government aims of facilitating core skills for training. Even though human capital outcomes are evidently prioritized, bridging social capital is fostered between youth workers and young people through relationships that listen and respond to the young people. Also, there is a recognition that qualifications will help to expand young peoples' networks through linking them with places of work. Youth responses were minimal. Clara said, "I learned math and English." Later during the interview she reflectively said, "I'd rather do more math and English," revealing, perhaps that the Literacy and Numeracy program is where she would experience the most benefit or has the most need. Phil said, "I learned a bit what math's like."

Fourth, Creative Technologies provides opportunities for young people to learn computer skills, informal music lessons, and link young people with other service providers in the area:

YW1: But they [external providers] come out with computers, because we've only got four computers... They're bringing the computers out this time to teach, because they've got proper tutor for doing, the skills for Microsoft Office...They've done woodwork; and

YW2: The creative technologies as well. I used to do music things with them...If they've never played before, just try to get them to write a song together.

Creative Technologies was not discussed by the young people so outcomes cannot be explained from their perspective. However, it aims to build special human capital skills through computer and IT sessions. The use of external providers helps create networks between young people and community members who are able to impart skills and knowledge to the participants.

Fifth, the Youth Issue Workshops incorporate a range of NFE services, which also bring in external trainers:

Program Manager: [External provider name] comes in and deliver as do [external provider names]...We also take them to visit other places as well, because we are the foundation level. They really need to reach phase 2, because it increases their learning. It gives them more opportunity to get qualifications and to further themselves and whatever they choose either training, employability or college.

Here again, young people's interaction with external providers is perceived to build linking social capital and human capital outcomes. Also, the youth workers expressed that the workshops try to cater to the young people's requests:

YW1: We try and set out a program but of the time, we've got to... like, Thursday we ended up doing employability and writing CVs because most of them are moving on so we decided we have to get that done. It was meant to be a different workshop. So we just changed it; and

YW2: Obviously if the young people ask for anything in particular we can see if we can do stuff for that too. So it is quite flexible. I tailor it, I suppose, to each individual group's need.

Through Youth Issue Workshops, young people, like Clara received a certificate in first aid. The workshops also deliver activities related to current events and personal matters related to the young people, therefore, making young people central. For instance:

YW2: Obviously if there's anything that comes up, even like say, big things in the news that comes up, that could affect young people we can do a session on that; and

YW1: Or if they come out with comments about...if they're drug and alcohol taking at the weekend, we then end up sitting and have discussions...

Other activities that are not a part of the 5 components, but also help to comprise the JSPD Project include taking young people on recreational and learning excursions as well as providing volunteer opportunities. The Program Manager and CLD Officer explained further how these experiences help young people to: 1) integrate within community institutions; 2) understand how they socially fit within their community; and ultimately 3) feel more included through learning and increasing skills:

Program Manager: So it is a case of never being in a bank. 'How do I do that?' and actually physically taking them into a bank and saying, 'This is what you do'... We get them to join the library. That kind of things are just things that should've been part of their life but for whatever reason hasn't been; and

CLD Officer: Taking them to local office where they can look at housing issues or deal with social work... Many of these families don't go anywhere near the council at all. So for those young people it's a huge learning curve for them and it's been a learning curve for us as a service. And actually having our eyes open to those issues that these young people come with.

As a secondary point of analysis, the CLD Officer's last statement reveals a learning process that is bi-directional because they are learning from young people as young people are learning from participating in the project. Furthermore, outcomes of learning are also experienced by the staff, whose increased knowledge in turn helps to inform them on the best modes of delivery for youth participants.

The CLD Officer's statement shows how social capital networks are organic, as they can transform types of participation and build trust amongst the young people:

Even villages that are next door to each other, they won't associate with that other village. So they are quite territorial in that regard. So bringing them together is quite interesting... They kind of start to socialize. It [participating

in the program] breaks down barriers because young people are quite territorial (CLD Officer, Dockline); and

A mother was so impressed by the program, she came and volunteered. Because she'd seen the difference it had made in her daughter's life, she wanted to get involved. I think it's helped her as much as she's helped other young people. It's given her more of a framework for going on and doing something (CLD Officer, Dockline).

As a result, participating in the JSPD Project has helped young people (and their families) to reshape how they define their community. These quotes also describe how social capital networks are fluid, able to expand to include young people and then their family members. Also, the trusting relationship between the mother and the community education program increased her civic engagement through volunteerism. The Dockline Program Manager agreed by stating that participating in the JSPD Project is "getting them to recognize their community rather than their bubble of home life."

The youth workers and Dockline Program Manager explained how bridging relationships between program administrators and the young people are highly valued because they help to build trust and ultimately improve young people's attitudes:

YW1: You can be friendly with them but you're able to correct their behavior and they don't take it offensively. Whereas at school they would've just wrecked the classroom or... We've had people come here, and we've been told, they throw chairs around and they do this and they even say, they'll try and attack you or... And then they come in and you look at them and think, are they talking about the same person?!; and

YW2: Whereas, if she weren't here, she would've been left home doing nothing.

The center becomes a sort of 'home away from home' - a place that aids in transitioning into the wider community. This is explained by the Program Manager when she stated, "They've come into the building because they feel comfortable and they like it. So they do socialize, and they do make friends." Thus, the center helps

to create a community of its own where young people feel comfortable and socially included.

Data provided by the interview responses combined with available monitoring documents were used to gain an overall picture of outcomes within the community education program. The 2012/2013 monitoring report (provided by the CLD Officer) explained outcomes through the provided statements:

8 young people progressed to a positive destination and 6 young people have received a bronze Youth Achievement Awards with 8 working towards this goal;

Young people participated well with Historic Scotland... PX2 was successful this term with all young people receiving certificates; and

The program that operates is adaptable and staff change it accordingly.

The language seems quite formulaic and vague leaving the reader to interpret what young people 'participating well' actually means. The monitoring document does not provide indicators about how outcomes were evaluated. Also, the report does not illustrate the extent to which the JSPD Project has been meaningful to young people's lives and the wider educational context. The interviews, in comparison to the monitoring report, provided a more in-depth picture of how social and human capital theories interrelate and the importance of social capital. However, the report is worth mentioning because it illustrates how the monitoring framework has been translated into more 'loose' evaluation language at the community level.

Overall, based on the interview responses, the young people experienced outcomes that included bonding, bridging and linking social capital networks as well as building human capital through general and specialized skills development. In comparison, more social capital outcomes were recounted by the youth than human capital outcomes. Along with the evidence provided throughout this section, additional evidence to this conclusion can also be found in Clara and Phil's overall reflections of the project:

Clara: I've made friends. I suppose it has helped my confidence, a wee bit. But in a way it helped me build my confidence and stuff; and

Phil: I still talk to the folks that have left.

Furthermore, human capital outcomes of work/training opportunities or further engagement in school were not experienced by any of the youth interviewed. This is to be expected since the JSPD Project is a stage 1 community education program in the progression pathway. There was no indication made within the interviews whether the young people interviewed were in the process of progressing into stage 2. However, the CLD Officer explained that other youth participants have:

...[gone] onto college and some of them are re-engaged in school. They've went back to school because it's kind of given them an understanding of what learning means and the benefits of learning (CLD Officer, Dockline).

5.3.2. Embedded Case Study 2: Large Urban Area, Daniels

The Daniels case study offers a range of services for young people as well as adults. The particular project that works with young people is anonymously named, the Job Skills and Apprenticeship Project (JSA Project). The JSA Project operates throughout the year, and is focused on school leavers starting at 15-15 1/2 years old. The Daniels Program Manager described the characteristics of youth participating each year when stating the youth participants are “your most disadvantaged, most disengaged they reckon about 10% of the school leaver population. That's about 130 to 140 a year in [Daniels].” Adhering to the national government's goal and the local level employability strategy, the JSA Project's goal is to ensure youth have positive destinations and focuses on school-to-work transitions. The recruitment strategy of young people recognizes the necessity of social capital networks at the community level since the community education program relies on partnerships with school staff, Skills Development Scotland, careers staff as well as personal referrals by members of the community to bring in young people.

Interviewees for this embedded case study were:

- The Program Manager;
- Two key workers (KW 1 and KW 2);
- 1 youth worker (YW); and
- 7 young people. The youth's ages range from 16-17, and they are given the pseudonyms of Kristy, Jeff, Ana, Jess, Catherine, Michelle and Lacey.

As within the Dockline program, the Daniels program uses AAs and is a first stage within the local pipeline of community services:

The target of the Activity Agreement and young people is that first stage engagement. We know we are not going to move them straight into employment, but it's about giving them that additional support to get them access to training (Program Manager, Daniels).

The young people are considered vulnerable and excluded, as the program administrators' responses revealed:

Program Manager: This is not about picking [young participants] that would've made it. That would be easy to do, because you get good results there... I think it's good that we're targeting this group. I think they would've been ignored before... So I think we're actually targeting a group of young people who, through no fault of their own, have already had a pretty bad start in life;

KW 1: We work with ones who are deemed hardest to reach from the job market. The ones who for whatever reason disengaged from school or left school...They would call them NEET. So they are not doing anything;

KW2: You find some of the kids are painfully quiet and very isolated; and

YW: I work a lot with young carers...so they would've been disengaged from anything because they've been caring for relatives.

The program administrators' answers help to reveal the myriad of circumstances related to why these youth are disengaged from school, work and/or socially excluded. The evidence suggests that their issues are not solely economic based, but could also include intervening circumstances, such as having to take care of ailing family members. Issues could also be associated with psychological or social factors that have played a role in their exclusion. The youth's responses also described that

they are within the vulnerable and disadvantaged category, stating that they joined the JSA Project because:

Jeff: I wanted to try something instead of staying in the house all the time;

Ana: I didn't have anything else to do;

Jess: At that time I wasn't doing anything and I wanted to get myself a job, and get myself back on my feet in doing something; and

Michelle: To get more training, because I want to do something with my life. I don't want to sit home all day and do nothing.

I. Job Skills and Apprenticeship Project

The Daniels program site is located in the city center within an office building complex. The program site is fairly large with office spaces and several separate rooms for private and group meetings with youth participants. The program site is not where the primary learning activities are delivered, rather it serves as a hub for program administrators and a place where youth participants can visit and meet with program administrators regarding any personal and employment matters. There are also a few social, on-site meetings between youth participants and youth workers.

Because the JSA Project's physical center is a hub for directing services throughout Daniels, it has the opportunity to offer a range of NFE opportunities through off-site partnerships. In conjunction, the bespoke nature of the AAs provide flexibility in the types of NFE services the JSA Project can offer, which are based on the needs and interests of the young people. For example, there are apprenticeship or training activities in child and elderly care, animal care, hair dressing and construction:

It's a hook thing for Activity Agreements, it doesn't necessarily have to be they're going on extended work placements and they have to have all these skills... We've done care, we've done motorbikes, we've done sport activities. There's a whole range of first stage hook activities to get them involved—cooking, catering, hospitality (Program Manager, Daniels).

Therefore, according to the Daniels Program Manager, the JSA Project method of implementing AAs reflect the conceptualization of placing youth at the center of planning provision. Recalling the *GIRFEC* policy language, the implementation of

AAs aim to empower them with opportunities to choose and explore skill sets they are interested in building. Simultaneously, the demands of the labor market drive the community education program's activities. This is based on the previous explanation in 5.2.3 about the implementation of the employability, economic approach. The Program Manager also stated that, "We engage our employers to find out what skills are required." Ultimately, the JSA Project tries to create a balance between youth ambitions and the wider employment needs and national agenda, since the Program Manager concluded, "We also try and make sure that young people's opinions and views and needs are fed into the employability partnership." As a result, the NFE programs offered are still within a nationally prescribed set of services.

As a primary stage community education program, the JSA Project's main role is to be that first step for young people to acquire certain skills that will aid them into further transitions. These preliminary skills include:

Well, we know that they need those skills if they are going to progress. So if they don't have any employability skills, don't have a CV, don't know how to attend an interview or do job search (Program Manager, Daniels).

Although the JSA Project's main role does not include actualizing the final stage of transition for young people, youth participants can still receive entry level or basic qualifications:

[Our] Youth Achievement Awards are leveled against the [Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework]. A lot of the courses are too short to allow a SVQ level qualification. Some of the qualifications might be more like first aid or some health and safety things or more vocational based. It just depends on the length [of time] that they're doing [the activity] (Program Manager, Daniels; also see Appendix J).

Along with human capital outcomes such as initial level qualifications, social capital plays an important role in the operational success of the JSA Project. This is reflected in the roles and responsibilities of the program administrators:

KW1: It could be also if they want to go to college. We'll look at a college and see what courses are available, do their applications with them. We'll take them up to college and meet with the student advisors so they're

comfortable there... We'll sit and build CVs with them, we'll give them mock interviews; and

KW2: We work closely with job brokers.

The role of the key workers is to reach out, support and guide the young people. As KW1 explained, "Although we're meant to be about employability and getting them into training, sustainable employment and college...we also look at the bigger picture of what barriers do young people have."

Two of the young people also recognized the value of supportive key workers. Jess, currently doing an apprenticeship in care to elderly individuals, stated that regarding the key workers, there was "always somebody there to speak to, like if you've got anything that you need to speak about." Jess also confirmed that key workers help her with skills development, by stating that they were offered assistance when, "I need help with something or need to talk to somebody or I've got a job interview or something like that." Jess was also aware of the benefits of the linking relationships between the Project and other external providers. She explained, "It was my key worker that got me an interview," and "I got referred from Positive Steps to [name of Daniels community education program]. I think they're linked in some way."

Furthermore, Ana stated that her key worker "helps with stuff. She's good to talk to as well." Ana also stated that she "gets on with [the key workers] well." The youth's statements communicated an awareness and appreciation of the support key workers provided to them.

The key workers actions of door-to-door recruiting and speaking with the young people and their families tries to promote trust and increases bridging networks with not only the young people but the wider community. Additionally, as reflected in the local level discussion, the JSA Project facilitates relationships between external service providers and youth. The social capital between the young people and program administrators goes as far as to serve a familial role with young people. The

key worker described this point when responding to the question of what she thinks is the most important aspect of the JSA Project:

KW2: The most effective I think is the relationships between the young people and the staff. We've had incidents where kids have been caught. Have been with police, and they've called our key workers to get them out of the cells. We've had an incident where a young person called me to do a pregnancy test... So I think we work outside the box sometimes.

The KWs' statements below also suggest that in the process of helping to build general skills in young people there is also an aim to reform behavior:

KW1: So that's part of the socialization of kids, being a part of groups again...meeting new friends... So it's about changing attitudes...learning how to behave again; and

KW2: The big aim is to move young people on to positive destinations, but the smaller aims behind that is baby steps...challenging their attitudes and behaviors... So we give them the right skills, the confidence, the knowledge to then move them on.

Their statements regarding changing and challenging youth's attitudes seem to portray a stance that youth are at a social deficit and mirrors the Government's perception that the behavior of vulnerable and disadvantaged youth needs to be reformed in order to socially engage within the wider community.

The youth worker conveyed that through hosting more informal recreational and group activities, his role is to facilitate bonding social capital networks amongst the youth. Also, the youth worker is young and a former participant of the JSA Project. Having a common experience with the young people, he explained, helped to garner trust between him and the youth participants. Michelle also confirmed this type of bridging relationship with the youth worker when she explained that with the youth workers, they "just talk about anything of interest and stuff like that." Also, the YW described experiences with the young people, regarding their bonding social capital during activities that he led:

They're kind of scared, and they [the youth participants] were like, 'Nah, nah, nah, I don't want to do that. Who is going? Who is there? Do I know them? Do I like them?' It's just like this, you've got to see it first. And now it's like 'I'm loving it, it's great... By the end of it, they're all speaking (Youth Worker, Daniels).

Outcomes described by the youth showed that what was most noteworthy for them was developing special skills for work, building confidence and friendships:

Jeff: At my training, I've made a lot of friends... And she [his key worker] says, well that's all build your confidence, because I've not got any confidence, but it's come out;

Catherine: I went out to training and to Helm and I made loads of friends there... it's fun to be here... they've showed me new opportunities and everything and I've learned quite a lot. Like, I've got more qualifications since I've been here;

Jess: Before I wouldn't have known where to go first and where...and basically what path to go down;

Kristy: "Just build my confidence up..." Also, in her construction apprenticeship, she said overall that she has learned "how to build. Just how to make stuff";

Ana: how to lay bricks...and my confidence has been built; and

Lacey: The care course...you learn a lot from that...We learn stuff about confidentiality...so it's like learning about what it's like to work with children.

The youth participants experienced both social and human capital gains that facilitated avenues for social relationships and hopefully economic development. Both capitals seemed to be of equal importance and noteworthiness to them.

In summary, the JSA Project provides an entirely alternative form of NFE for vulnerable young people who are outside of the school system. The implementation of the AAs reflect the vision of AAs conceptualized at the national level because they indeed offer NFE opportunities that respond to the needs and interests of the young people. They also represent a contractual agreement that aim to empower young people to decide what paths they would like to explore. In conjunction with the JSA

Project's ultimate goal of assisting youth transitions to realize human capital outcomes, social capital is integral in achieving these human capital gains and its contributions are recognized by the program administrators and young people. Initial levels of trust is important for the JSA Project to function, which supports the claim made in Chapter 2 that initial levels of social capital are needed for more capital to be generated (Light, 2004).

5.3.3. Program Practice Challenges

Three primary challenges were found from the analysis of the practices in Dockline and Daniels. The first challenge that program administrators contend with includes the nature and experiences of working with the young people. The Dockline Program Manager and CLD Officer explained how the staff go above and beyond their work hours and responsibilities. Dealing with fundamental and basic level issues such as access to food and proper nutrition, clothing and personal hygiene of the youth are additional responsibilities program administrators have to manage. These needs are so fundamental and essential to the well-being of young people that the goal of ameliorating them precedes the goals of skills development for employment and school. A point the Dockline Program Manager would agree with, since she concluded, "Until they get the basics, they are not going to move on." The program administrators also illustrate that responding to this challenge compels them to take on responsibilities beyond the scope of the national guidance. This creates a burden on the administrative infrastructure and achieving the goals of the community education program.

Within Daniels, the key workers explained how keeping young people engaged within the JSA Project can be precarious:

KW1: The hardest part is probably...the fact that they are the hardest to reach, the ones who will disengage more. For example, a couple weeks ago, we had 6 or 8 groups working and they were full to capacity. A hairdressing salon that we run, there were 8 young girls who were working. You go 2 weeks later, only 2 have turned up. So at one point, you are telling young people,

you can't go on a course at the moment, and then 2 weeks later, there are 6 people who have not turned up... It's just the nature of the young people we work with, but that can be frustrating sometimes because you can never fully plan exactly what's going to happen.

The inconsistency of attendance creates a further challenge to promote the viability of NFE since the JSA Project relies on a certain number of participants to operate. Also, the key worker's explanation shows that non-attendance of young people directly affects other young people's life chances by canceling services and ultimately precluding them from learning activities.

The Daniels KW2 revealed that the vulnerability of young people extends beyond the young person. Family dynamics have a lasting impact on a young person's level of engagement:

KW2: I think the hardest thing...is their parents. Their parents haven't worked... So there's no encouragement from their mom and dad... How do you challenge their mom's opinion?...I've also heard, I can't come today, because mom wants me to go to court with them. Again, how do you challenge mom, when mom thinks it's more important for a young person to tag along in court then go on a placement?

The AAs try to address this challenge as it is designed to fit the interests and needs of the young people; therefore, there is a hope that AAs will keep young people engaged and wanting to attend. The Daniels program also gives a monetary incentive through a stipend. However, this issue continues to persist, suggesting that young people's level of vulnerability impacts them so greatly that addressing employability and social skills is not actually tapping into the source of young people's fundamental issues. As a result, the community education programs in Daniels and Dockline, alone, cannot ameliorate the issue.

The second challenge concerns monetary issues for the programs, as a restricted budget has impacted delivery of the projects. According to the CLD Policy Leader, the Government claims to be aware of the human and monetary resource challenges,

but assumes that working to improve effective management and partnerships will help to resolve such problems. Already mentioned at the local level, funding restrictions have affected partnerships in Daniels. Also, in Dockline the program administrators explained how the Government has prioritized funding for a local program that emphasizes employability. These monetary challenges have trickled down to the practice level. According to the Dockline CLD Officer, over the last 3 years, funding decreased “from £1,000,000 to £240,000.” This is a marked reduction and program administrators are contemplating how they will allocate the shrinking budget, which will ultimately have major implications for how youth work will evolve in the future. The Dockline CLD Officer explained that in the next two years, they will “need to decide what is our priority. Is it our work to support an employability agenda, or is it going back to traditional, mainstream youth work.” The Daniels Program Manager as well expressed a challenge regarding a small budget affecting delivery:

Every year there’s quite a cut. And it’s not a lot to deliver what we have to do for the most disadvantaged group of young people at that age range. It’s not a huge budget when you see what they spend on education in schools or the department for work and pension... I think [the Government is] getting a pretty good value for peanuts (Program Manager, Daniels).

