Youth Work in Wales
Issues for Policy and Practice in the Future

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INTRODUCTION

In theory, the young people of Wales now have greater personal freedom, wider opportunities and more resources than they have ever had. They have access to a broader education delivered through an ever more diverse structure; new career opportunities; the right to have a voice in the services and policies that affect them and the scope to challenge the limitations of class, gender and race imposed on earlier generations. The result is that Wales has the most educated workforce it has ever had, along with greater social and economic diversity and the longest living population in its history.

But these benefits are unequally distributed and come at a price. Economic, social and political changes have created new opportunities for young people in Wales, but have also exposed them to much greater risks[1]. Access and the capacity to exploit the new opportunities whilst managing the increased risks is unequally distributed. Young people have to become decision makers, planners and strategists, able to exploit services and capitalise on resources. Some thrive on these new challenges, drawing on not only their own skills and capabilities, but also the support of family, friends, advisers, the state and the voluntary sector. However, others struggle, knowing little about opportunities outside their immediate environment, limited by weak skills and capabilities and a lack of support. These changes in young people's lives have transformed, and continue to transform, the context that youth work in Wales operates in.

The first section of this paper will highlight how opportunities for young people in Wales have developed[1]. The second section will outline some of the continuing problems that face young people and section three will consider why these inequalities persist. In the final section we have set out some potential challenges for youth work in Wales.

THE NEW WORLD

Economic Change

The industrial structure of the Welsh economy has changed markedly since the 1960s. The long-term shift away from extractive and manufacturing industries toward service industries accelerated in the 1970s and 1980s and the range of industrial orders employing young people narrowed." This process of deindustrialisation created new opportunities and, in doing so, led to changes in both training opportunities for young people and the qualifications and skills required by industry"[1].

The collapse of the youth labour market and the decline in work-based learning led to a shift from learning *in* work to learning for work, with a steadily increasing emphasis on qualifications for entering work[lv]. This contributed to the extension of youth by delaying the transition to work and cutting the number of young people who leave school at the minimum age and go into unskilled work[v]. In 1988 more than half of school leavers went straight into a job[vi] but by the end of the 1990s school leavers had a selection of post 16 routes of which a job was by no means the most likely outcome™. Youth unemployment (18-24 year olds) has fallen in Wales since the mid 1990s and wages have increased[vm].

Education

There have been large increases in state investment in education and training™. The Welsh Assembly Government has invested heavily in schools since the late 1990s and

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[1] This report focuses upon young people (aged 11-25) in Wales. Wherever possible, we have used data on the 11-25 cohort. Where this is not available, we have used data and made reference to policies for children (0-18) or young adults (typically 16-25) and highlighted this in the report. Similarly, wherever possible we have used data on young people in Wales, however, where this is not available we have used UK or English data and studies, and again, highlighted this in the text. However, much of the research exploring areas such as youth transitions, explore them in a UK rather than specifically Welsh context.

the data on school attainment in Wales shows marked improvements in the educational attainment of children and young people. The greatest progress has been made at Key Stage 2, where the proportion of 11 year olds failing to reach level 4 has declined by over a third (to 17%) over the period 2000 to 2006[X].

As a consequence of increasing investment and attainment, more young people than ever before have been able to access further and higher education. Both attainment and participation in post-16 and post-18 education and training have increased and we have a better qualified workforce than ever.[50]