The Scottish policy leader also recognizes issues related to limited resources. She stated:

...there’s always the resource issues. It’s labor intensive and resource intensive... So the challenge is in really about how to sustain all of this and also keeping the sector skilled and trained. The competing demands have been a challenge, but has always been a challenge and continues to be. You just have to work around that and make sure that together in partnership we are maximizing our resources and that we are all clear about where we are... (CLD Policy Leader, Education Scotland).

Even if there is indeed a consensus between the national level and local level regarding the CLD goals to be achieved, the program administrators’ statements reflect that there is a point of departure on what it takes to effectively implement and deliver the programs. Additionally, the sustainability of youth work and the picture

of how youth work will be in the future are major questions to be considered as a result of this challenge. Linking to this latter thought is the third challenge.

The third challenge is about the actual sustainability of program outcomes. Within Dockline, human capital development seemed limited, especially when compared to the social capital development. This seems incongruent to the skills emphasis of the employability approach. Although the Dockline youth recognized some skills development, there was no further evidence regarding if and how these skills have been sustained. Furthermore, there were instances in Dockline, for example, where the young people did not recall or retell many of the skills building exercises. It also seemed that these responses were as a result of the YW2 reminding them of the project activities. Overall, facing the challenge of sustainability requires, for example, looking at modes of delivery and motivational levels.

5.4. Discussion of Research Questions

I. Research Question 1: How is the community education program developed from national policies and reflected at the community level, and what are the ensuing challenges?

Community education has been shaped within the Scottish context by successive discourses, which have set out to establish the function and purpose of CLD (as discussed in chapter 2). Historically, early conceptions of community education were established with Scottish values and principles that embodied democratic ideologies. When community education was subsumed under CLD, these principles transitioned into the current CLD frameworks. Today, recognition of these principles are referenced in policy documents related to CLD and claim to still be considered as bedrock standards for its delivery.

A. Development from National Policy into Community Education Programs

In this research context, a top-down modeling of NFE for community education program is illustrated. Guidance and strategies are formulated at the national level and then translated at the local levels. Amongst policy-leaders, practitioners and academics, there is consensus that CLD is considered as: 1) service and professional practice; 2) technique; and 3) concept and value (CLD Standards Council, 2015a; Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan, 2012; Wallace, 2008). This situation illustrates the point made in Chapter 2 that NFE is a dynamic and complex idea. Incorporating Smith's (2001) explanation of community in the Scottish context, the Government highlights the concept of community through place and interest, focusing on the geographic makeup of a locale and the people who are linked to it through common characteristics, such as occupation and socio-economic status.

How NFE, through the context of community education, fits within the wider educational discourse in Scotland is seen through it being conceptually distinct from the formal learning sector, but not entirely separate, as it is still overseen by the Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning (Weedon et al., 2010; The Scottish Government, 2014a). Another evidence of the relationship between formal education and NFE is evident through the *Curriculum for Excellence (CfE)* and the CLD Policy Leader's interview. They both explain the Government's goal to have 'synergy' between formal education and NFE, working together to realize lifelong learning goals for youth. Overall, NFE serves to provide alternative forms of learning for disengaged youth who are outside the formal school and/or employment, which reflects Hoppers' (2006) categorization of para-formal education in Chapter 2.

At the community level, the embedded case studies' project designs exemplify the diverse typology of CLD. Specifically, Dockline represents CLD that is managed and operated directly by the local authority while the Daniels program is managed by the city council through Daniels Partnership. Although Daniels and Dockline

represent differing forms of CLD through their management strategies, there was not much difference in how they implemented NFE within their respective projects. Both are stage 1 projects focused on youth out of school and work. They also both used Activity Agreements as the core framework of their delivery. This established some sort of universality in NFE across both embedded case studies, since they were primarily guided by the same 16+ Learning Choices strategy. Also, both locales recognized and promoted the alternative role of NFE to formal education in that they provided learning and training opportunities for their out-of-school youth participants.

The role of actors within the model of NFE was developed by the Government through its partnership and management strategies, as well as strategies that conceptualized young people. First, based on the national strategies, there was an overall structure mandated by the Government through local CPPs and SOAs needing to align with the NPF. Although there was this level of universality, policy language also created room for various conceptions of how partnerships should work and how outcomes are monitored and evaluated at the local level. Both embedded case studies showed how their plans align with the NPF and their partnerships helped define the roles of program administrators within the program and with their respective community. For example, external providers and third party sectors linked with the program to help provide NFE and create more networks for youth.

Also, program administrators within the program were integral, and their roles were slightly varied, for example, in Dockline the role of the key workers were different to Daniels. Key workers in Dockline helped to refer young adults, whereas in Daniels, they had a more in-depth role in the program operations. At the local level, there was evidence of both effective and weak partnerships. The effective partnerships proved to be important in connecting services to young people, and proved that young people benefit from these partnerships through increased social capital networks.

The weak partnerships were seen mainly with schools and other external providers, which affected implementation of the community education programs.

Second, Youth Work in CLD policy language framed a discourse about vulnerable and disadvantaged young people that ultimately shaped the purpose of youth work within the community. For instance, the *MCMC* strategy illustrated how this demographic of young people are characterized and what their needs are within CLD. Also, on the one hand, policy language describes youth as anti-social, in need of reform and at a deficit. On the other hand, youth are empowered individuals and seen at the center of youth work delivery. These perceptions of young people present a complex and perhaps obfuscated picture of how the Government chooses to reconcile its view of vulnerable and disadvantaged young people. In fact, the local level reflected this dichotomous picture. An example is that the program administrators seemed to support the narrative of youth who are empowered actors within the model of NFE, aiming to place them at the center of their youth work delivery by listening to their interests and goals. While, according to program administrators, community entities viewed them through the normative basis of being anti-social and in need of reform. Thereby, youth had a diminished role as influential actors within the model.

Overall, at the local level, there is an effort to adhere to Government goals and priorities, and the overall model of NFE was not altered or changed when translated from national to local level. However, the challenges expressed by program administrators illustrate that they are not in complete approval of Government goals and see needed improvement within policies. Program administrators would also like to see goals expanded to include, for example, social and well-being concerns. As a result, Government norms, specifically conceptions and stances on young people, have not been completely incorporated into the perceptions of program administrators. Nevertheless, the program administrators continue to remain faithful to the national program when forming project plans.

B. Primary Challenges

Primary challenges can be attributed to misalignment between macro and micro levels. First, managing the varied responsibilities set forth by the Government, has been a strain on program administrators who believe that Government is not fully incorporating the necessary services for young people within national plans. Furthermore, program administrators believe that these responsibilities are further challenged by a shrinking budget. Based on the policy leader's response to managing limited resources (on page 226) and the policy language that communicates the importance of partnerships, the Government stance could be that more effective management will counterbalance the issue of limited resources. It seems that inclusive of bolstering management strategies, more funding and greater recognition of the sector is what is needed to sustain and/or build CLD.

Second, as described throughout the chapter, the dichotomy of defining young people and their role within Youth Work in CLD has ultimately fueled tensions at the community level. National plans seems to highlight youth as the demographic to be reformed, thereby, not giving adequate focus on remedying social issues and tensions between community level institutions that play a role in effective delivery of CLD.

II. Research Question 2: How are social and human capital theories reflected in the way that national governments operationalize the model of NFE?

Social capital development is linked with human capital development in that they support each other to help achieve lifelong learning goals. Based on policy language, Becker's (1962, 1964) classical model of human capital theory is reflected in the outcomes of learning for youth. Also, Coleman and Putnam's theorizations were reflected in Government framework.

The Scottish employability approach focuses on investment in learning to support a robust workforce, and reflects the neoclassical conception of the human capital input-output model. Overall, the aim is for young people to become more integrated

within the economic and social fabric of society. In so doing, the Government perceives that young people will have greater opportunities to increase their life chances through avenues of work and further schooling. Social capital development for vulnerable and disadvantaged youth is addressed by Government documents in that they reference themes of ‘active citizenship’ and ‘empowerment’. Social capital development is important to enhance social inclusion for youth.

Specifically, the outcomes-based approach and monitoring and evaluation strategies are the key strategies and guidance that illustrate the incorporation of social and human capital development for young people. CLD monitoring and evaluation guidance documents explain that indicators for outcomes should be more descriptive, non-concrete in order to remain open, flexible and readily responsive to what CLD practices yield. Perhaps this decision concurs with the academic debate that social capital outcomes are difficult to measure and evaluate. On the other hand, the strategy could reflect Government’s ongoing effort to marry human and social capital.

Beyond the practice levels, social capital and human capital also have a key role within local level partnerships. Social capital between community level entities and organizations foster and grow relationships that are vital to the effective delivery of CLD. The presumed levels of social capital amongst local level actors has proven to be not so robust in the case of Dockline where there has been challenges amongst community level partnerships. An initial level of human capital is assumed to be present amongst community level entities, since their skills and knowledge are used to plan, deliver and evaluate the community education program.

Overall, Government policy suggests a positive relationship between human and social capital will increase individuals’ capacities to become more viable and productive contributors to the national economy (Bell and Blanchflower, 2011; Brooks, 2009; Weedon et al., 2010; Tett, 2010). With modern-day circumstances like

globalization and the relatively recent global recession, governments have responded by setting new priorities and focusing on essential services (Jeffs and Smith, 2010). Scotland has responded similarly to such global dynamics, and CLD policy language ultimately conveys that the national drive for developing core skills is paramount for Scotland. As a result, there seems to be a shift towards focusing on the employability component of CLD, as evident through some of the policy language and challenges and critique expressed by the program administrators. An emphasis on economic competitiveness serves to enhance the credibility of the nation but poses the risk of measuring human value in terms of economics. As Tett (2010) argues and this research's findings have shown, this situation could ignore the fact that pervasive problems within society are socially embedded, which economics or education alone cannot solve. Coupling political and economic motivations with the traditional conception, which the provision of community education programs helps to realize through more ideological purposes (Brooks, 2009; Tett, 2010), is an ongoing challenge that will continue to spark debates.

III. Research Question 3: To what extent is there evidence for human and social capital development in the community education program?

At the local level, social capital networks were evident and deemed vital for the projects to access expertise and resources. Development of social capital was inhibited in certain circumstances due to the challenges with external providers discussed throughout the chapter.

For the youth participants (the micro-level), social capital as well as human capital development were the intended outcomes to examine. According to monitoring documents and interview responses by the young people and program administrators, both social and human capital development was evident in Dockline and Daniels. In Dockline, it seemed that social capital development through friendships and trust had more of a value in impacting the overall well-being of the youth than human capital development. In slight contrast, the youth in Daniels recounted experiences that

showed social and human capital development as equally noteworthy and important to their overall well-being.

Since the community education programs in Daniels and Dockline both deliver stage 1 projects, transitions into work and training were not an expectation or intended outcome to the projects. Rather, the expected social and human capital outcomes were to develop preliminary skills and networks that would then help young people progress to an intermediary, stage 2 program or organization. The stage 2 organization would then in turn help to further develop their skills for college or training. Reports and program administrators explained that young people have progressed to “positive destinations.” However, there was no specific evidence that any of the young people interviewed were progressing into stage 2 programs or organizations.

5.5. Conclusions

Through this Scottish case study, analysis of the national and local level findings proved to be useful in understanding the journey from policy to practices and outcomes. Also, it helped to understand how national and community level perceptions of young people ultimately impact the delivery of programs as well as understand young people’s experiences. The case study revealed how the relationship between the national and community levels have yielded intended outcomes for NFE as well as tensions. Despite continued areas for improvement, Youth Work in CLD has presented a credible and much needed avenue for vulnerable and disadvantaged young people to socially re-engage and transition into work and/or school.

How the sector is conceptualized and implemented continues to be an area of debate. Also, Youth Work in CLD continuously aims to gain recognition. Decreased funding and political prioritization has presented ongoing challenges for the sector, which

have led some to ultimately question what youth work in Scotland will look like in the future.

Chapter 6 uses the findings and analysis from Chapters 4 and 5 to discuss comparisons.

Chapter 6: Comparison of PN Program and Youth Work in CLD

Chapter 6 compares the PN Program and Youth Work in CLD by addressing research question 4: How does the conceptualization of community education impact elements of the model of NFE at the national and local levels within each country?

The comparisons in this chapter are predicated on the national and local level discussions from Chapters 4 and 5. Through these comparisons, it is further exemplified how elements within the model of NFE for community education have been used similarly or differently within the US and Scotland.

6.1. Comparisons at National Levels

From the discussions in Chapter 2, the narratives of both countries tell of governments that adopted western democratic ideologies as well as their respective historical traditions within current community education frameworks. In both cases, incorporated ideologies included concepts of civic engagement and increased accessibility of education for all (McInerney, Smyth and Down, 2011; Melaville, Berg and Blank, 2006; Powers, 2004; Roehlkepartain, 2007; Smith and Sobel, 2010; Tett, 2010; Weedon et al., 2010). The historical traditions that the US government incorporated were taken from the early 19th and 20th century movements of Dewey's community schools and later included in the 1970s War on Poverty legislation and contemporary narratives of urban communities and minority populations (Ball, 1995, Chin, 2001; Fernandes-Alcantara, 2012; Gruenewald, 2003; PBS, 2014; Smith and Sobel, 2010). The development of community education in Scotland, as Chapter 2 explained, stems from two narratives that present competing discourses. One narrative attributes the development of community education through radical, socialist movements of the 19th century (Tett, 2010); while the other explains that community education developed from the philosophies of 19th century evangelical movements and organizations, which aimed to alleviate societal

problems (CLD Standards Council, 2015a). Overall, these points are reiterated to emphasize the degree to which each country's social and historical developments are manifested within PN Program and Youth Work in CLD.

The PN Program and Youth Work in CLD case studies show how community education has also been shaped by presiding governmental stances, goals and motivations. Chapters 4 and 5 explained that governments' use of community education has politicized the concept through particular policy agendas. Therefore, along with the contextual historical and social factors that developed community education, governmental policies have inevitably played a role in setting the agenda for national community education programs, which illustrate the governments' relationship to community education.

There are four points of analysis that compare the implications of community education policy for PN Program and Youth Work in CLD. They are: 1) Formation of National Community Education Programs; 2) Governmental Expectations of Community Education; 3) Approaches to Monitoring and Assessment/Evaluation; and 4) Government's Views about the Role of Community Education for Young People.

I. Formation of National Community Education Programs

At present, community education in the US context is a concept applied within different programs that are constructed and delivered throughout multiple government agencies. As was previously explained in Chapter 2, US agencies and departments like the Department of Education (ED), the Department of Labor and the Department of Human Health Services are each responsible for establishing and leading federal programs applicable to community education for young people (see Appendix A). The PN Program is resultantly one of many community education programs operating in one of the tasked government departments. In this regard, each community education program is subject to the focus of the government agency

or department in which the particular program resides. Since the PN Program sits within the ED, PN Program goals are centered on the emphasis for stronger schools and communities and learning outcomes (ED, 2009; 2012).

In Scotland, CLD also sits within the national education body, the Cabinet Office of Education and Lifelong Learning (Cabinet Office). CLD's aims are influenced by the policies of the Cabinet Office (see Appendix B). *Curriculum for Excellence* is an example of CLD's relationship to the wider national education policy agenda (Education Scotland, 2014f). Although Youth Work in CLD and PN Program both sit within each government's national education body, CLD's structure is different in that it is not a program but more like a sector. Further, the Scottish Government has tasked two entities—the CLD Standards Council and Education Scotland—to oversee CLD plans and practices (Education Scotland, 2012; also see Appendix B). As a result, Scotland seems to have a more centralized focus for developing and implementing community education throughout the country. It could be interpreted that Youth Work in CLD, as a sector, has a greater standing within its government than does the PN Program. On the other hand, the fact that the PN Program is President Obama's signature program for community education (ED, 2012a), it could be seen to have an elevated status within the overall US community education framework; albeit, still at a program level.

Furthermore, one may initially conclude that, since community education in Scotland is within the limits of the Cabinet Office, it is more restricted than in the US. This is because community education is not dispersed throughout multiple entities as in the US where the concept can be shaped by various perspectives of these agencies or departments. However, as evident in Chapters 2 and 5, policy leaders, program administrators and academics have conceptualized CLD as a technique, a profession and a concept (CLD Standards Council, 2015a; Daniels Program Manager; Education Scotland Policy Leader Interview, 2014; Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan, 2012; McConnell, 2012; Wallace, 2008). Through this conceptualization, CLD is

organic in nature and can be shaped by a given context. This was evidenced in Daniels because this case study was not operated by a CLD management body; however, program administrators can decidedly incorporate certain aspects of CLD concepts and methods within their practices. Also, according to the Daniels Program Manager, she and one of the key workers were trained as CLD practitioners. The Daniels Program Manager was aware that their professional background in CLD influenced the project's operations. Hence, practices can be shaped by persons at the community level.

II. Governmental Expectations of Community Education

Governmental community education agendas are expressed through the policies they have prioritized and focused on through the PN Program and Youth Work in CLD. The evidence presented in Chapters 4 and 5 suggest that both governments have conceptualized a similar aim for community education programs for vulnerable and disadvantaged youth. There is an expectation by both governments that community education programs provide opportunities for young people to gain skills and access networks that will ultimately (re)-engage them within schools, training or work. The governments foresee that achievement of these aims and operational success of community education programs are dependent upon certain factors working in tandem. These factors are described below.

First, as explained in Chapters 4 and 5, the national governments rely on multi-sector coordination to operate and manage their extensive national programs across different communities. Policy language uses terms like coordination, collaboration and partnerships to illustrate the need for shared practices and exchanging resources between multiple (governmental and independent) sectors of the society. Various entities throughout the community, such as the police, churches, health and fire departments, are included as a part of the governance structure. These entities were included within the partnerships based on the specific needs of each community. When perceiving community level partnerships, both governments reflect social

capital similarly. They recognized that community entities within the governance structure had existing forms of social capital and concluded that coordination between these entities could catalyze existing networks to help build social and human capitals for the young people. The role of partnerships is directly related to the top-down model of NFE because the conception of partnership structures (established at the national level) operate to fulfill national policy agendas, and at the same time enables local level entities to activate their own governance structures within the communities. Therefore, governance in both the US and Scottish cases goes beyond a simple extension of government controlled systems (Rhodes, 1996), as both governments have established opportunities for partnerships to represent networks that are managed on the ground.

Second, governments' conception of community education, as it relates to formal education, illustrates how this relationship can actualize governments' overall national education agenda. Chapter 2 discussed in-depth four relationships between NFE and formal education. These relationships are NFE as alternative, complementary, supplementary or completely separate from formal education and these descriptions were used to categorize each case study program.²⁴

PN Program was seen as a strategy to help strengthen formal schools (ED, 2009; 2012). With an emphasis on building stronger schools and increasing school performance, US policy language sets out a framework where NFE, can be integrated within the formal school context thereby establishing a complementary and supplementary relationship with formal education. The Lennox case study provided an example of a complementary relationship where the PN Program is operating within the school itself and is highly integrated within the school curricula. Equally, the Government conceptualized an alternative role for NFE. The Santa Clara case study showed how NFE operates as an alternative and supplement to formal education, as program administrators worked with young people who were school

²⁴ See section 2.1.2 (II) in Chapter 2.

attendees and non-school attendees. The school attending youth participated in community education programs during their summer vacation where activities were geared to further engage them in school in order to improve their school performance and achieve transitions from high school to college or university.

Scotland's policy framework for community education also recognizes a relationship between formal schools and community education programs, through a strong emphasis on partnerships, or as the CLD Policy Leader stated, a "synergy." With the Daniels and Dockline local programs targeting non-school attendees, the services that their projects provided exemplified the alternative role of NFE to formal education. Thus, in the Scottish cases, the community education programs offer activities that are on a separate track of learning than formal school since the youth are not attending school. However, the community education programs have some overlapping aims with the formal school system since both want to transition young people into further education and provide recognized qualifications.

Third, the US and Scottish Governments have concluded that the strategies for monitoring and assessment/evaluation are also important to the operational viability of community education program. Within the US, the strategies are employed to obtain a picture of what is happening on the ground, communicate between national and local levels and ultimately determine if certain national indicators are achieved (US Policy Leader, Lennox Program Manager). In Scotland, monitoring and evaluation strategies are employed to determine best practices, which policy states are focused and driven by the needs of the youth and their communities (Education Scotland, 2014b, 2014f). Further, in Scotland, policy discussions present the self-evaluation process as being carried out by program administrators and recognize that outcomes are too variable to be predetermined and universally applied across programs (Education Scotland, 2014b, 2014f; The Scottish Government, 2007a). Self-evaluation and the non-universality of variable outcomes are two components to the Scottish policy strategy that are not seen in the US case study. An in-depth

comparison between the US and Scotland approaches to monitoring and assessment/evaluation are explained in Subsection III.

III. Approaches to Monitoring and Assessment/Evaluation

Another distinction between CLD and PN Program is in how the national governments designed the monitoring and assessment/evaluation strategies. As previously explained, the PN Program, which is under the umbrella of the ED, is subject to the presiding national education norms and the US educational system has a long tradition of using technocracy within national educational assessment. In the PN Program the input of technical experts and *Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA)* indicators are being used to audit and assess programs. Also the characteristics of an overall managerialist structure are evident through the hierarchical structure of communication between national government and local level actors. As the Lennox Program Manager conveyed in Chapter 4, the emphasis on prioritizing data to assess the Program is regarded as an appropriate and effective strategy to best understand and communicate outcomes.

In Scotland, the outcomes-based approach was exhibited through policy language within *How Good is Our CLD 2, Learning Evaluation and Planning* and *Delivering Change*. These documents present an evaluative perspective that is interpretative and subject to local level needs (Communities Scotland, n.d.; HMIE, 2006; The Scottish Government, 2007a). Simultaneously, with the Government's overall employment strategy there is an emerging and strengthening emphasis in CLD to ensure that young people have relevant skills to acquire work or gain qualifications for schooling (e.g., *Opportunities for All, Skills for Scotland* and *Education for All*). These employment strategies emphasize outcomes related to specific skills for work and training. So there is a current divergence from evaluation strategies that aim to focus on social and personal development to strategies that focus on employment. As a result, local level tensions have arisen between what program administrators have been tasked, by the government, to evaluate and what they think should also be

included within the evaluative process. Overall, the US has a very explicit monitoring and assessment strategy that provides guidelines for assessing local programs through technocracy and emphasizes managerialism to oversee and assess the PN Program. Scotland provides a more fluid or interpretive guidance to evaluate the programs.

Governmental emphasis on human capital or social capital outcomes is another point of contrast within each country's policies language. Overall, the US emphasized human capital in its monitoring and assessment strategies. In Scotland, no conclusion could be made regarding what the policy messaging emphasised when considering human and social capital outcomes. This is due to the ongoing argument made throughout the thesis that the Scottish Government has been shifting towards the economic, employment agenda while, at the same time, there are other policies, with equal influence, that focus on social capital development within the community education framework. These dual stances ultimately influence how outcomes were measured and what outcomes were evaluated or assessed at the local level, which is explained in section 6.2.

IV. Governments' Views about the Role of Community Education for Young People

Chapters 2, 4 and 5 revealed that normative stances and resultant policies reflect how governments targeted young people for community education programs. Also, policy language reflects how successful transitions or progression are interpreted by governments. These approaches are compared as points of analysis in this section. The points of analysis are entitled: A) Focus of Youth Policy; and B) Demographics of Targeted Youth.

A. Focus of Youth Policy

There are a multiple interpretations regarding the purpose of youth work within community education. This includes, for example, narratives of youth empowerment, youth as a deficit and increasing youth's civic engagement and

citizenship (Coburn and Wallace, 2011; Ferber, Pittman and Marshall, 2002, Fernandes-Alacantha, 2012; Pittman, Irba and Ferber, 2001; Spence, 2005). From the discussions in Chapters 2 and 4, it can be concluded that there is not an enacted national youth policy in the US; however, what is evident through the specific PN Program policy is that the language focuses on helping to revive impoverished communities, reform behaviors and improve school achievement. The US policy stance of technocracy, combined with the Government's stance on youth and achieving outcomes centered on performance indicators, further illustrates factors that contribute to a policy perspective that emphasizes human capital outcomes for youth.

In Scotland youth policy for community education is evident through government documents that focus on targeted youth for their CLD agenda. *National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019, More Choices More Chances* and *GIRFEC* help to define the purpose of youth work for young people in CLD as well as describe the types of young people who are targeted. Despite having what seems to be a more explicit youth policy framework than the US, Youth Work in CLD policy language still exhibits ambiguity. In some instances, policy language views young people through a deficit perspective, as evident through, for example, *Skills for Scotland* and its language of anti-social behavior within disadvantaged youth. In other instances, there is policy that emphasizes young people as empowered individuals, such as the Activity Agreements and *GIRFEC*. This ambiguity led to situations where national and local levels were not in agreement as to which policy stance was stressed within the delivery of youth work.

Human and social capital theories are evident within the policies not only to help explain each country's monitoring and evaluation/assessment strategies, but also directly link to what each government's community education goals are for vulnerable and disadvantaged young people. As explained in section 6.1 (II), outcomes included acquisition of skills for further work and/or training. This is

emphasized in the US and seems to be increasing as a main priority in Scotland at the national level. This emphasis on skills presents a stance that these governments perceive young people as lacking the necessary resources or knowledge needed to progress within the market society.

Young people being seen as vulnerable and disadvantaged seems to create a duality in the purpose and impact of community education programs. On the one hand, characterizing young people in this way is helpful in defining the policy focus and determining those in need of services. On the other hand, it runs the risk of highlighting certain youth through a stance that could hinder the recognition of their initial abilities and contributions. The combination of these two perspectives, which seems to be evident especially within the Scottish context, creates a situation where governmental premise and plans are based on the idea that young people are in need of help but at the same time, not in the position where they can contribute to and inform their own progressions since their socio-economic status has hindered their development or created a barrier to their advancement.

B. Demographics of Targeted Youth

The US and Scottish Governments explicitly aim to target disadvantaged and vulnerable populations; however, this constitutes a differing demography within each country. Scottish policy language argues that disadvantaged and vulnerable groups in Scotland consist of youth from diverse social and economic circumstances, as evident from descriptions in the *More Choices More Chances* strategy. Although aware that youth within this category are from diverse social and economic situations, the Scottish Government seems to focus on those who are primarily disengaged from school or work for its CLD agenda. US policy language as well looks at socio-economic status to determine disadvantage. Within the USA there is a focus on young populations who can be school attendees or non-school attendees. In this regard, Scotland could be arguably focused on a higher level of vulnerability, since it is targeting young people who could be considered as more disengaged from

the formal school system and/or society. Also, within the USA there is a component of strategizing plans that relate to racial minorities. This policy focus stems from civil rights agendas stemming from historical and present-day racial and socio-economic inequality in the USA. The absence of a history of racial inequality and a long history of racial homogeneity (a predominantly white Scottish demographic) within Scotland seems to be the reason why the Scottish plans do not seem to have a focus on ethnicity within Youth Work in CLD.

The US historical pathway of the development of Community-Place Based Education/Learning (C-PBE/L) for young people serves as a complementary point of analysis that helps to explain the contrast between the demographics targeted. As discussed in Chapter 2, even before community education was incorporated as a policy agenda within the US Government, it followed a pathway that started from focusing on rural communities, and then expanded into conceptualizing its purpose and practices within industrialized and urban regions of America. The later developments of C-PBE/L resultantly included addressing multiculturalism and non Euro-American populations within urban communities. These later developments are also reflected within the US Government's political agenda for community education programs. Although the PN Program allows for grantees to be from rural or urban populations, there is an implicit message that areas with the greatest need in the US are often times tied to racial factors.

Community education in Scotland had and continues to have a particular emphasis on socio-economically disadvantaged youth, irrespective of race or region. Furthermore, CLD policy language does not exhibit a narrative about ethnic minorities within its discussion on vulnerable and disadvantaged youth in Scotland. This aspect of the comparison needs to take into consideration that C-PBE/L started from an American point in history where social mores of segregation and racial discrimination were legal and accepted.

Although the adoption of community education within national policy followed different pathways in the USA and Scotland, the research found that both governments as well as some proponents of community education and practitioners have very similar conclusions about the significance of community education for young people. Both governments concluded that certain groups of young people are most in danger of being socially and economically excluded, which has at times reinforced the deficit model because these groups are framed as disadvantaged and vulnerable. Both governments perceive community education as a way to provide diverse and additional learning opportunities for targeted youth. Also, community education is viewed as an important way to increase youth's economic and social participation, which will ultimately help to improve the overall national economy. The purpose of community education is to enable more opportunities for learning and employment and perceived by both governments as a viable pathway towards successful transitions for young people.

6.1.1. Conclusion of National Level Comparisons

The PN Program and Youth Work in CLD policies reflect some differing conceptions of community education. This is evident through each community education program's relationship with formal schools, national governance structures, strategies for monitoring and evaluation/assessment as well as the demographics of the targeted youth. Despite these differences, the USA and Scotland essentially reflect a similar construct of NFE for community education and have conceptualized an overall top-down model. This is evidenced through the PN Program and Youth Work in CLD first being conceptualized through each country's main governmental body for national education. Through national educational entities, the policy agenda and monitoring strategies are set, and in the case of the US, provides a large portion of funding. Additionally, both governments' overall aims are similar in that they focus on transitioning disadvantaged young people into school or work, developing their skills and enabling young people to access networks in order for them to engage with the community.

With national government at the helm, policy language also recognizes and enables local level autonomy through the importance placed on local level partnerships, planning and resources. As a result, the governance structure of the model of NFE for community education goes beyond the traditional conception that governance is solely an extension of national government. Rather governance is a process of managing networks within and beyond the national government (Rhodes, 1996). Therefore, the local levels in both countries are empowered to enact community education programs with differing levels of autonomy. Program administrators are able to administer and manage the programs in the way they see best suited for a particular community. This type of government model illustrates how “the task of government is to enable socio-political interactions; to encourage many and varied arrangements for coping with problems and to distribute services among the several actors” (Rhodes, 1996, p. 657).

6.2. Comparisons at the Local Levels

Local level programs are inevitably influenced or shaped by national policy goals since it is through national aims that implementation plans at the local level have been guided. This conclusion was evidenced through the discussions in Chapters 4 and 5 regarding the translation of national level policies into the local level governance structures, implementation plans and monitoring goals. Program administrators’ explanations also illustrated their awareness that programs operate within limits that have been set by the Government. Also, local level administrators are accountable directly or indirectly to governments by submitting monitoring reports, structuring implementation plans to meet national aims/targets and maintaining communication with governments.

Within these bounds, program administrators’ autonomy is displayed through how they interpret, organize and set local level activities. Their autonomy provided variance between community education programs to be examined, thereby enabling

points of comparisons. Section 6.2 compares the local levels from the perspective of program administrators by discussing: 1) Roles of Program Administrators; 2) Program Administrators' Application of the Evaluation/Assessment Strategies; and 3) Characteristics of Partnerships.

I. Roles of Program Administrators

Since the model of NFE is top-down, the roles of local level actors link directly to the type of governance structure established by the national government. This point of analysis compares the nature of local level actors' roles and their resultant management of programs.

Within the US communities, this element of the model was translated into hierarchical distinctions between actors, with modes of self-management for local level program administrators. The Lennox and Santa Clara Program Directors (also grantees) were lead entities within established and nationally recognized institutions. As lead entities, they operated the PN Program through their institution and had a direct communicational link with the national government—communicating with ED employees in Washington, DC who monitored the PN Program. Program Directors had the authority to direct already existing resources within their institutions and allocate the grant money. They also were able to frame specific implementation plans through authoring or helping to develop the grant proposals. Additionally, the Santa Clara Program Director had the authority to contract services to the Santa Clara Youth Center. Based on the responses of the Youth Center Program Manager, the Santa Clara Program Director was seen as hierarchically above the Youth Center. The Youth Center Program Director also perceived the Santa Clara grantee organization as distanced from the daily operations of the program at the Youth Center. In Lennox, it did not seem like the Lennox Program Director's role included direct involvement with the daily activities of the children. Rather, the teachers and community members interacted with the children who then communicated outcomes to the Lennox Program Director. The school administrators resultantly reported to

the Lennox Program Director who in turn supervised and assessed outcomes, and communicated with the national government.

In Scotland, the Dockline CLD Officer, Program Manager and Daniels Program Manager were more integrated within daily program practices as compared to the US Program Directors. There existed less of a hierarchical relationship between the different levels of their statuses as head program administrators, key workers and youth workers. Although they had local level autonomy to operate their program, in comparison to the US case studies, Scottish managers seemed more bound by an already existing governmental framework for developing project designs and goals. This framework was the 16+ Learning Choices, inclusive of Activity Agreements, which they saw as the core guidance to their delivery. Unlike the US, Scottish program administrators did not communicate directly with the national government. Rather their communication link was with the local authority. Furthermore, program administrators did not manage and allocate funding; this was done by the local authority. The program administrators' physical presence within the daily operations demonstrated a greater level of embeddedness with on-the-ground activities in contrast to the US. In Scotland, program administrators worked closely with the key workers, youth workers and young people and were able to explain first-hand experiences of program practices and outcomes. Especially in Dockline, the CLD Officer and Program Manager were also personally involved in helping to provide social services for the young people. Therefore, although both constructs of NFE for community education employed an overall top-down approach, Youth Work in CLD illustrated more integration between actors at the local levels. While in the PN Program, actions between actors followed more of a managerial 'chain-of-command' construct.

There, however, exist similarities between Youth Work in CLD and the PN Program in the manner in which program administrators interact with the young people. These similarities were identified amongst the youth workers, key workers in

Scotland and the contracted Youth Center administrators in the USA. Although they had different titles, there were similar dynamics exhibited between the administrators and youth. In both Youth Work in CLD and the PN Program there was evidence of 1-to-1 interaction between workers and youth, with the aim of facilitating youth's transitions into school, training or work and providing social service needs. As the previous chapters helped to explain, there was variation in their emphasis on certain services and/or their type of involvement within certain activities. For instance, key workers in Daniels were more integrated within the daily activities than the key workers in Dockline. Also, the Scottish administrators explicitly emphasized placing the desires and needs of youth at the center of delivery. Similarly, the Youth Center administrators in Santa Clara, who worked directly with the young people, exhibited a genuine desire to help young people transition. These program administrators communicated a desire to give a voice to youth and encourage them to become more proactive in their self-determination. Also, it could be suggested that in both case studies, those who are more closely associated with youth are best placed to know and respond directly to the needs and desires of youth.

II. Program Administrators' Application of Evaluation/Assessment Strategies

Since program administrators within the US were tasked more to look at prescribed indicators for achievement, for example, following the *GPRA*, the Program's focus on technocracy emphasized human capital outcomes that correlate with young people obtaining work or (re)-engaging within school. Thus, the US type of assessment was geared more towards quantitative information such as percentages and numbers to communicate transitions and overall outcomes for youth. Although qualitative and social capital outcomes were recognized by the program administrators in Santa Clara, the official report submitted to the PN Program Grantee and ultimately the ED, included only human capital measures and outcomes. *GPRA* measures were influential in how outcomes were measured in Lennox, and program administrators' responses in Lennox and Santa Clara reflected the national policy stance about young

people as they conveyed the urgency and imperative for young people to obtain necessary skills to progress into work, training or school.

The community education programs in Scotland have a different approach to evaluation and assessment. Reports in Dockline reflected less empirical language and more qualitative evaluation. Human capital information was gathered in a manner that did not use quantitative data but communicated human capital outcomes. The Dockline monitoring report used language like, “Increased number of young people completing forms of accreditation” and “Increased skill...” Furthermore, the Daniels Program Manager stated that reports are more about “the contractors’ performance, rather than the individual’s performance. It’s more about how many starts [the youth have] had and how many progressions.” At the local level, Daniels and Dockline evaluated the projects through outcomes that related to skills development as well as social and personal development. Based on the responses of the program administrators, they were trying to remain balanced about what to evaluate, while aiming to remain responsive to the needs of the young people. At the policy level, there was attention paid to human and social capital outcomes. However, policies stressed at times one capital over the other, with a trend shifting towards a human capital focus. Therefore, it was not as clear if there was an overall emphasis on human capital over social capital or vice versa. This ambiguous policy stance translated into tensions at the community level, where there were challenges for program administrators to balance local level needs with Scottish Government aims.

III. Characteristics of Partnerships

According to Rhodes (1996), integrated networks can have the opportunity to develop their own micro-policies and create their own environments because they are self-organizing and autonomous. The integrated networks in this study are demonstrated through the local level governance structures. For example, Chapter 4 explained that the Santa Clara program’s grant proposal incorporated local churches

within its partnership because the program administrators viewed churches as influential institutions within the community that would understand local needs and concerns. The Dockline program administrators described how they have been able to garner different relationships with local schools. The variation between partnerships with schools was due to personalities and different understandings about the purpose of community education.

Based on the Dockline program administrators' responses in Chapter 5, one could conclude that they have a desire to increase relationships, by going beyond their current state partnerships to work more with schools and perhaps integrate with schools. Furthermore, the self-organizing and autonomous ability of partnerships illustrated their fluidity, but were also not fool-proof in establishing successfully operating programs at the local level. Tensions still persisted and program administrators thought their input was being restricted. This was evident with the experienced challenges between, for example, Dockline program administrators and schools as well as between the Youth Center program administrators and the Santa Clara PN Program Director.

A further and equally important comparison to make is an examination of local level actors outside of the management structure and partnership structures at the local level. These actors are community members who are not within established organizations and the participating youth. It would seem that based on the concepts and goals of community education, youth and community members would be important voices to include within the overall design model of NFE. It would be fair to deduce that community education, within the context of Youth Work in CLD and PN Program, would aim to incorporate the fullest representation of community perspectives. This deduction is made since the overall policy message of Youth Work in CLD and PN Program is to build and work with communities. Furthermore, community education that involves youth work would also aim to prioritize the actual needs of young people since young people are the primary recipients of

learning and their outcomes have been stressed within policy agendas. Scottish policy even framed young people, in some instances, as empowered and needing to be more active citizens.

However in both the US and Scotland, evidence does not support in-depth outreach and consultation with youth at the national level or local level prior to and during the establishment of the programs. Within the US, nowhere in the grant proposal documents or interviews with program administrators was it conveyed that young people were sought for their input to construct implementation plans nor were they included within the local level governance structures. The Scottish case explained through, for example, *GIRFEC*, that youth participants should be seen as the primary stakeholders, but still they are not a part of the existing management structure or decision making process (The Scottish Government, 2007a; 2012b). Also, *Education for All* did state that the Wood Commission consulted young people; however, based on a review of the report, this consultation was primarily within the scope of employability (The Scottish Government, 2014b), overlooking other social and developmental elements such as, mental health and social interactions, which are factors in achieving overall well-being for young people. Therefore, despite the Scottish policy language of young people being a part of the democratic process, the co-existing narrative of the deficit perspective in this context still plays a role at the local level. Through both governmental stances and local level actors, it would seem that there is a conclusion that vulnerable and disadvantaged youth do not have adequate levels of human and social capital to contribute to partnership planning or implementation plans.

Regarding community members, it was claimed within the Santa Clara and Lennox grant proposals that community members (e.g., families) were consulted within the planning and implementation phases of programs. Overall, in both cases there was no evidence in the form of transcripts and meeting notes about community members' actual level or type of input so their distinctive voices were absent or unclear. As a

result, the roles of participating youth and community members (outside of partnerships) as actors helping to shape or manage the programs seemed minimal to non-existent from the national to the local levels in both countries.

6.3. Summary

The comparisons within this chapter looked at how government roles and policies impacted national community education programs similarly and differently within the US and Scotland. As neoliberal, western governments, both systems demonstrated several similarities in how community education was organized at the national level and operated within communities. Both governments ultimately exhibit a top-down model of NFE for community education.

At the same time, differences were apparent. For example, the formation and development of community education in both countries followed different pathways, which undoubtedly had an effect on current community education frameworks. Also, the scale of each community education program and the national demographics of socio-economic disadvantage played a role in how governments and local level administrators chose to organize programs at the local level as well as how particular youth were targeted within the communities. The presiding governmental and societal norms about race, democracy and the relationship between the formal education sector and community education were important in shaping community education programs.

The next and final chapter summarizes and concludes the thesis by re-addressing the research questions and discussing key themes as they relate to the broader literature reviewed. Chapter 7 also presents the study's contributions, limitations and areas for further research.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

This chapter begins with a summary that includes discussion of the main themes of the thesis. Section 7.2 restates how the research questions were answered, embedding the discussion within the wider literature. Section 7.3 presents reflections from the findings and analysis, and the final three sections discuss the thesis' contributions, limitations and areas for further research.

7.1. Summary of Thesis

I. The Research Journey

The field of education plays a vital role within discourses about personal development, equality and socio-economic progress for individuals and societies. Formal, non-formal and informal categorizations have been useful conceptions for understanding how education has been interpreted and applied. Within this thesis, these discourses and categorizations helped to shape the narrative of the study.

This research has a specific interest in exploring the narrative of how NFE has been conceptualized, its role within communities and young people's lives and its learning potential and outcomes. Understanding that such an undertaking is quite expansive, this thesis focused on the administration and delivery of NFE through national community education programs in the US and Scotland. The literature that surrounds this topic examined how NFE has been defined and understood in western societies as well as its relationship to formal education. Another component to this thesis is the relationships between community education, NFE and the nature of youth work in the US and Scotland. Through the literature reviewed, it was revealed that ideas from human and social capital theories influenced how researchers and governments conceptualized the formation and outcomes of community education programs.

Furthermore, from the literature reviewed, the research questions were developed.

The research questions guided analysis at different stages of the study and are:

Research Question 1: How is the community education program developed from national policies and reflected at the community level, and what ensuing challenges and issues have arisen?

Research Question 2: How are social and human capital theories reflected in the way that national governments operationalize the model of NFE?

Research Question 3: To what extent is there evidence for human and social capital development in the community education program?

Research Question 4: How does the conceptualization of community education impact elements of the model of NFE at the national and local levels within each country?

Overall, an inverted pyramid (top-down) model of NFE for community education (see Figure 2.1 on page 52) and a theoretical model, using human and social capital theories (see Figure 2.2 on page 66) were used to examine the national community education programs.

Using a comparative case study research design, the US's PN Program and Scotland's Youth Work in CLD served as primary case studies. Each community education program contained two embedded case studies within each local level. The research primarily used qualitative analysis. In order to incorporate information from national, local and micro levels (micro levels being the practices and outcomes for youth), data was gathered from government policy documents, community level reports, proposals as well as interview responses. Specific to the interview format, a governmental level policy leader in each country, community level program administrators and young people were interviewed. All, except two interviews, were conducted in a 1:1 format. Additionally, youth's written responses within one of the US embedded case studies programs were provided by the Santa Clara program administrator. Ultimately, the research used the findings from both case studies to compare the programs at the national and local levels.

II. Main Themes

The themes of this thesis reflect analyses from the literature review or emerged from the findings. This subsection sets out the main themes the research identified.

Governments recognize that NFE has a role in educating youth who, because of their socio-economic status, are not fully engaged in society, work or school. With this recognition, governments have invested time, human and financial resources to create community education programs. These community education programs aim to assist young people by socially and economically (re)-engaging them within communities, schools and work. Government plans are buttressed by the expectation that youth's successful transitions into work will ultimately expand the economy. Thus, there is governmental optimism for youth to succeed and an implied duty for governments and communities to include young people.

National community education programs are planned around a narrative of disadvantaged and vulnerable youth. Within this construct, youth who are not within this category are perceived as being socially included and therefore not targeted as the primary recipients of community education. Furthermore, governments do not address formal education as being exclusionary or ineffective for vulnerable and disadvantaged youth. Rather, there is an implied onus placed on these young people and their communities to make use of other forms of education. From this stance, governments focus on creating opportunities for youth from a perspective that does not critique or reform the formal education sector or other social institutions.

Social and human capital theories are relevant theories to analyze community education, specifically to explain plans and outcomes. Human and social capitals are not mutually exclusive; simultaneous outcomes from both capitals can be experienced. Social capital and human capital development in youth tends to happen when there is a greater synergy between actors within and outside a particular community. Also, youth engagement requires commitment beyond the young

person. At all levels of the model of NFE, actors need to understand how norms influence practices, establish effective relationships and provide youth work that accurately address the needs and desires of young people. This type of governance can be seen as operating like an extension of the family, empowering and guiding young people, and is especially needed when evidence has illustrated the issues and problematic circumstances of vulnerable and disadvantaged youth.

NFE, community education, youth work, and human and social capital are fluid and organic and cannot be confined within rigid frameworks or definitions. These concepts operate within social systems, where humans are variable, complex and subjective. It is, therefore, important to maintain a level of flexible interpretation within the contexts in which they exist. At the same time, research requires a level of empiricism in order to offer approximate claims and analysis that are based on data and facts. Governments recognized the need for variability when incorporating these social science concepts, but also realized that programs should provide measurable or evaluative outcomes. As a result, the community education programs had varying levels of flexibility at the implementation phase to ensure successful outcomes.

7.2. Recap of the Findings

The US and Scottish case study chapters addressed research questions 1-3, separately for each country. The findings for Chapters 4 and 5 also provided evidence for the comparison presented in Chapter 6. Chapter 6 addressed research question 4. The four subsections below correspond sequentially to the four research questions.

I. Relationships Between National and Local Level Actors

In respect to research question 1, findings in both case studies revealed information about governments' relationship to community education, relationships within community governance structures and challenges and tensions experienced.

Addressing research question 1 ultimately illustrated the dynamics between the

national government and local level programs as well as between local level actors. The nature of these relationships incorporated discussions of managerialism, partnerships and technocracy to understand their structures and functions.

In both contexts, the US and Scottish national governments' conceptualization of community education program were found in the policy language as well as the policy leaders' interview responses. The evidence showed that both governments' motivations, aims and stances stemmed from historical traditions, educational norms found within government frameworks and current national concerns recognized and discussed in political circles. For example, the US conveyed that its plan for PN Program contributed to the US Government's overarching vision to improve national security and America's global standing (ED, 2012c). In Scotland, one of the country's aims for Youth Work in CLD is to respond to the global innovation-driven economy (The Scottish Government, 2010b).

Integral within the focus of this study was identifying each country's narrative of community education as it specifically relates to young people. The research found that governments' conceptions of young people shaped policy language and ultimately impacted operations at the community levels. At present within the US, there is not a core youth policy applied to all community education programs, and various national departments or agencies operate different community education programs. US governmental conclusions about youth in this thesis are, resultantly, only applicable to the PN Program. The findings showed that the US government framed disadvantaged and vulnerable young people (and their communities) as a group in need of help and reform. Policies also incorporated a racial narrative. Given the socio-political history of race relations within the US and current socio-economic concerns of African-American and Hispanic youth in America, race is important within the US framework. The implications of this narrative bring forth two opposing arguments to consider. Its incorporation within the Program and community plans can be interpreted as beneficial, promoting inclusion. On the other

hand, others may argue whether these perceptions and plans are exclusionary, ‘singling-out’ racial minorities as a primary issue in the youth deficit argument. Further, these perceptions may over look non-minorities who are also in need of community education.

Scotland has an evident core youth policy exhibited through documents that focused on working with youth (i.e., elements of *GIRFEC* and *More Choices More Chances*). From these and other relevant policy documents, this thesis concluded that the Scottish Government’s perception and stance on disadvantaged and vulnerable young people varied. Policy language spoke of young people as empowered and motivated while other policy documents described them through a deficit perspective. There is no evidence that indicates whether or not the Scottish Government is aware of this duality within its policy language. However, as supported by the literature review, researchers have also pointed out this characteristic in the overall policy language, describing the duality as, for example, inconsistent or unbalanced (Bradford, 2005; Fyfe and Moir, 2013; Jeffs and Smith, 2010).

As described above, government policies defined the focus for community education programs for youth and set out the framework for how they would operate at the community level. At the same time, both governments enabled a level of autonomy for local level actors to achieve government aims and develop implementation plans. The conclusion was that local level actors are best placed to respond to community needs and the governments have acknowledged that those on the ground are best able to understand local needs. The evidence showed that program administrators worked to achieve government aims as they incorporated social services to varying extents and used different approaches to implement activities. This diversity was evident in how program administrators chose to work with young people and how programs were organized as a type of NFE that is alternative, supplemental and/or complementary to formal education. In the US and Scotland, local level actors were program administrators and organizations within the community. Young people and

general community members were not included within this framework. The exclusion of young people in governance and local level strategies further demonstrates how youth are perceived with a deficit perspective, which had a pervasive impact on community level implementation.

Despite being able to exercise a level of autonomy, program administrators within both countries experienced tensions and challenges with the national level as well as between other local level actors. Throughout all locales— Santa Clara, Lennox, Dockline and Daniels— challenges experienced were primarily due to any combination of the following issues. First, there were conflicting viewpoints and norms about disadvantaged youth and how to work with them. The Dockline program administrators, for example, explained how schools do not comprehend how their program approach works.

Second, there were issues in building relationships between actors, which has had an impact on levels of trust towards institutions within the community. This was evident when the Lennox Program Director described what he perceived as anti-educational norms amongst the community members and a resulting lack of engagement with schools. The Dockline program administrators concluded that school administrators do not understand how the community education programs have been successful in increasing youth (and their families) level of engagement. Youth's engagement within the Dockline program revealed how levels of trust between the youth and their families are higher with the program than with schools. Harking to Chapter 2 and its discussion on the concept of community, these examples showed that youth and their family members do not view the schools as organizations within their community of values or interest, even though the schools are located within their community of place (Smith, 2001; Tett, 2010).

Third, a disconnect between national goals and what is actually needed on the ground was another issue. Santa Clara, Daniels and Dockline highlighted a disconnect

between governmental and local levels. The Youth Center Program Director's opinion is that the Santa Clara Grantee has not been in tune with what the young people in the community need is an example of disconnect between upper and lower levels within the model. In Scotland, the issue of disconnect was evidenced through the Daniels Program Manager's explanation that national government aims do not present a total picture of what young people need within their community.

II. Use of Coleman, Putnam and Becker to Analyze Programs

The literature review explained that neoliberal, western governments have adopted traditions derived from Coleman, Putnam and Becker within community education models in order to merge democratic and economic aims of social justice and productivity (e.g., Holland, 2008; Field, 2008; Schuller, 2005; Woolcock, 2000).

Addressing research question 2, findings showed that the US and Scottish Governments also drew on the conceptualizations of Becker, Coleman and Putnam. Authors who provided secondary discussion about the theorists also informed the theoretical framework used in this thesis.

Becker's (1962, 1964) interpretation of human capital theory was useful in understanding government aims and implementation plans to assess indicators and outcomes for school achievement, employment and training. Also, goals for acquiring skills like numeracy, literacy and computation related to Becker.

Social capital was important to understand relationships between local level actors and relationships and outcomes for young people. Policy language conceptualized intended outcomes that aligned with Coleman's (1988, 1994) and Putnam's (2000) approach to social capital. Putnam's conception of social capital helped to inform analysis through forms of social capital (bonding and bridging). Linking social capital was also included within the framework as a third form of social capital (Field, 2008; Woolcock 2000). Putnam discusses social capital at the community level and the importance of trust. Trust was seen as vital in the relationships between

young people and the program administrators in the US and Scotland. Coleman's (1988) arguments included the conception that social capital is between individual relationships and the information gathered that could help them to achieve personal advancement. In the case of this thesis, bi-directional relationships were friendships developed between youth participants as well as the interactions between youth participants and program administrators.

The wider literature conveys an ongoing debate regarding policymakers (e.g., governments) appropriation of social capital. Academics argue that policy focuses on social capital in terms of supplying education and training (Schuller, 1996; Woolcock, 2000). This runs the risk of designing programs that neglect other social capital development that is important within community education (Schuller, 1996). For example, Brown and Lauder (2000) argue that this stance has resulted in the US and Britain primarily targeting only one form of participation in society—that of paid work. However, it would be inappropriate to conclude that the PN Program and Youth Work in CLD operated solely in this way. Due to government language that enabled local level program administrators to plan and implement programs with a level of autonomy, there were opportunities to incorporate different types of social capital development. As a result, the findings showed that there was interest and aims, at the local level, for building social capital for young people through more than just finding work or having relationships for the sake of obtaining work. Programs also supported activities that promoted networks amongst youth and between youth and program administrators. The networks impacted on social engagement and built friendships and trust. Furthermore, program administrators developed activities so that young people could be more informed about their community and involved through volunteer activities and field trips. These plans aimed to make youth more socially included.

Another discussion about a government's use of social capital can be found through Halpern's (2005) argument stating that, "While some policymakers see social capital

building...as an important goal in itself, most policymakers' interest in social capital is as a means to other policy ends, such as reduced crime and higher educational attainment" (Halpern, 2005, p. 323). On this point, the PN Program policy agenda does seem to fit within that perspective. The Program's aims meet broader policy agendas like stronger schools and increased national robustness rather than a sole focus on building relationships and achieving certain community education and youth work goals (i.e., increased democracy and civic engagement). Applying Halpern's idea to the Scottish context, one could conclude that Youth Work in CLD's social capital goals are increasingly becoming subsumed under an overarching, national goal for economic attainment.

Overall, human and social capital theories were highly useful and relevant to this study not only because policies reflected concepts of Coleman, Putnam and Becker, but also because the theories proved to be applicable when analyzing and understanding different stages of the NFE model. The governments' conceptions of human and social capital theories had important implications on how the model was formed and operationalized. Chapters 4 and 5 discussed how each government's policy emphasized human capital and social capital theories in different ways and degrees. However, policies did not help to inform how social and human capital theories precisely interrelated to achieve expected outcomes. This observation confirmed, in part, the arguments presented by Haynes (2009) concerning the complexity of assessing social capital theory.

III. Extent of Human and Social Capital Development

Addressing research question 3 showed that the extent of human and social capitals development varied amongst the embedded case studies. While there was development of both capitals as a result of the programs, there were also instances where social and human capital development seemed limited or hindered.

All forms of social capital— bonding, bridging and linking— were evidenced in the program outcomes. Furthermore, social capital development was acknowledged and experienced by program administrators and the young people. Social capital development was also limited between program administrators and community level actors. Although evidence showed many examples of social capital development in both case studies, evidence for human capital development, in comparison, was preliminary. In the US, some of the youth in Santa Clara had experience with short term work, but nothing long term was evident at the time of data collection. Santa Clara monitoring reports measured relatively limited levels of human capital development. In Scotland, young people in Dockline and Daniels acknowledged that they were acquiring various levels of skills. Since youth participants were involved in stage 1 programs, human capital development was experienced within the limits of the stage 1 program. The limitation of human capital outcomes was an interesting finding since policy language prioritized human capital development

The extent of human and social capital development was directly related to how the model was conceptualized and then translated within the complex and unique, web of the community. It is clear that certain factors of the model contributed to hindering or promoting social and human capital development, for example, the perceptions and attitudes of actors and prioritization of plans. What the findings could not determine was the magnitude of their impact especially when there are other factors within the complex, social system that played a role. This conclusion supports criticisms of social capital theory that explain how operationalization of the theory presents an unresolved picture (Haynes, 2009). The low motivational levels, for example, had a negative impact on outcomes for young people; administrators were perplexed by this challenge.

The model of NFE could not be the sole contributing factor to this issue since low levels of youth participation stem from circumstances within the families, community and youth. Furthermore, there were other factors unrelated to how the

model of NFE was operationalized that had an impact on the extent of human and social capital development. The newness of the PN Program could not allow for the collection of longitudinal data. Also, since programs in Scotland were stage 1, progressions to more permanent work or schooling were to be expected when the youth hopefully transition into stage 2 and 3 programs.

IV. Similar Concepts and Goals with Different Modes of Operation

The differences between the US and Scotland were mainly seen in the local level administration of the programs and at the national level framing of what should be emphasized. Despite these localized differences as well as some national differences, both countries ascribed to similar core aims for young people, with similar conceptions about the role of community education programs. As a result, the overall model of NFE for community education program, inclusive of conceptualizations, use of theories and general understanding of NFE, was applicable within both countries' case studies.

7.3. Reflections

From this research experience, reflections were elicited that extend beyond answering the research questions. These reflections are discussed in two main topics that combined my perspectives, information from the literature review and interview responses.

I. Revisiting the Model of NFE for Community Education

The inverted pyramid presents a useful and appropriate model in understanding NFE for community education within both case studies. However, as the findings revealed, challenges and tensions between levels raise the speculation as to whether they were, in part, a result of a top-down construct. Perhaps some of these issues could be assuaged if the model of NFE was conceptualized or implemented differently by framers and administrators of the community education programs.

This section revisits the model to at least acknowledge the possibilities of other approaches to the model.

What if the model remained an inverted pyramid, but before implementation, core issues within the community were identified and first addressed? Woolcock states, “What is true of state-society relations... generally for all forms of ‘top-down’ development: any institution with a developmental agenda must be at once engaged with the communities...” (Woolcock, 1998: 178). Engaging the communities would require greater levels of interaction between governments and communities. Actions would include more initial communication with community members and young people, not just community organizations or entities within governance structures.

Speaking with young people to acquire their viewpoints about the programs before they are finalized would help to provide more and different perspectives that could be incorporated within program aims and plans. Vulnerable and disadvantaged youth have to deal with daily family, personal and societal issues. The gravity of such issues can impact their livelihood and self-esteem, which then influences their participation and progressions. Therefore, young people could also be further included by developing plans that engage more with their psychological, emotional and mental development. The influence of familial relationships is an important factor to incorporate within implementation plans. Further engagement could have helped to understand the norms and values cultivated within young people’s families and how these norms and values interrelate with local and macro-level perceptions of young people. Such an approach may have fostered more youth participation and support from the home.

Furthermore, initial engagement could help to build bonds amongst community members and local organizations. In Lennox and Santa Clara, for example, there seemed to be a preliminary need to improve efforts at building and strengthening relationships between the different stakeholders. Also, in Dockline, addressing

community opinions about how community education programs actually work seems to be a core issue that the community education program alone cannot rectify. Fukuyama's (2001) argument provides an appropriate summation when he proposes that greater effort by stakeholders to engage social assets within the community may diminish the level of distrust since the community members would be integrated in the process during the implementation phase. These examples illustrate that engagement needs to be done at all stages of the community education program—from conceptualization to implementation and practice. Furthermore, engagement is not only increased participation of more actors and dialogue, but also incorporation or consideration of young people's norms and standards within designs and structures.

Another possible approach to the model of NFE for community education is the incorporation of additional elements within the model. Woolcock (1998) advises that development of policy, especially those concerned with alleviating poverty, should consider the interaction and connection of both top-down and bottom-up paradigms. The top-down construct (relationships between the State, private sector and citizens) and the bottom-up construct (relationships between individuals, household, neighbors and/or small groups) both play a vital role (Woolcock, 1998). With the inclusion of a meso-level of social capital, Halpern (2005) also argues for macro and micro levels to merge in order to have a more comprehensive picture of social capital. Although Halpern and Woolcock were discussing social capital exclusively, their arguments can be applied to the overall conceptualization of the model's construct. From their conception of how policy development should work, an extrapolated argument can be made for formulating a model that aims to merge national and local level at equal levels and stages of the process. Within this re-evaluated conception of how to construct NFE, the aim would be to promote involvement of the community's grass-roots level. Therefore, there would be "a cross-section of community members in each organization's decision-making process" (Silverman, 2004b, p. 193). Not negating or minimizing the role of top-

level administrators, community members would also have increased ownership of community plans, be more integrated at the infancy of the programs and have greater influence in how the strategies would have been developed and implemented.

To recall, Bourdieu was mentioned in Chapter 2 as a third theorist who discussed social capital. He was not incorporated within the theoretical framework of this thesis because his conception did not fit within the construction of the programs. However, a third approach to revisiting the model of NFE would be to apply Bourdieu's position on capital development. His arguments present additional opportunities for the assessment of NFE. Bourdieu would argue that disadvantaged and vulnerable young people who live in 'distressed' communities lack the resources and norms to have or access cultural capital. If the model was designed to address deficits in cultural capital, programs could deliver activities for development besides those geared towards work and school.

The findings showed that program administrators had to work beyond government established roles, operating like family members for youth. In this regard, if programs had more opportunity to transfer acceptable societal norms, cultural capital development could be fostered, much like how Bourdieu envisioned cultural capital transfer within homes and families. Also, cultural capital would be gained through the 'objects experienced'— like artwork and books (Bourdieu, 1986). Dockline program administrators had field trips to the library, exemplifying this type of cultural capital development. It would have been interesting to see and interpret how activities geared towards cultural capital development would have impacted overall capital development and therefore outcomes for young people.

These considerations, used singularly or in conjunction, would incorporate more substantial viewpoints within all stages of program processes. They may also address or decrease current challenges and tensions experienced.

II. Where NFE Stands within the Wider Educational Narrative

The evidence in both case studies re-confirmed the literature's explanation about the variability, strengths and limitations of NFE. It also showed that NFE is consistently perceived through its relationship with formal education. The relationship between NFE and formal education was important to explain program goals and understand outcomes. The relationship was also necessary so that community education programs could try to cohesively work with schools. At the same time, NFE continues to try and gain an autonomous footing within the wider educational narrative. The case studies demonstrated this struggle, as local level programs try to gain recognition and wider acceptance with community institutions and members. Additionally, findings showed that further understanding from top-level actors who implement the programs (e.g., the governments) needs to be sought about how programs are operating within the communities.

The governments' role in initiating a widespread, national program may have helped to increase NFE's legitimacy by sheer magnitude and the multiplicity of community education programs across sectors. Furthermore, Werquin (2010) argues that obtaining accreditation through NFE would be a beneficial path for explaining its viability. The US policy language communicates measuring outcomes into a translatable mainstream context, which could be helpful for NFE. Additionally, in Scotland, the Government's new outcomes-based approach provides a more universalized framework for delivery in Dockline. According to the Dockline program administrators, this has improved coordination and streamlined the program. Applying the cultural capital argument to this section, Bourdieu's (1986) application of institutional cultural capital would support the idea that accreditation practices can help increase legitimization of the programs. Academic qualifications represent "a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 20).

The legitimization and accreditation of NFE within the domain of formal education can be perceived as advancing NFE's status, but can also be interpreted as counterproductive to the very nature of NFE. Efforts to further legitimize NFE, through accreditation and universalization, raises the question of whether such practices will negatively impact the plurality of NFE services and goals. NFE could ultimately have to conform and shift its priorities to mainly support formal educational standards and priorities. If governments fully integrate or assimilate NFE to formal education standards, NFE could experience a contraction in its ability to provide services that are attractive to vulnerable and disadvantage youth and their learning needs. This impact is due, for instance, because NFE will be unable to reach youth who have not been engaged in formal education. Universalization and result-driven outcomes will also inevitably impact program administrators' relationships with young people. Already, in Scotland the Dockline CLD Officer has begun to question how the nature of youth work will look in the future as a result of the Government's new outcomes-based approach. The governments primarily link NFE to increased employment rates and academic achievement standards. Prioritizing results-driven outcomes, may neglect the characteristics of NFE that make it so promising for diverse recipients and opportunities.

Due to complex and dynamic social situations within communities and the impact of government on community education program planning, NFE's standing seems promising but still uncertain. Or, perhaps it is not uncertain but variable—dependent on who is operating the program and the dynamics within the community. There is no general, universalized consensus about NFE as the literature explained and the analysis found. Ultimately, NFE alone cannot be seen as the only alternative, educational fix that can remedy pervasive problems and issues within society. Rather, educational and learning issues are embedded within greater issues in society. Remedying these issues require further attention and different approaches from various sectors and perspectives. The research would conclude that improving how NFE is operationalized and how underlying issues are addressed within programs can

give NFE more potential to realize better outcomes. This is not an easy undertaking since national community education programs are reliant upon policy planning, relationships at all levels and specific community contexts with different challenges.

7.4. Contributions of this Study

NFE research mostly addresses societies that have been generally described as poor, rural and geographically deprived populations or developing countries (Michigan State University, 1975; Romi and Schmida, 2009). The 21st century analysis of NFE incorporates it within a larger discussion of lifelong learning, broadening its practices to learners, irrespective of country of origin (Field, 2000; Hoppers, 2006). This research enters into the more contemporary discourse of NFE to build literature. It discussed how community education programs have addressed disadvantaged communities within developed nations and the implications of such policy focuses. The literature reviewed explained the need for researchers to focus beyond the structural and functional roles of organizations providing NFE (Bamfield, 2007; Schuller, n.d.; Werquin 2010, 2012). Additionally, it is unclear how NFE can contribute within the context of young people participating in community education programs. The literature on this specific topic is minimal. This research has therefore contributed to these two limitations in present literature by going beyond NFE's structural and functional role within organizations to understand its use within communities and for young people. As a result, it has provided data and analysis from all levels, including personal perspectives from multiple levels.

Further explanations or investigations into social and human capital theories' applicability within NFE are needed, especially within the context of young people. This research contributed to existing research by formulating conceptual and theoretical models specifically designed for youth participating in community education programs. In so doing, the research has also contributed to current

analysis of the theories by applying them within an original context. The research helped to explain how these theories can be used to interpret programs. It also explained how certain social and human capital theorist are related to particular political ideologies and motivations.

Understanding the conceptualization and purpose of community education, youth work and NFE's potential is ongoing. The research helped to organize US and Scottish literature surrounding the concepts and provide an interpretation about how they interrelate in current national programs. Furthermore, this research helped to expand current literature on NFE, which remains comparatively limited to formal education literature.

The findings also contributed by explaining community education programs in the US and Scotland, and also offered critique about plans, practices and challenges. It did so to provide a fair, top-bottom analysis. The overall findings and analysis can perhaps help to inform practices and provide lessons about what factors play a role in certain outcomes. Furthermore, the challenges experienced in the US and Scottish case studies confirm critical discussions found within the literature.

Finally, the limitations of this research, discussed in 7.5, can be viewed as a potential contribution to research. Limitations highlight areas where research can be improved and lessons can be learned. Limitations can thereby serve to help future research designs or approaches.

7.5. Limitations

A primary limitation to the study was in the accessibility to data. Data for some of the embedded cases was limited or absent. Data provided by youth responses was relatively limited. For instance, in the Santa Clara case, 2 out of 7 young people attended the interview. Also, the Santa Clara Program Director did not follow up with an interview. An interview with her would have garnered more information

about the PN Program. In Lennox, the PN Program had not begun the youth component; therefore, there was no data that could be collected about practices and outcomes. Furthermore, the monitoring reports provided limited information in Dockline and Daniels because program administrators did not provide reports due to ethical restrictions.

From the onset, the research did not aim to measure social and human capital outcomes and compare them between the case studies. Furthermore, social capital is a contested theory and continues to be a highly complex and problematic to assess and measure. Measuring outcomes proved not to be feasible as a result, and this research was inevitably limited by the timeframe and that would not allow for analysis of longitudinal data. It was also limited to the context of the research.

Another limitation related to the theoretical framework was that the research looked only at social and human capital theories. There may have been other theories relevant to understanding NFE, community education and youth work. Such theories and concepts include, 'scarring', cultural capital theory, social change theory and globalization. Furthermore, based on reflections in this chapter, had the programs intentionally considered cultural capital an extensive analysis of Bourdieu's theory throughout the research would have been insightful. Structuring the theoretical framework differently, to add Bourdieu, would provide further critical analysis of the programs. The research, however, had to remain realistic and cognizant to the time limitations and provide a study that focused on the theorists who related directly to the policy framework.

Finally, as a case study, this research provided detailed explanation but could not make generalizations. A context specific study is a contribution but also has a limitation. This study is limited in the regard that its findings and analysis cannot be extrapolated and applied across a broader context.

7.6. Areas for Further Research

Recent and relevant global issues have illuminated opportunities to assess the contributions of NFE for young people. The application of other concepts and theories aside from social and human capital could provide further explanation of community education programs and youth work within current context. Theories like globalization and social change could prove to be useful in their application to community education. Even if these other theories are considered as secondary, understanding them in relation to social and human capital could be useful in enlightening concepts and issues that are significant to NFE.

There is also need for longitudinal studies in community education programs in order to understand how, for instance, context, space and time influence the impact of NFE and its outcomes of learning for not only vulnerable and disadvantaged young people, but young people in general. Further research into how these concepts can or have been conceptualized and applied should be encouraged to further understand NFE's role and relationship within the overall educational discourse. This research focused on the US and Scotland. Further case study research, within other countries and communities, could provide interesting findings for further comparison. Cross country and regional analysis could also reveal patterns that can explain successes and weaknesses of community education programs.

There is much we know about formal education— its definition, interpretation and application. In comparison, NFE remains a 'slippery' concept to grasp. This research explored government educational policies outside the formal context. It did so by using a working definition of NFE and examined national community education programs. Furthermore, it incorporated human and social capital theories relevant to the research. This undertaking confirmed the complexity of applying concepts and theories within social situations. Despite, the challenges of the research — those within its methods and those exhibited through its findings— research supports that community education programs have great potential for enhancing

learning outcomes and development for individuals along their life path. Young people need greater and more diverse avenues for personal and professional development. With the current socio-economic concerns young people face, it is evident that the need for other forms of education, in addition to formal education, is imperative and pertinent. The industrial age style of education cannot be the only response to educate young people when transitions within globalized, market-based economies are not as predictable as before and sometimes precarious. NFE indeed offers diverse opportunities for youth and the success of community education programs relies on how policies can articulate effective strategies and guidances that incorporate multiple voices and perspectives from all levels of society within program designs.

Reference List

- Acemoglu, D. and Autor, D. (2014) *Lectures in Labor Economics, Chapter 1*. [online] Available from: <http://econ.lse.ac.uk/staff/spischke/ec533/>. [Accessed: 24 Mar. 2015].
- Ainley, P. and Allen, M. (2010) *Lost Generation? New Strategies for Youth and Education*. New York: Continuum International Publishing.
- Anderson, S. and Dowling, S. (2012) *A Stalled Generation?: Transitions to adulthood in Scotland today*. [pdf] Edinburgh: ScotCen Social Research. Available from: <http://www.scotcen.org.uk/media/27773/a-stalled-generation.pdf>. [Accessed 29 Mar. 2015].
- Axinn, G.H., Awe, O., Cuyno, R., Kieffer, W., Liebrez, M., Thompsom, C. and Wadsworth, D.(197?) *Toward a Strategy of International Interaction in Non-Formal Education. Team Reports*. East Lansing: Michigan State University.
- Babbie, E. (2007) *The Practice of Social Research*. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Ball, A. (1995) Community-based learning in urban settings as a model for educational reform. *Applied Behavioral Science Review*. 3(2), pp.127-146.
- Bamfield, L. (2007) *The Contributions of Non-Formal Education to Young People's Life Chances. A Fabian Society Report for National Youth Agency*. Leicester: National Youth Agency.
- Bartholomaeus, P. (2006) Some rural examples of place-based education. *International Education Journal*. 7(4), pp 480-489.
- Baxter, P. and Jack, S. (2008) Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers. *The Qualitative Report*. 13(4), pp. 544-559.
- Bechhoffer, F. and Paterson, L. (2000) *Principles of Research Design in the Social Sciences*. New York: Routledge.
- Becker, G.S. (1962) Investment in Human Capital: A Theoretical Analysis. *The Journal of Political Economy*. 70(5) Part 2, pp. 9-49.
- Becker, G. S. (1964) *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with special reference to education*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Bell, D.N.F. (2011) *Unemployment in the Great Recession: More Misery for the Young?* [pdf] Scotland: University of Stirling. Available from: <http://www.ucd.ie/geary/static/podcasts/ieconf/presentations/DavidBell.pdf>. [Accessed: 11 Mar. 2013].
- Bell, D. N.F. and Blanchflower, D. G. (2011) Young People and the Great Recession. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*. 27(2), pp. 241-267.
- Benson, P.L. (2003) Developmental assets and asset-building community: Conceptual and empirical foundations. In: Lerner, R.M. and Benson, P.L. Benson (Eds.) *Developmental assets and asset building communities: Implications for research, policy and practice*. Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 19-43.
- Bereday, G. (1964) *Comparative Method in Education*. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Berg, B. L. (2001) *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Blair, M. (2011) An Economic Perspective on the Notion of ‘Human Capital’. In: Burton-Jones, A. and Spencer, J.C. (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Human Capital*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 49-70.
- Blaug, M. (1976) The Empirical Status of Human Capital Theory: A Slightly Jaundiced Survey. *Journal of Economic Literature*. 14(3), pp. 827-855.
- Bock, J.C. (1976) The Institutionalization of Nonformal Education: A Response to Conflicting Needs. *Comparative Education Review*. 20(3), pp. 346-367.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986) The Forms of Capital. In: Richardson, J. (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for Sociology of Education*. New York/Westport/London: Greenwood, pp. 241-258.
- Bradford, S. (2005) Modernising Youth Work: From the Universal to the Particular and Back Again. In: Harrison, R. and Wise, C. (Eds.) *Working with Young People*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 57-69.
- Bray, M., Adamson, B. and Mason, M. (2007) Introduction. In: Bray, M., Adamson, B. and Mason, M. (Eds.) *Comparative Education Research: Approaches and Methods*. Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong, pp. 1-16.
- Britton, B. (1987) Youth Workers as Social Workers. In: Jeffs, T and Smith, M. (Eds.) *Youth Work*. Hong Kong: The MacMillan Press, pp. 25-37.

Brooks, R. (2009) *Transitions from Work to Education: New Perspectives from Europe and Beyond*. New York: MacMillan.

Brown, P. and Lauder, H. (2000) Human Capital, Social Capital and Collective Intelligence. In: Baron, S., Field, J. and Schuller, T. (Eds.) *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 226-242.

Burton-Jones, A. and Spencer, J-C. (2011) Introduction. In: Burton-Jones, A. and Spencer, J-C. *The Oxford Handbook of Human Capital*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-45.

Chin, J. (2001) *All of a Place: Connecting Schools, Youth and Community*. [pdf] San Francisco: Funders Forum on Environment and Education. Available from: <http://watershedschool.org/downloads/AllofaPlace.pdf> [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

Clark, D. (1987) The Concept of Community. In: Allen, G., Bastiani, J., Martin, I., and Richards, K. (Eds.) *Community Education: An agenda for educational reform*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, pp. 50-69.

CLD Standards Council for Scotland (CLD Standards Council). (2015a) *History*. [online] Available from: http://www.cldstandardscouncil.org.uk/About_CLD/History. [Accessed 8 Nov. 2014].

CLD Standards Council for Scotland (CLD Standards Council). (2015b) *Policy*. [online] Available from: http://www.cldstandardscouncil.org.uk/About_CLD/Policy. [Accessed 2 Nov 2013].

The Coalition for Community Schools (2015) *Overview*. [online] Available from: <http://www.communityschools.org/about/overview.aspx>. [Accessed: 14 Apr. 2015].

Coburn, A. and Wallace, D. (2011) *Youth Work in Communities and Schools*. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press.

Cohen, D. and Prusak L. (2001) *In Good Company: How Social Capital Makes Organizations Work*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Coleman, J.S. (1988) Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *The American Journal of Sociology*. 94, pp. S95-S120.

Communities Scotland. (n.d) Delivering Change: Understanding the outcomes of community learning and development. [pdf] The Scottish Government. Available from: <http://www.communityplanningtoolkit.org/sites/default/files/OutcomesR7.pdf>. [Accessed: 30 Mar. 2015].

- Community Learning and Development Managers (CLD Managers). (2014) *CLD in Scotland*. [online]. Available at: <http://www.cldms.org.uk/cld-in-scotland>. [Accessed: 8 Nov. 2014].
- Coombs, P. H. (1976) Non-formal Education: Myths, Realities, and Opportunities. *Comparative Education Review*. 20(3), pp. 281-293.
- Coombs, P.H. and Ahmed, M. (1974) *Attacking Rural Poverty: How non-formal education can help*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University.
- Council of Europe. (n.d) *Report: Non-formal Education. Committee on Culture and Education. Doc. 8595*. [online] Available from: <http://assembly.coe.int/main.asp?Link=/documents/workingdocs/doc99/edoc8595.htm> [Accessed: 5 Nov. 2012].
- Council of Europe. (1999) *Parliamentary Assembly: Non-Formal Education. Doc. 8595*. [online] Available from: <http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/Doc/XrefViewHTML.asp?FileID=8807&Language=en> . [Accessed: 13 Jan. 2014].
- Council of Europe. (2015) *Youth Policy Topics: Non-formal learning/education*. [online] Available from: <http://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership/non-formal-learning?inheritRedirect=true>. [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2016].
- Croft, M. and Whitehurst, G.R.S. (2010) *Report: The Harlem Children's Zone, Promise Neighborhoods, and the Broader, Bolder Approach to Education*. [online] Washington, DC: The Brookings Institute. Available from: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2010/07/20-hcz-whitehurst> [Accessed: 30 Mar. 2015].
- Crossley, M. and Vulliamy, G. (1984) Case-Study Research Methods and Comparative Education. *Comparative Education*. 20(2), pp. 193-207.
- D'Agostino, M. J. (2010) Measuring Social Capital as an Outcome of Service Learning. *Innovative Higher Education*. 35, pp. 313-328.
- Danforth, S. (2015) Social Justice and Technocracy: Tracing the Narratives of Inclusive Education in the USA. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, pp. 1-18.
- D'Angelo, R. (2000) *The American Civil Rights Movement: Readings and Interpretations*. Columbus: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin.
- Dickson, K., Vigurs, C-A., and Newman, M. (2013) *Youth Work: A Systematic Map of Research Literature*. [pdf] Dublin: Minister for Children and Youth Affairs. Available from: <http://www.dcy.gov.ie/documents/Publications/YouthWorkLR.pdf>. [Accessed: 30 Mar 2015].

Dewey, J. (1897) My Pedagogic Creed. *School Journal*. Vol 54. [online] Available from: <http://dewey.pragmatism.org/creed.htm>. [Accessed: 11 Dec. 2014].

Dewey, J. (1938) *Experience and Education*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Donnelley, R.R. (2008) *Delivering Outcomes in Community Learning and Development: Current Issues for Outcome-Focussed Practice in Community Capacity Building. Full Report*. [pdf] Edinburgh: The Scottish Government. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/resource/doc/239285/0065915.pdf>. [Accessed: 11 Apr. 2015].

Dunne, A., Ulicna, D., Murphy, I., Golubeva, M. (2014) *Working with young people: the value of youth work in the European Union*. Brussels: European Commission.

Durlauf, S. N. (2002) On the Empirics of Social Capital. *The Economic Journal*. 112, pp. F459-F479.

Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). (2012) *Finding Jobs for Millions of Highly Educated but Underqualified Youth Requires Targeted Training to Boost Skills, Economic and Social Council Told*. [online] Available from: <http://www.un.org/press/en/2012/ecosoc6533.doc.htm>. [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2012].

Education Scotland. (2012) *Framework Document*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/EducationScotlandFrameworkDocument_tcm4-745890.pdf. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

Education Scotland. (2014a) *Evaluation of Activity Agreement Pilots*. [online] Available from: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/resources/e/genericresource_tcm4727159.asp. [Accessed: 26 Feb. 2014].

Education Scotland. (2014b) *Frameworks for Monitoring and Evaluating*. [online] Available from: <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/communitylearninganddevelopment/communitycapacitybuilding/capacityforchange/assessingimpact/principles/frameworks.asp>. [Accessed: 13 Nov. 2014].

Education Scotland. (2014c) *Policy and guidance for working with young people, children and families*. [online] Available from: <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/communitylearninganddevelopment/youngpeople/aboutworkingwithyoungpeople/policy.asp>. [Accessed: 3 Jan. 2014].

Education Scotland. (2014d) *Policy Context*. [online] Available from: <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/communitylearninganddevelopment/about/policycontext.asp>. [Accessed: 20 Feb. 2014].

Education Scotland. (2014e) *The outcomes focused approach*. [online] Available from: <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/communitylearninganddevelopment/communitycapacitybuilding/capacityforchange/assessingimpact/principles/outcomesfocusedapproach.asp>. [Accessed: 8 Nov. 2014].

Education Scotland. (2014f) *What is Curriculum for Excellence?* [online] Available from: <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/thecurriculum/whatiscurriculumforexcellence/>. [Accessed: 13 Nov. 2014].

Education Scotland. (2015a) *Learning Community Inspections*. [online] Available from: <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/inspectionandreview/about/cldinspections/index.asp>. [Accessed: 12 October, 2015].

Education Scotland. (2015b) *Strategic Guidance*. [online] Available from: <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/communitylearninganddevelopment/about/policy/strategicguidance/index.asp>. [Accessed 12 October, 2015].

Education Scotland and CLD Standards Council. (2012) *Framework Agreement between Education Scotland and The Standards Council for Community Learning and Development for Scotland*. [online] Available from: http://www.cldstandardscouncil.org.uk/files/Framework_Agreement. [Accessed: 30 Mar. 2015].

Enfield, R. (2008) *Social Capital and Implications for Positive Youth Development*. [pdf] Davis: University of California. Available from: <http://4h.ucanr.edu/files/1225.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP). (2015) *European Guidelines for validating nonformal and informal learning*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities. [online] Available from: <http://www.cedefop.europa.eu/en/publications-and-resources/publications/3073>. [Accessed: 21 Apr. 2016].

European Commission (EC). (2013) *Education and Training: Validation of non-formal and informal learning*. [online] Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/informal_en.htm. [Accessed: 5 Jan. 2013].

European Commission (EC). (2016a) *Education and Training*. [online] Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/youth/policy/youth_strategy/eat_en.htm. [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2016].

European Commission (EC). (2016b) *EU Youth Strategy*. [online] Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/youth/policy/youth_strategy/index_en.htm. [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2016].

European Union (EU). (2015) Youth work and non-formal learning in Europe's education landscape: A quarter of a century of EU cooperation for youth policy and practice. [pdf] Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/youth/library/reports/youth-work-nonformal-learning_en.pdf. [Accessed: 14 Oct. 2016].

European Union (EU). (2016) EU Youth Report 2015. [pdf] Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/youth/library/reports/youth-report-2015_en.pdf. [Accessed: 10 Oct. 2016].

Ferber, T., & Pittman, K. and Marshall, T. (2002) *State Youth Policy: Helping All Youth to Grow Up Fully Prepared and Fully Engaged*. Washington, DC: The Forum for Youth Investment, Impact Strategies, Inc.

Fernandes, A. L. (2010) Vulnerable Youth: Background and Policies. In: Neumann, D. (Ed.) *Vulnerable and Disconnected Youth: Background and Policies*. New York: Nova Science Publishers Inc, pp. 161-221.

Fernandes-Alcantara, A. L. (2012) *Vulnerable youth: Background and Policies*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service.

Field, J. (2005) *Social Capital and Lifelong Learning*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Field, J. (2008) *Social Capital*. London: Routledge.

Field, J., Schuller, T. and Baron, S. (2000) Social Capital and Human Capital Revisited. In: Baron, S., Field, J. and Schuller, T. (Eds.) *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 243-263.

Fine, B. and Green, F., 2000. Economics, Social Capital, and the Colonization of the Social Sciences. In: Baron, S., Field, J. and Schuller, T. (Eds.) *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 78-93.

Finley, I, Sheridan, M., McKay, J and Nudzor, H. (2010) Young people on the margins: In need of more choices and more chances in twenty- first century Scotland. *British Educational Research Journal*. 36(5), pp. 851-867.

Fisher, F. (1990) *Technocracy and the Politics of Expertise*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Fukuyama, F. (2001) Social Capital, civil society and development. *Third World Quarterly*. 22(1), pp. 7-20.

Fyfe, I. (2010) Young People and Community Engagement. In: Tett, L. (Ed.) *Community Education, Learning and Development*. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic, pp. 69-85.

Fyfe, I. and Moir, S. (2013) Standing at the Crossroads- What Future for Youth Work? In: Fyfe, I. and Moir, S. (Eds.) *Special Issue. Concept Youth Work Reader-Standing at the Crossroads: What future for Youth Work?* Edinburgh: Moray House School of Education, pp. 1-13.

Galbraith, Dr. M. W. (1995) *Community-Based Organizations and the Delivery of Lifelong Learning Opportunities*. Bangalore: Indus Training and Research Institute.

Gallacher, J. and Feutrie, M. (2003) Recognising and Accrediting Informal and Non-Formal Learning in Higher Education: an analysis of the issues emerging from a study of France and Scotland. *European Journal of Education*. 38(1), pp. 71-83.

Gibbs, T. J. and Howley, A. (2000) "World-Class Standards" and Local Pedagogies: Can We Do Both? Charleston: Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, Appalachia Educational Laboratory. [pdf] Washington, DC: ERIC Publications. Available from: <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED448014.pdf> [Accessed: 31 Aug. 2013].

Gorden, R. (1992) *Basic Interviewing Skills*. Itasca: Peacock.

Grandstaff, M., Bruch, L., Guldbrandsen, F.A., Lawson, M., Penta, G.C. and Penta, M.R. (1974) *Historical Perspectives of Non-Formal Education. (Study Team Reports)*. East Lansing: Michigan State University.

Grandstaff, M. (1976) Nonformal Education: Some Indications for Use. *Comparative Education Review*. 20(3), pp. 294-304.

Greener, I. (2011) *Designing Social Research: A Guide for the Bewildered*. London: Sage Publications.

Growiec, K., Vilhelmsdottir, S. and Cairns, D. (2012) *Social Capital and the Financial Crisis: The Case of Iceland*. [online] CIES e-Working Paper No. 138. Lisboa: Instituto Universitario de Lisboa. Available from: http://www.cies.iscte.pt/np4/?newsId=453&fileName=CIES_WP138_Growiec_Vilhelmsd_ttir_Cair.pdf. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

Gruenewald, D. A. (2003) The Best of Both Worlds: A Critical Pedagogy of Place. *Educational Researcher*. 32(4), pp. 3-12.

Guantlett, D. (2011) *Making is Connecting: The social meaning of creativity, from DIY and knitting to YouTube and Web 2.0*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Guest, G., Namey, E.E. and Mitchell, M.L. (2013) *Collecting Qualitative Data: A Field Manual for Applied Research*. Gray Insight Research: Sage Publications.

- Halpern, D. (2005) *Social Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Harder, H. (2010) Explanatory Case Study. In: Mills, A.J., Durepos, G. and Wiebe, E. (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research: Descriptive Case Study*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, pp. 371-372.
- Harlem Children's Zone (HCZ). (2014) *Harlem Children's Zone: A national model for breaking the cycle of poverty*. [online] Available from: www.hcz.org. [Accessed: 3 Oct. 2014].
- Haynes, P. (2009) *Before Going Any Further with Social Capital: Eight Key Criticisms to Address*. [online] Ingenio (CSIC-UPV) Working Paper Series No. 2009/02. Valencia: Instituto de Gestion de la Innovacion y del Conocimiento. Available from: http://digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/14203/1/Before_Going_Any_Further_With_Social_Capital_Eight_Key_Criticisms_to_Address%5B1%5D.pdf. [Accessed: 1 Feb. 2016].
- Hein, K. (2003) Opportunities to Build Supporting Structures. In: American Youth Policy Forum (AYPF). (Ed.) *Shaping the Future of American Youth: Youth Policy in the 21st Century*. Washington, D.C: AYPF, pp. 49-53.
- Her Majesty Inspectorate of Education (HMIE). (2006) How Good is Our Community Learning and Development (2)?: Self- evaluation for quality improvement. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/hgio2cld_tcm4-684586.pdf. [Accessed: 30 Mar. 2015].
- Holland, J. (2008) *Young People and Social Capital: What can it do for us. Families & Social Capital*. [online] Research Working Group Paper No. 24. London: London South Bank University. Available from: http://www.lsbu.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0005/9437/young-people-social-capital-families-research-working-paper.pdf. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].
- Holmes, B. (1965) *Problems in Education: A Comparative Approach*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Holmes, B. (1986) Paradigm Shifts in Comparative Education. In: Altbach, P. and Kelly, G. (Eds.) *New Approaches to Comparative Education*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 179-199.
- Hoppers, W. (2006) *Non-formal education and basic education reform: a conceptual review*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

Humes, W.M. (2008) Policy Making in Scottish Education. In: Bryce, T.G.K. and Humes, W.M. (Eds.) *Scottish Education: Beyond Devolution*, 3rd Ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 69-80.

Interagency Working Group on Youth Programs (Working Group). (2013) *Pathways for Youth: Draft Strategic Plan for Federal Collaboration*. [pdf] Available from: http://youth.gov/docs/Pathways_for_Youth.pdf. [Accessed: 12 Apr. 2016].

Jarrett, R.L., Sullivan, P.J., and Watkins, N.D. (2005) Developing Social Capital through Participation in Organized Youth Programs: Qualitative Insight from Three Programs. *Journal of Community Psychology*. 33(1), pp. 41-55.

Jean-Louis, B., Farrow, F., Schorr, L., Bell, J., and Fernandez Smith, K. (2010) *Focusing on Result in Promise Neighborhoods: Recommendation of the Federal Initiative*. [online] A Discussion Paper. Harlem Children's Zone, The Center for the Study of Social Policy and PolicyLink. Available from: <http://hcz.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Focusing-on-Results-final-01-08-10.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

Jeffs, T. and Smith, M.K. (2010) Introducing Youth Work. In: Jeffs, T. and Smith, M.K. (Eds.) *Youth Work Practice*. Palgrave: MacMillan, pp. 1-14.

Jennings, N., Swidler, S and Koliba, C. (2005) Place-Based Education in the Standards-Based Reform Era- Conflict of Compliment? *American Journal of Education*. 112(1), pp. 44-65.

Kazamias, A.M. (1961) Old and New Approaches to Comparative Education. *Comparative Education Review*. 5(2), pp. 90-96.

Kilpatrick, S., Field, J. and Falk, I. (2003) Social Capital: an analytical tool for exploring lifelong learning and community development. *British Educational Research Journal*. 29(3), pp. 417-433.

Kleis, R., Lang, C.L., Mietus, J.R., Tiapula, F.T.S, Ward, T. and Dettoni, J. (1973) *Non-Formal Education: The Definitional Problem*. Program of Studies in Non-Formal Education Discussion Papers Number 2. East Lansing: Michigan State University.

Krol, L. (2011) The Promise of Promise Neighborhoods. *The Heinz Journal*. 8(3), pp. 2-13.

Kwon, D-B., 2009. Human Capital and its Measurements. *The 3rd OECD World Forum on "Statistics, Knowledge and Policy" Charting Progress, Building Visions, Improving Life*. Busan, Korea 27-30 October, 2009, pp. 1-15.

Lacey, F. (1987) Youth Workers as Community Workers. In: Jeffs, T. and Smith, M. (Eds.) *Youth Work*. Hong Kong: The MacMillan Press, pp. 38-51.

LBJ Presidential Library. (2007) 'War On Poverty' State of the Union Address. [online] Available from: <http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/johnson/archives.hom/speeches.hom/640108.asp>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

The Leadership Conference. (2015) *Race, Class and Economic Justice: History*. [online] Available from: <http://www.civilrights.org/resources/civilrights101/economicjustice.html>. [Accessed: 1 Oct. 2013].

Lerner, R.M. (1994) *America's Youth in Crisis: Challenges and Options for Programs and Policies*. Four Oaks: Sage Publications.

Lerner, R.M., Lerner, J.V., Almerigi, J., Theokas, C., Phelps, E., Naudeau, S., Gestsdottir, S., Lang, M., Jelicic, H., Alberts, A., Smith, L., Simpson, I., Christiansen, E., Warren, D., and von Eye, A. (2006) *Towards a New Vision and Vocabulary about Adolescence: Theoretical, Empirical and Applied Bases of a "Positive Youth Development Perspective"*. [pdf] Tufts University. Available from: <http://ase.tufts.edu/iaryd/documents/pubtowardnewvision.pdf>. [Accessed: 30 Mar. 2015].

Leuven, E. (2007) Returns to training. In: Hartog, J. and Maasen van den Brink, H. (Eds.) *Human Capital- Advances in Theory and Evidence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 38-51.

Levine, P. (2007) Education Policy and the Limits of Technocracy. *Philosophy and Public Policy Quarterly*. 27(3), pp. 17-21.

Light, I. (2004) Social Capital for What? In: Silverman, R.M. (Ed.) *Community-Based Organizations. The Intersection of Social capital and Local Context in Contemporary Urban Society*. Wayne University Press: Detroit, pp. 19-33.

Lijphart, A. (1971) Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method. *The American Political Science Review*. 65(3), pp. 682-693.

Lin, N. (1999) Building a Network Theory of Social Capital. *Connections*. 22(1), pp. 28-51.

Lindahl, M. and Canton, E. (2007) The social returns of education. In: Hartog, J. and Maasen van den Brink, H. (Eds.) *Human Capital- Advances in Theory and Evidence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 21-37.

Lor, P.J. (2010) *International and Comparative Librarianship: A Thematic Approach*. Creative Commons Attribution.

Mackie, G., Sercombe, H. and Ryan, A. (2012) A service, a 'way of working', or a profession? A discourse analysis of community education/community learning and development in Scotland, *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*. 34(3), pp. 1-17.

Maloney, C. (2010) *Understanding the Economy: Unemployment among Young Workers*. [pdf] Washington, DC: The U.S. Congress Joint Committee. Available from: http://www.jec.senate.gov/public/?a=Files.Serve&File_id=adaef80b-d1f3-479c-97e7-727f4c0d9ce6. [Accessed: 13 Nov. 2012].

Mannion, G. (2005) Education and Learning for Social Inclusion. In: Barry, M. (Ed.) *Youth Policy and Social Inclusion: Critical debates with young people*. London: Routledge, pp. 73-91.

Manzon, M. (2007) Comparing Places. In: Bray, M., Adamson, B. and Mason, M. (Eds.) *Comparative Education Research: Approaches and Methods*. Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong, pp. 97-137.

Martin, I. (1987) Community Education: Towards a Theoretical Analysis. In: Allen, G., Bastiani, J., Martin, I. and Richards, K. (Eds.) *Community Education: An agenda for educational reform*. Philadelphia: Open University Press, pp. 9-32.

Matheson, D.J. (1991) Non-Vocational, Non-formal Further Education in Highland Region in Scotland and the Canton of Valais in Switzerland. *Comparative Education*. 27(2), pp. 153-162.

Maxwell, J. A. (2013) *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. George Mason University: Sage Publications.

McConnell, C. (2012) An Introduction to Community Education in Scotland. In: McConnell, C. (Ed.) *The Making of An Empowering Profession*, 3rd ed., Edinburgh: Community Learning Scotland, pp.1-40.

McInerney, P., Smyth, J. and Down, B. (2011) 'Coming to a place near you?' The politics and possibilities of critical pedagogy of place-based education. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*. 3(1), pp. 3-16.

Melaville, A., Berg, A.C. and Blank, M.J. (2006) Community-Based Learning: Engaging Students for Success and Citizenship. *The Coalition for Community Schools*, pp. 1-57.

- Merriam, S. B. and Associates. (2002) *Qualitative Research in Practice: examples for discussion and analysis*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, A Wiley Company.
- Merriam Webster. (2015) *Supplement*. [online] Available from: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/supplement>. [Accessed: 3 Jan. 2015].
- Michigan State University. (1975) *Program of studies in non-formal education discussion papers. Number Two: Non-formal Education: The Definitional Problem*. East Lansing: Michigan State University.
- Millennium Project. (2006) *What they are*. [online] Available from: <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/goals/>. [Accessed: 14 Oct. 2016].
- Morgan, W.J. and Kliucharev, G.A. (2011) Non-formal Education and Civil Society in Post-Soviet Russia: what is the relationship? *Policy Pictures in Education*. 9(5), pp. 628-630.
- Morsy, H. (2012) Scarred Generation. *Finance and Development*. 49(1), pp. 15-17.
- Nahapiet, J. (2011) A Social Perspective: Exploring the Links between Human Capital and Social Capital. In: Burton-Jones, A. and Spencer, J-C. (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Human Capital*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 71-95.
- National Records of Scotland. 2015. *National Records of Scotland* [online]. Available from: <http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk>. [Accessed: 20 Jan. 2015].
- Neff, G. (2004) The Failure of Funding Social Capital. An Evaluation of Microfinance Funding in the United States, 1996-1999. In: Silverman, R.M. (Ed.) *Community-Based Organizations. The Intersection of Social capital and Local Context in Contemporary Urban Society*. Wayne University Press: Detroit, pp. 35-49.
- Neff, K.L. (1974) *Non-Formal Education: New Strategies for Developing an Old Resource. Report on a Conference and Workshop. Program of Studies in Non-Formal Education*. East Lansing: Michigan State University.
- Noah, H. J. (1974) Fast-Fish and Loose-Fish in Comparative Education. *Comparative Education Review*. 18(3), pp. 341-347.
- Novosodova, M. (n.d) What is Non-Formal Education? In: Nomikou, M. (Ed.) *NFE Book: The Impact of Non-Formal Education on Young People and Society*. Belgium: AEGEE- Europe, pp. 6-11.

Office of Urban Affairs. (2013) *The White House Neighborhood Revitalization Initiative*. [pdf] Washington, D.C.: The White House. Available from: http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/nri_description.pdf. Accessed: 15 Jan. 15 2013].

Ord, J. (2007) *Youth Work Process, Product and Practice: Creating an authentic curriculum in work with young people*. Dorset: Russell House Publishing.

Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD). (2001) *The Wellbeing of Nations: The Role of Human and Social Capital*. Paris: OECD Publication.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2010) *Recognition of nonformal and informal learning*. [online]. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/edu/skills-beyond-school/recognitionofnon-formalandinformallearning-home.htm>. [Accessed: 3 Dec. 2014].

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2012) OECD Multilingual Summaries: Better Skills, Better Jobs, Better Lives. A Strategic Approach to Skills Policies. [pdf] Available from: <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/download/9789264177338-sum-en.pdf?expires=1476467355&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=0561A0526F11DF82D40177E86A40D7E5>. [Accessed: 14 Oct. 2016].

Organization of American States (OAS). (2012) *Policy & Programs: Education*. [online] Available from: <http://www.usoas.usmission.gov/development/ed.html>. [Accessed: 13 Jan. 2014].

Orszag, P., Barnes, M., Carrion, A. and Summers, L. (2010) Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies. [pdf] Available from: https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/assets/memoranda_2010/m10-21.pdf. [Accessed: 12 Apr. 2016].

Oxford Dictionary. (2015) *Supplement*. [online] Available from: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/supplement?searchDictCode=all. [Accessed: 3 Jan. 2015].

Patecka, A. (2011) EU Lifelong Learning Policy Framework- Briefing #29. [pdf] Available from: http://www.solidar.org/IMG/pdf/29_IIIpolicyframe.pdf. [Accessed: 12 Apr. 2016].

Pittman, K., Irba, M. and Ferber, T. (2001) *Youth Policy in the U.S: Some Observations and Options*. Washington, D.C: The Forum for Youth Investment.

Portes, A. (2000) The Two Meanings of Social Capital. *Sociological Forum*. 151, pp. 1-12.

Powers, A.L. (2004) An Evaluation of Four Place-Based Education Programs. *Journal of Environmental Education*. 35(4), pp. 17-32.

Promise Neighborhoods Institute (PNI). (2011) *What is Promise Neighborhood* [online] Available from: <http://www.promiseneighborhoodsinstitute.org/What-is-a-Promise-Neighborhood>. [Accessed: 16 Jan. 2013].

Public Broadcasting Station (PBS). (2014) *State of the Union Address, 1964*. [online] Available from: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/primary-resources/lbj-union64/>. [Accessed: 10 Nov. 2014].

Putnam, R.D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Renewal of American Society*. New York: Touchstone.

Raffe, D. (2011) Cross-national differences in education-work transitions. In: London, M. (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Lifelong Learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 312-328.

Ragin, C.C. (1987) *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Rhodes, R.A.W. (1996) The New Governance: Governing without Government. *Political Studies*. XLIV, pp. 652-667.

Roehlkepartain, E.C. (2007) *Benefits of Community-Based Service Learning*. [pdf] Scotts Valley: Serve America's National Service Learning Clearinghouse. Available from: https://www.extension.iastate.edu/sites/www.extension.iastate.edu/files/4h/Benefits_of_CommunityBased_FS_Short_FINAL_Feb08.pdf. [Accessed: 12 Dec. 2012].

Romi, S. and Schmida, M. (2009) Non-formal education: a major education force in the post-modern era. *Cambridge Journal of Education*. 39(2), pp. 257-273.

Rose, J. (2010) Monitoring and evaluating youth work. In: Jeffs, T. and Smith, M.K. (Eds.) *Youth Work Practice*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 156-166.

Russell, S.T. (2001) *The Development Benefits of Non-formal Education and Youth Development*. FOCUS: 4-H Center for Youth Development. [pdf] Davis: The University of California. Available from: <http://4h.ucanr.edu/files/1231.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

Saldana, J. (2013) *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Samoff, J. (1999) Institutionalizing International Influence. In: Arnove, R.F. and Alberto Torres, C. *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, pp. 51-89.

Sartori, G. (1991) Comparing and miscomparing. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 3(3), pp. 243-257.

Schaefer-McDaniel, N. J. (2003) Conceptualizing Social Capital among young people: Toward a New Theory. *Children, Youth and Environments*. 14(1), pp. 140-150.

Schleicher, A. (2012) *It all starts with building the right skills*. [online] Available from: <http://clutteredelecticmind.blogspot.com/2012/05/it-all-starts-with-building-right-skills.html>. [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2016].

Schuller, T. (n.d) Thinking about Social Capital. Colloquium Paper. [pdf] Quebec: OECD. Available from: http://immagic.com/eLibrary/ARCHIVES/GENERAL/OPENU_UK/O000519S.pdf. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

Schuller, T. (1996) *Building Social Capital: Steps towards a Learning Society. Occasional Papers Series, No. 11*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Publishing.

Schuller, T. (2005) *Social Capital, Networks and Communities of Knowledge*. Washington: CERIO/OECD.

Schuller, T., Baron, S. and Field, J. (2000) Social Capital: A Review and Critique. In: Baron, S., Field, J. and Schuller, T. (Eds.) *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-38.

Schuller, T. and Field, J. (2006) Social capital, human capital and the learning society. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*. 17(4), pp. 226-235.

Schultz, T.W. (1971) *Investment in Human Capital*. New York: The Free Press.

Schutt, R. K. (2012) *Investigating the Social World: The Process and Practice of Research*. Boston: Sage Publications.

The Scottish Executive. (2003) *Life Through Learning through Life: The Lifelong Learning Strategy for Scotland*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/47032/0028819.pdf>. [Accessed: 24 Oct. 2015].

The Scottish Executive. (2006) *More Choices More Chances: A Strategy to Reduce the Proportion of Young People not in Education, Employment or Training in Scotland*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/resource/doc/129456/0030812.pdf>. [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2015].

The Scottish Executive and Communities Scotland. (2004) *Working and learning together to build stronger communities: Scottish Executive Guidance for Community Learning and Development*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/47210/0028730.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2007a) *LEAP: A Manual for Learning Evaluation and Planning in Community Learning and Development*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/205858/0054730.pdf> [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015]

The Scottish Government. (2007b) *Skills for Scotland: A Lifelong Strategy*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: http://asemlllhub.org/fileadmin/www.asem.au.dk/LLL_Policies/United_Kingdom_-_Skills_for_Scotland_a_lifelong_skills_strategy.pdf. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2010a) *16+ Learning Choices: Policy and Practice Framework- Supporting all young people into positive sustained destinations*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/16PlusLearningChoicesPolicyPracticeFramework_tcm4-626426.pdf. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2010b) *Skills For Scotland: Accelerating the Recovery and Increasing Economic Growth*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: <http://www.employabilityinscotland.com/media/127019/Refreshed%20Skills%20Strategy.pdf> [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2012a) *Actions for Jobs- Supporting Young Scots into Work: Scotland's Youth Employment Strategy*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0039/00396371.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2012b) *Getting it right for every child*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/GIRFEC%20FINAL%2024-10-12_tcm4-735258.pdf. [Accessed: 1 Apr. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2012c) *Opportunities for All: Supporting all young people to participate in post-16 learning, training or work*. [pdf]. Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/OpportunitiesforAllImplementationPaper_tcm4-741479.pdf. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2012d) *Post-16 transitions: Policy and Practice Framework*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/Post16TransitionsPolicyandPracticeFramework_tcm4-741466.pdf. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2012e) *Strategic Guidance for Community Planning Partnerships: Community Learning and Development*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0039/00394611.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2013) *Activity Agreements National Implementation 2012-13. Summary Report to Local Authorities: Scottish Government Employability, Skills and Lifelong Learning*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0043/00437992.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2014a) *Education Portfolio*. [online] Available from: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/People/14944/Scottish-Cabinet/Scottish-Cabinet/Education>. [Accessed: 8 Nov. 2014].

The Scottish Government. (2014b) *Education Working for All: Commission for Developing Scotland's Young Workforce. Final Report*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0045/00451746.pdf>. [Accessed: 7 Apr. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2014c) *What is GIRFEC?* [online] Available from: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/People/Young-People/gettingitright/background>. [Accessed: 13 Nov. 2014].

The Scottish Government. (2015a) *An Introduction to the National Performance Framework*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/933/0124200.pdf>. [Accessed: 14 Oct. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2015b) *Current Status*. [online] Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/About/Performance/scotPerforms/indicator/youngpeople>. [Accessed 12 Oct. 2015].

The Scottish Government. (2016a) *History of Scottish Devolution*. [online] Available from: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/Factfile/18060/11550>. [Accessed: 3 Mar. 2016].

The Scottish Government. (2016b) *Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation- Background and Methodology*. [online] Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/SIMD/BackgroundMethodology>. [Accessed: 11 Apr. 2016].

The Scottish Government. (2016c) *The Government's Purpose*. [online] Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/About/Performance/scotPerforms/purpose>. [Date Accessed: 3 May, 2016].

The Scottish Government and COSLA. (2008) *Building on "Working and Learning to Build Stronger Communities" - A joint statement on community learning and development (CLD), including adult literacy and numeracy (ALN), by the Scottish Government and COSLA*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/920/0116795.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

The Scottish Government and COSLA. (2012) *Single Outcome Agreements: Guidance to Community Planning Partnerships*. Edinburgh: Crown.

The Scottish Government, Youth Link and Education Scotland. (2014) *Our Ambitions for improving life chances of young people in Scotland: National Youth Work Strategy 2014-2019*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/YouthWorkStrategy181214_tcm4-823155.pdf. [Accessed: 11 Apr. 2016].

The Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF). (2016) *The Framework*. [online] Available from: <http://www.scqf.org.uk/framework-diagram/Framework.htm>. [Accessed: 12 Apr. 2016].

Selfton-Green, J. (2013) *Learning at Not-School: A Review of Study, Theory, and Advocacy for Education in Non-Formal Settings*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
Sercombe, H. (2010) *Youth Work Ethics*. London: Sage Publications.

Shrestha, M., Wilson, S. and Singh, M. (2008) Knowledge Networking: A Dilemma in Building Social Capital Through Non-formal Education. *Adult Education Quarterly*. 58(129), pp. 129-150.

Silverman, R.M. (2004a) Community Development Corporations (CDCs) in the Deep South. The Interaction of Social Capital, Community Context and Organizational Networks. In: Silverman, R. M. (Ed.) *Community-Based Organizations. The Intersection of Social capital and Local Context in Contemporary Urban Society*. Detroit: Wayne University Press, pp. 125-146.

Silverman, R.M. (2004b) Conclusion A Progressive Model. In: Silverman, R. M. (Ed.) *Community-Based Organizations. The Intersection of Social capital and Local Context in Contemporary Urban Society*. Detroit: Wayne University Press, pp. 187-194.

Singh, M. (2015) *Global Perspectives on Recognising Non-formal and Informal Learning Why Recognition Matters*. Hamberg: UNESCO Lifelong Learning Institute.

- Smith, G. A. (2002a) Going Local. *Educational Leadership*. 60(1), pp. 30-33.
- Smith, G.A. (2002b) Place-Based Education: Learning to be where we are. *Phi Delta Kappan*. 83(8), pp. 584-594.
- Smith, G. A. and Sobel, D. (2010) *Place and Community Based Education in Schools*. New York: Routledge.
- Smith, I. (2008) Educational Provision: An Overview. In: Bryce, T.G.K. and Humes, W.M. (Eds.) *Scottish Education: Beyond Devolution*, 3rd Ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 11-22.
- Smith, M.K. (2001) Community. In: *The Encyclopedia of Informal Education*. [online] Available from: <http://www.infed.org/community/community.htm> [Accessed. 2 Oct. 2012].
- Smith, M.K. (2002) Informal, non-formal and formal education: a brief overview of different approaches. In: *The encyclopedia of informal education*. [online] Available from: http://www.infed.org/foundations/informal_nonformal.htm [Accessed: 12 Apr. 2016].
- Smith, M. K. (2003) From youth work to youth development. The new government framework for English youth services. In: *Youth and Policy* 79. [online] Available from: http://www.infed.org/archives/jeffs_and_smith/smith_youth_work_to_youth_development.htm. [Accessed: 18 Mar. 2015].
- Smith, M.K. (2013) What is Youth Work? Exploring the history, theory and practice of youth work'. In: *The Encyclopedia of Informal Education*. [online] Available from: <http://infed.org/mobi/what-is-youth-work-exploring-the-history-theory-and-practice-of-work-with-young-people/>. [Accessed: 23 Nov. 2014].
- Smith, R. E. (2011) *How to Evaluate Choice and Promise Neighborhoods*. [pdf] Washington, DC: The Urban Institute. Available from: <http://www.urban.org/uploadedpdf/412317-Evaluate-Choice-and-Promise-Neighborhoods.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].
- Somtrakool, K. (2010) *Role of Nonformal Education in Economic Crisis: Thailand Experience*. [pdf] Thailand: Ministry of Education. Available from: http://www.accu.or.jp/litdbase/pub/dlperson/98RW/98RW_01.pdf [Accessed: 14 Oct. 2012].
- Spence, J. (2005) Concepts of Youth. In: Harrison, R. and Wise, C. (Eds.) *Working with Young People*. London: Sage Publications. pp. 46-56.

- Stenhouse, L. (1979) Case study in Comparative Education: particularity and generalisation. *Comparative Education*. *Comparative Education*. 15(1), Special Number (3), pp. 5-10.
- Stevenson, B., Watt, G., Clark, I., Simpson, L. and Stuart A. (2011) *Evaluation of Activity Agreement Pilots- Final Report*. [pdf] Edinburgh: Crown. Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/360573/0121936.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].
- Szreter, S. (2000) Social Capital and the Economy. In: Baron, S., Field J., and Schuller, T. (Eds.) *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 56-77.
- Tackett, L. (2012) *U.S. Department of Education Executive Summary: Impact in Place: ED Releases Report on Place-Based Strategy*. [online] Available from: <http://www.ed.gov/blog/2012/06/impact-in-place-ed-releases-report-on-place-based-strategy/>. [Accessed: 10 Jan. 2013].
- Tesch, R. (1995) *Qualitative Research: Analysis & Software Tools*. New York/Philadelphia/London: The Falmer Press.
- Tett, L. (2010) *Community Education, Learning and Development*. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic.
- Thomas, G. (2009) *How to do your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Sciences*. London: Sage Publications.
- Thomas, G. (2011) A typology for the case study in social science following a review of definition, discourse and structure. *Qualitative Inquiry*. 17(6), pp. 511-521.
- Trends Magazine. (2011) The Global Youth Unemployment Crisis. *Economic Outlook*. 104, pp. 10-14.
- U.S. Department of Education (ED). (n.d) *GPRA Measure Guidance: Carol M. White Physical Education Grant*. [pdf] Washington, D.C. Available from: <https://www2.ed.gov/programs/whitephysed/pepgpra07.pdf>. [Accessed: 30 Mar. 2015].
- U.S. Department of Education (ED). (2009) *The Promise of Promise Neighborhoods: Beyond Good Intentions. Secretary Arne Duncan's Remarks at the Harlem Children's Zone Conference*. [online] Available from: <http://www2.ed.gov/news/speeches/2009/11/11102009.html>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].
- U.S. Department of Education (ED). (2010) *U.S. Department of Education Opens Competition for Promise Neighborhoods. Press Release*. [online] Available from: <http://www2.ed.gov/news/pressreleases/2010/04/04302010b.html> [Accessed: 17 Jan. 2013].

U.S. Department of Education (ED). (2012a) *Applications for New Awards; Promise Neighborhoods Program- Planning Grant Competition*. [pdf] Washington, DC: ED. Available from: <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2012-04-20/pdf/2012-9595.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

U.S. Department of Education (ED). (2012b) *Department of Education Report- Place Based Strategy*. [online] Available from: <http://blog.promiseneighborhoodsinstitute.org/us-dept-of-ed-releases-report-on-place-based-strategy/>. [Accessed: 17 Jan. 2013].

U.S. Department of Education (ED). (2012c) *Department of Education Strategic Plan for Fiscal Years 2011-2014*. [pdf] Washington, DC: ED. Available from: <http://www2.ed.gov/about/reports/strat/plan2011-14/draft-strategic-plan.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

U.S. Department of Education (ED). (2012d) *Strategic Plan for Fiscal Years 2011-2014: Summary*. [pdf] Washington, DC: ED. Available from: <http://www2.ed.gov/about/reports/strat/plan2011-14/strategic-plan-summary.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

U.S. Department of Education (ED). (2014) *The Federal Role in Education*. [online] Available at: <http://www2.ed.gov/about/overview/fed/role.html>. [Accessed: 2 Dec. 2014].

U.S. Government Accountability Office (USGAO). (2010) *Disconnected Youth: Federal Action Could Address some of the Challenges Faced by Local Programs that Reconnect Youth to Education and Employment*. In: Neumann, D. (Ed.) *Vulnerable and Disconnected Youth: Background and Policies*. New York: Nova Science Publishers Inc, pp. 113-160.

U.S. Government Accountability Office (USGAO). (2014) *Education Grants: Promise Neighborhoods Promotes Collaboration but Needs National Evaluation Plan*. [pdf] Washington, D.C: GAO. Available from: <http://www.gao.gov/assets/670/663001.pdf>. [Accessed: 13 Dec. 2014].

U.S. Government Printing Office. (USGPO), 2010. *Disconnected and Disadvantaged Youth Hearing*. In: D. Neumann, ed., *Vulnerable and Disconnected Youth: Background and Policies*. New York: Nova Science Publishers Inc, pp. 1-112.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2006) *Guidebook for Planning Education: In Emergencies and Reconstruction*. [pdf] Paris: IIEP. Available from: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001470/147092e.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2012) *UNESCO Guidelines for the Recognition, Validation and Accreditation of the Outcomes of Non-Formal and Informal Learning*. [pdf] Germany: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning. Available from: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002163/216360e.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and UNDESA. (2012) *United Nations Youth: Youth and Education*. [pdf] Available from: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-education.pdf>. [Accessed: 10 Oct. 2016].

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). (2016) *UNESCO and Youth- Strategy*. [online] Available from: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/youth/strategy/>. [Accessed: 12 Oct. 2016].

University of Edinburgh. (2016). Moray House School of Education Ethics Committee. [pdf] Edinburgh: Moray House. Available from: <http://www.ed.ac.uk/files/atoms/files/student-ethics-applicform-march2016.pdf>. [Accessed: 28 Apr. 2016]

Urban Institute. (2013) *Measuring Performance: A Guidance Document for Promise Neighborhoods on Collecting Data and Reporting Results- Final*. [pdf] Washington, DC: The Urban Institute. Available from: <http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412767-Measuring-Performance.pdf>. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].

Villani, C. J. and Atkins, D. (2000) Community-Based Education. *School Community Journal*. 10(1), pp. 121-126.

Wallace, D. (2008) Community Education and Community Learning and Development. In: Bryce, T.G.K. and Humes, W.M. (Eds.) *Scottish Education: Beyond Devolution*, 3rd Ed., Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 742-751.

Walter-Scott, R. and Delaney, A. (2009) *Strategic Review of Learning Connections: Report into the findings and recommendations arising from a Strategic Review of Learning Connections, a division within the Lifelong Learning Directorate of the Scottish Government*. [pdf] Edinburgh: The Scottish Government. Available from: <http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/399/1/0083643.pdf>. [Accessed: 11 Apr. 2015].

Weber, R. P. (1990) *Basic Content Analysis: Second Edition*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Weedon, E., Riddell, S., Purves, R. and Ahlgren, L. (2010) *National Report for Scotland: Social Inclusion and Adult Participation in Lifelong Learning: officials', managers', and teachers' perspectives*. Edinburgh: Centre for Research in Education Inclusion and Diversity.

- Weisbrod, B.A. (1971) Investing in Human Capital. In: Wykstra, R. A. (Ed.) *Education and the Economics of Human Capital*. New York: The Free Press, pp. 68-88.
- Welch, A. (1999) The Triumph of Technocracy of the Collapse of Certainty? Modernity, Postmodernity, and Postcolonialism in Comparative Education. In: Arnove, R.F. and Torres, C.A. (Eds.) *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*. Lanham, Boulder, New York and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, pp. 25-49.
- Werquin, P. (2010) *Recognising Non-Formal and Informal Learning. Outcomes, Policies and Practices*. Paris: OECD Publication.
- Werquin, P. (2012) The missing link to connect education and employment: recognition of non-formal and informal learning outcomes. *Journal of Education and Work*. 25(3), pp. 259-278.
- The White House. (2010) *The White House Revitalization Initiative*. [pdf] Washington, DC: The White House. Available from: http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/nri_description.pdf. [Accessed: 16 Jan. 2013].
- Woolcock, M. (1998) *Social Capital and economic development: Toward a theoretical synthesis and policy framework*. Providence: Brown University.
- Woolcock, M. (2000) *The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes*. Development Research Group: Harvard University.
- Yin, R.K. (2003) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Yin, R.K. (2009) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- YouthLink Scotland. (n.d) *Statement on the Nature and Purpose of Youth Work*. [pdf] Edinburgh: YouthLink. Available from: <http://www.youthlinkscotland.org/webs/245/documents/StatementnatureYW.pdf>. [Accessed: 18 Mar. 2015].
- YouthLink Scotland. (2011) *Opportunities for All: Activity Agreements Follow up Study of Leavers*. [pdf] Edinburgh: YouthLink. Available from: http://www.shetland.gov.uk/Welfare_Reform_Employability/documents/AASurveyReportFinal.pdf. [Accessed: 29 Mar. 2015].
- YouthLink Scotland (2015) *Policy*. [online] Available from: <http://www.youthlinkscotland.org/Index.asp?MainID=13701>. [Accessed: 18 Mar. 2105].

Appendices

Appendix A. US National Community Education Governance

US Federal Agencies Tasked in Delivering Community Education

Department of Labor: Labor’s workforce programs provide funding for both workforce training and education services for youth up to age 24, including youth involved in the juvenile justice and criminal justice systems, school dropouts and homeless youths;

Department of Human Health Services (HHS): HHS grant programs serve runaways and homeless youth up to age 21 or youth who have aged out of foster care or are likely to age out. These grants fund local programs that have education and workforce components, and also assist youth in connecting to housing and long term support networks;

Department of Education: Education’s various related grant programs focus on youth who are: homeless; neglected; delinquent, at risk; out of school; or incarcerated in a state prison within 5 years of release or parole eligibility. The programs facilitate youths’ enrollment and success in school and vocational programs; and

Department of Justice: Justice’s grant programs serve those youth 17 and under who are involved in or at risk of becoming involved in the juvenile justice system. Grant programs administered by Justice aim to help youth make the successful transitions out of the juvenile justice system and on to education and workforce pathways (USGAO, 2010).



Federal Roles within State and Local Community Education Programs

Federal Government Oversees Community Education Program Activities in: Education, Employment, Foster care, Juvenile justice, and Homelessness that can serve populations at the local level. This is done through policy, funding and coordination.

- **Funding:** 1) Agencies distribute funds to locally operated programs through varying mechanisms. Some programs first provide funds to states, which are then passed to local units of government or programs. Community education programs

are decentralized in that state and/or local governments have the presiding say on how money is spent and earmarked; or 2) Federal grants are awarded through a competitive process in which local organizations submit grant proposals directly to the federal agencies (USGAO, 2010). This is a centralized arrangement since there is direct link between federal money and the local level community education program.

- **Coordination:** In order to bring together agencies and better coordinated services within communities, there exists collaborations between federal, state and local levels. Federal agencies provide technical assistance and guidance to community education programs operating at the local level and they require local programs to report on their progress with youth by collecting data on youth outcomes (USAGAO, 2010). State and local governments assists in the delivery of services at the local entry point. USGAO (2010, p. 121) adds that “sometimes data must pass through an intermediary agency such as a state education agency or local workforce investment board, and these entities may require additional data from programs for their monitoring purposes.”



Case Study: Promise Neighborhoods Program

The Department of Education is decentralized in the United States, in that formal education is primarily a State and local responsibility. Furthermore, on the ED official webpage, entitled Federal Role in Education, it explains that States and communities, as well as public and private organizations of all kinds, establish schools and colleges, develop curricula, and determine requirements for enrollment and graduation (ED, 2014). The structure of education finance in America reflects this predominant State and local role.

PN Program presides within a decentralized agency. However, it is a grant program that follows the funding stream of direct federal agencies. Also the Program was initiated by the Government. It is managed and monitored directly by the ED; therefore, the Program has a centralized governance structure, stemming from the Government.

Appendix B. Scotland National Community Education Governance

Scottish Government

The ministerial responsibilities for the Cabinet of Education and Lifelong Learning have several strands of agendas and roles found within the formal and non-formal educational sectors. The Scottish Government established and tasked The CLD Standards Council and Education Scotland to carry out effective CLD plans and practices. The Scottish Ministers are responsible for setting the policy and resources framework within which Education Scotland operates. This includes setting the strategic objectives and related performance targets, approving plans, setting budgets, approving the framework document and any revisions to it (Education Scotland, 2012, p. 2).



Linking National and Local Levels

The Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) is a convention of local authority representatives that functions as a partnership between national and local government and functions as an important link between the two levels of governance. Humes (2008) explains that COSLA is a type of campaigning interest group. It essentially has two priorities: 1) to be a voice for local government; and 2) promote the position of the local government as a legitimate tier of governance closest to the Scottish people. Despite the role COSLA plays within the national governance structure, which sometimes leads to divergence on specific issues, COSLA still tends to “share the ‘received wisdom’ about policy making in Scottish education: that it is based on partnership, consensus and consultation, and that the stewardship of those entrusted with formulating, developing and implementing policies is unproblematic” (Humes, 2008, p. 71). As a result, with regard to the policy context of CLD, COSLA builds upon the national guidance of *WALT* and discusses the role of Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs). COSLA also reflects the *WALT* document’s outcome-based focus, as it is driven primarily by the aim of positive economic outcomes. It works with the Scottish Government with a joint purpose of a “more successful country, with opportunities for all of Scotland to flourish, though increasing sustainable economic growth” (The Scottish Government, 2016c).

Additionally, COSLA stresses the importance of Single Outcome Agreements (SOAs) as the ‘new key’ in delivering change, and ultimately economic growth (The Scottish Government and COSLA, 2008). SOAs are agreements between the Scottish Government and CPPs that set out how each will work towards improving outcomes for the local people. Therefore, local SOAs reflect local circumstances and priorities. CPPs “must translate their understanding of place and communities into a genuine plan that provides clear outcomes and improvement actions; and which aligns and targets the total resources available locally to those outcomes and actions” (The Scottish Government and COSLA, 2012, p. 4). The local outcomes must relate to one or more of the National Outcomes. SOAs plan to deliver better outcomes for communities within the context of the National Performance Framework’s key priorities, including economic recovery and growth, employment and safer and stronger communities (The Scottish Government and COSLA, 2012). The embedded case studies in section 6.2 illustrate the practical applicability of SOAs, NPF and CPPs at the community level.

Currently, there are over 5,000 CLD providers in Scotland, including the 32 local authorities, colleges and third sector organizations. Each of the 32 local authorities has a CLD partnership through CPPs. CLD, operated and managed by the local authority, is the main provider of NFE for disadvantaged youth groups, while voluntary organizations are secondary providers (The Scottish Executive, 2004; Weedon et al., 2010). Other key partners in the delivery of Youth Work in CLD include YouthLink, Young Scot, Youth Scotland and Skills Development Scotland.

CLD local authority service provisions are separate from school education (Wallace, 2008), and local authorities are primarily funded by the Scottish Government. For example, local authorities are the main providers and primary funding recipients of Activity Agreements. Local authority funding is not guaranteed because it is dependent on government’s appropriation; therefore, the programs that are funded by the local authority are vulnerable. Voluntary organizations also raise funds through bidding for projects, provided by, for example, the Government, National Lottery or EU (Tett, 2010; Weedon et al., 2010).



Government Tasked Entities

They “work ‘with the grain’ of official policy, and their cooperation ensures that their senior officers are regarded as members of the ‘policy community’” (Humes, 2008, p. 71).

CLD Standards Council: In 2009 the Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning formally established the current form of The CLD Standards Council. It is held within Learning Connections (Walter-Scott and Delaney, 2009). It oversees quality standards in the professional training of staff working, including the validation and endorsement of professional training courses and is introducing a professional registration scheme for such qualified practitioners (CLD Standards Council, 2014b; Walter-Scott and Delaney, 2009). The Council’s “remit and principal strategic functions require The Council to be a step removed from Government policy development and to have a distinct identity to allow ownership of its strategic areas of responsibility” (Education Scotland and CLD Standards Council, 2012, p. 3). When Education Scotland was formed in 2011, The Council moved structurally under Education Scotland (Education Scotland, 2012). As a result, Education Scotland functions as the host organization for The Council. Within this relationship, The Council maintains a distinct identity and is responsible for its own program governance arrangements; however, at the same time, The Council’s budget and assets are held within Education Scotland (Education Scotland and CLD Standards Council, 2012).

Education Scotland: An executive agency established by The Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning. It “operates independently and impartially, whilst remaining directly accountable to Scottish Ministers for the standards of its work. This status safeguards its independence of inspection, review and reporting within the overall context of the National Performance Framework” (Education Scotland, 2012, p. 1). Overall, the agency is responsible for supporting quality and improvement in Scottish education. It does so by providing independent evaluation and evidence based advice to inform national policy, supporting the implementation of curriculum, conducting independent external evaluations, increasing the capacity for self-evaluation and self-improvement amongst education providers and practitioners (Education Scotland, 2012; Education Scotland and CLD Standards Council, 2012). Through its inspection and evaluation strand, Education Scotland also inherited the full range of functions undertaken by Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Education, a monitoring body responsible for inspecting the efficacy and quality of

public and independent education (Education Scotland and CLD Standards Council, 2012). Through its core objectives, Education Scotland also commits to working collaboratively and in partnership with public bodies and local authorities.

Appendix C. Scottish Devolution

To understand the inception of 1999 devolution, it is worth presenting this historical background and devolved practices in the Scottish Government prior to 1999:

In 1707 the Act of Union abolished the separate Parliaments for Scotland and England, and created a single Parliament at Westminster in London.

However Scotland retained many distinctive features, including a separate church and legal system. A form of administrative devolution for Scotland was established in 1885 when the Scottish Office was created as a Department of the UK Government, assuming responsibility for many of the issues which in England and Wales were dealt with by Whitehall Departments, such as health, education, justice, agriculture, fisheries and farming, and was headed by a UK Cabinet Minister, the Secretary of State for Scotland.

In 1979 a Referendum was held on proposals by the then Government to establish a Scottish Assembly, but although a small majority voted in favour the proposals did not obtain the support of 40 per cent of the electorate, which had been set as a requirement before they could be implemented.

In 1989 the Scottish Constitutional Convention was established, consisting of representatives of civic Scotland and some of the political parties, to draw up a detailed blueprint for devolution including proposals for a directly elected Scottish Parliament with wide legislative powers. The SCC's Report in 1995 formed the basis of further proposals which were brought forward by the UK Government in 1997.

These proposals received overwhelming support in a Referendum on September 11, 1997... Following the passage of the Scotland Act 1998, the Scottish Executive (officially referred to as the Scottish Government since August 2007) and Scottish Parliament were officially convened on July 1, 1999 - a date which marks the transfer of powers in devolved matters, previously exercised by the Secretary of State for Scotland and other UK Ministers, to the Scottish Ministers.

Elections to the Scottish Parliament are conducted on the basis of combining the traditional first-past-the-post system (to elect 73 constituency members) and a form of proportional representation called the Additional Member System (to elect 56 regional members - seven for each of the eight regions used in European Parliament elections) (The Scottish Government, 2016a).

Appendix D. Examples of Interview Questions

Questions for Program Administrators:

Background and role

1. Can you tell me a little about your organization?
2. Can you tell me about your own background and your current job?

Youth work in Daniels

3. What is the structure and governance of your program? (If and how does it link with Daniels Partnership, CLD, etc?)
4. How is Discover Opportunities funded?
5. How stable is the provided funding- Is the budget allocated on an annual basis or for a longer term period?
6. What is the funding for?
7. How do Activity Agreements operate within your program?
8. What is the role of the key worker?
9. What government policies (and ensuing strategies, guidances, etc.) influence your program operation?

Operation and management of the specific program

10. Tell me about [specific program]
 - a. What are the aims and goals of the the program?
 - b. How long has it been running for?
 - c. Who teaches (delivers) the program?
 - d. Where does it take place?
 - e. How do you recruit participants (e.g. school ...)?
 - f. How many young people are normally on a program?
 - g. Since implementation, has the approach of the program changed? If so, in what ways and why?
 - h. How (and who) decides on the content of the program?
 - i. Do the young people themselves have any say on the content?
 - j. What teaching/learning methods are used?
 - k. What do you think are the main the gains from the program for the young people who take part?
 - l. Can the young people study for a recognized qualification (e.g. a SQA module?)
 - m. If you do monitor, how do you monitor the impact of the program (e.g. through the number of people continuing into further education, work?)
11. Do members of the community have a say in planning/running the program?
12. Is there any routine inspection process of the program? If yes, by whom?

Programs for Youth – some general issues

13. Are outcomes determined by national govt. measures and/or community guidelines (or To what extent are the intended outcomes of youth work set by national government policy and to what extent can you shape the outcomes for your own area?)

14. Does budget affect practice and outcomes?

15. Do you think government stipulations/policies for the program represent the actual needs of the community?

16. As program administrators/operators, what level of autonomy do you have in implementation?

17. Do youths have opportunities for social and employment networking with the wider community? If so, what are they?

18. What social contact have you witnessed youths form with program operators and each other, as a result of participating in the program?

Policy Maker Interview for Promise Neighborhoods Program

Interviewee Information:

1. Can you tell me a little bit about your career background and job position at the US Department, specifically as it relates to the Promise Neighborhood Program? For instance your role and position title within Promise Neighborhood?

Formation of Promise Neighborhood:

** I have read available, online documents about Promise Neighborhood program, and these questions are to gain more insight or detail, in order to build from what I have read.*

1. Why did the US government create the Promise Neighborhoods program? What are the program’s ultimate goals and aims?
2. What national issues and/or factors (social, economic, political and cultural) influenced the development of Promise Neighborhoods program?
3. What national policies impacted the development and implementation of the program?
4. Further, are there any specific youth policies/strategies/initiatives that have influenced the development and implementation of the program?
5. What are the reasons behind the intended outcomes of the program?

6. Promise Neighborhood is said to be the Department of Education’s “signature place-based effort through its support of local communities in developing and obtaining the tools communities need to revitalize neighborhoods, and transform them from areas of concentrated poverty to areas of opportunity.” Could you explain further in what ways this is so?
7. Focusing on the program’s goals for young people, ages of 16-24, what are the most important program strategies directed towards them? Why were these strategies chosen?

Management and Operation:

1. What is the structure and governance of the program? (for example, how does the program relate or link with funding recipients, and other programs or US departments)
2. To what extent do you think intended outcomes of the program, at the community level are set by national government policy versus the funding recipients.
3. What level of autonomy do you think is there for the funding recipients to enact Promise Neighborhood at the community level? In other words, what government mandates or restrictions do the funding recipients have to adhere to?
4. What is the monitoring or inspection strategy for the funding recipients?
5. Would I be privy to the monitoring, impact and/or outcome reports?
6. What have you found to be the main gains of the program thus far?
7. Since funding recipients can be a variety of organizational entities throughout the US, to what extent do you think there is uniformity within the program operation versus diversity in its practice? Could you provide some examples?

Questions for Youth Participants in Daniels:

Pre-Questionnaire

1. Age
2. Gender
3. How did you hear about the program?
4. How long have you been participating in the program?

In-person Questions

1. Why did you decide to take part in this program?
2. What do you hope to gain from or learn from this program?
3. What have you learnt so far?
4. Have you made any new friends in this program?
5. Are you supported by a key worker? If yes, is s/he helpful? (in what way?)
6. Is there anything that could be done to this program to make it better? Please explain.
7. Have you made any social or work connections in your community as a result of 16+ Learning Choices?
8. Will this program allow you to move onto further education or training?

Appendix E. Interview Schedule

| UNITED STATES | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| | Interviewee | Date | Duration (min:sec) | Location | Format |
| National Level | | | | | |
| | PN Program Policy Leader | May 29, 2014 | 23:58 | n/a | Phone |
| Local Level | | | | | |
| Santa Clara (Large Urban Area) | Youth Center Program Director | June 4, 2014 | 11:08 | Youth Center | In person-1:1 |
| | Youth Center Program Team: Program Director; Case Manager; and Program Aid and Case Manager | June 4, 2014 | 22:29 | Youth Center | In person-focus group |
| Youth Participants: | Tanisha | June 4, 2014 | 6:22 | Youth Center | In person-1:1 |
| | Jerome | June 4, 2014 | 9:13 | Youth Center | In person-1:1 |
| | | | | | |
| Lennox (Small Urban Area) | Program Director | May 27, 2014 | 33:33 | n/a | Phone |

| SCOTLAND | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|------------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------|
| | Interviewee | Date | Duration (min:sec) | Location | Format |
| National Level | | | | | |
| | Policy Leader-Education Scotland Senior Education Officer | November 6, 2014 | 40:43 | n/a | Phone |
| Local Level | | | | | |
| Daniels (Large Urban Area) | Program Manager | April 1, 2014 | 25:37 | Program office | In person-1:1 |
| | Key Worker 1 | April 1, 2014 | 21:16 | Program office | In person-1:1 |
| | Key Worker 2 | April 1, 2014 | 21:58 | Program office | In person-1:1 |
| | Youth Worker | April 1, 2014 | 10:18 | Program office | In person-1:1 |
| Youth Participants: | Kristy | April 1, 2014 | 4:13 | Program office | In person-1:1 |
| | Jeff | April 1, 2014 | 3:56 | Program office | In person-1:1 |
| | Ana | April 1, 2014 | 3:15 | Program office | In person-1:1 |
| | Catherine | April 1, 2014 | 8:32 | Program office | In person-1:1 |
| | Lacey | April 1, 2014 | 4:32 | Program office | In person-1:1 |
| | Michelle | April 1, 2014 | 4:30 | Program office | In person-1:1 |
| | Jess | April 1, 2014 | 4:57 | Program office | In person-1:1 |
| | | | | | |
| Dockline (Small Urban Area) | Program Manager and CLD Officer | April 14, 2014 | 40:29 | Community Center | In person |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|---------------|-------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| | Youth Worker 1 and 2 | March 7, 2014 | 38:43 | Communi ty Center | In person |
| | Youth Participants: Clara, Jackie, Phil, Mark, Colin, Beth | March 7, 2014 | 9:30 | Communi ty Center | In person- focus group |

Appendix F. Example of Research Consent Form



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH STUDY INFORMATION SHEET

My name is Melissa Moncrieffe, and I am a 2nd year PhD student at the University of Edinburgh, Moray House School of Education. I am wanting to find out more about the [... Program] from your viewpoint as a program administrator (operator or key staff). Information like:

- The structure and governance of [...Program]
- Operation and management of the program
- Program's relationship with the community and national government
- Goals and aims of the program
- How program outcomes are monitored

To explore these questions, I am asking 1-2 individuals to take part in a group interview or 1:1 interview (whichever is most convenient), with the option to have a follow up interview at a later date.

What will happen if you agree to take part in this research study?

- **First:** You will fill out a short pre-questionnaire about yourself
- **Second:** You will be asked to take part in a 30-45min interview at the program site. Interview will be semi-structured, with question prompts.

Your participation and input for this interview is highly valued. The information gathered in this research will be used to help complete a PhD thesis that can inform community education program managers and policymakers about the benefits of this course, what could be improved or changed in this course to make it more relevant to you.

If you have questions about this study, please contact:

Melissa Moncrieffe at M.Moncrieffe@sms.ed.ac.uk , 0131 622 0580

Or my PhD supervisors Professor David Raffe at D.Raffe@sms.ed.ac.uk or Dr. Elisabet Weedon at eweedon@staffmail.ed.ac.uk.

CONSENT INFORMATION AND FORM

Confidentiality:

- Information that is obtained, in connection with this study and that can identify you, will remain confidential. It will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law.
- Confidentiality will be maintained by keeping identities anonymous, using acronyms or pseudonyms. Also, researcher will not upload data obtained online.

Your Rights taking Part in this Study:

- You can choose whether or not you want to be in this study, and you may withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time.
- Whatever decision you make, there will be no penalty to you.
- You may refuse to answer any questions that you do not want to answer and still remain in the study.

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the study information sheet dated for the study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, articles or presentations by the research team.
4. I understand that my name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentations.
5. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

(you may use initials for your name and signature)

Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix G. Excerpt of GPRA Indicators for PN Program (ED, 2012a, pp. 23693-23694)

| GPRA Indicators for Young Adults (Program Indicators) | |
|--|---|
| Measure | Result |
| <p><i>GPRA 6.</i> Graduation rate</p> <p><i>GPRA 7.</i> Number and percent of Promise Neighborhood students who a) enroll in a two-year or four-year college or university after graduation, b) matriculate to an institution of higher education and place into college-level mathematics and English without need for remediation; c) graduate from a two-year or four-year college or university or vocational certification completion; and d) earn industry-recognized certificates or credentials.</p> <p><i>GPRA 8-9.</i> Number and percent of children who participate in at least 60 minutes of moderate to vigorous physical activity daily; and consume five or more servings of fruits and vegetables daily.</p> <p><i>GPRA 10.</i> Number and percent of students who feel safe at school and traveling to and from school, measured by a school climate needs assessment.</p> <p><i>GPRA 11.</i> Student mobility rate</p> <p><i>GPRA 14.</i> For children in the 9th to 12 grades, the number and percent of parents or family members who report talking with their children about the importance of college and career</p> <p><i>GPRA 15.</i> Number and percent of students who have school and home access (and percent of the day they have access) to broadband internet and a connected computing device.</p> | <p>Youth graduate from high school</p> <p>High school graduates obtain a postsecondary degree, certification or credential</p> <p>Students are healthy.</p> <p>Students feel safe at school and in their community.</p> <p>Students live in stable communities.</p> <p>Families and community members support learning in Promise Neighborhood schools.</p> <p>Students have access to 21st century learning tools.</p> |

Appendix H. Excerpt of HMIE Performance Quality Indicators (HMIE, 2006, p. 22)

Key Area 5. Processes and delivery

| No. | Quality Indicator | Indicative Themes |
|---|---|---|
| HOW GOOD IS OUR DELIVERY OF KEY PROCESSES? | | |
| 5.1 | Opportunities for people in the community | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Range and coherence of opportunities and programmes • Responsiveness to participants' needs and aspirations • Promotion of learning and development opportunities for all participants • Arrangements for participant progression |
| 5.2 | Context for learning/development | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guiding prospective participants • Relationships with participants that support learning/development • Environment for learning/development • Celebrating success |
| 5.3 | Planning for learning/development | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognising prior learning • Identifying individual and group learning/development needs and aspirations • Planning sessions and learning activities • Recording achievement and progression |
| 5.4 | Facilitating learning/development | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Range and appropriateness of methods used by staff • Range, appropriateness and use of resources by staff • Level of challenge, pace and balance of activities • Assessment as part of learning/development • Promoting independence in learning/development |
| 5.5 | Participant learning/development | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motivation and engagement • Use of resources by participants • Learner contribution to learning and assessment • Participant reflection on their own learning/development |
| 5.6 | Engaging with communities and other stakeholders to identify and plan to meet their own needs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arrangements for identifying community needs and aspirations, including literacies needs • Knowledge and understanding of community needs • Plans informed by community needs and aspirations • Assessment and recording of progress and achievement |
| 5.7 | Developing skills and confidence for community engagement | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support for community members and volunteers • Building effective relationships with participants • Training and development for community members and volunteers • Feedback on progress • Progression of community members and volunteers |
| 5.8 | Assisting communities to exercise power and influence to achieve outcomes | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting community organisations in managing change • Networking within the community • Community influence and representation • Community engagement in community planning in line with community engagement standards • Assisting communities to provide and manage services • Celebrating success |
| 5.9 | Inclusion, equality and fairness | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of excluded communities, groups and individuals • Addressing barriers to participation • Access to specialist services to meet specific needs • Promoting inclusion, equality, fairness and positive attitudes to social and cultural diversity • Compliance with equalities legislation |
| 5.10 | Improving services | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluating information from participants and other stakeholders • Evaluating outcomes and impact • Arrangements for reflective practice and self-evaluation • Planning for improvement and monitoring progress • Reporting progress to stakeholders |

Appendix I. GIRFEC Foundational Principles (The Scottish Government, 2012b, p. 7)

1. A focus on improving outcomes for children, young people and their families based on a shared understanding of wellbeing;
2. A common approach to gaining consent and to sharing information where appropriate;
3. An integral role for children, young people and families in assessment, planning and intervention;
4. A co-ordinated and unified approach to identifying concerns, assessing needs, and agreeing actions and outcomes, based on the *Wellbeing Indicators*;
5. Streamlined planning, assessment and decision-making processes that lead to the right help at the right time;
6. Consistent high standards of co-operation, joint working and communication where more than one agency needs to be involved, locally and across Scotland;
7. A *Named Person* for every child and young person, and a *Lead Professional* (where necessary) to co-ordinate and monitor multi-agency activity;
8. Maximising the skilled workforce within universal services to address needs and risks as early as possible;
9. A confident and competent workforce across all services for children, young people and their families; and
10. The capacity to share demographic, assessment, and planning information — including electronically — within and across agency boundaries.

Appendix J. SCQF Diagram (SCQF, 2016).

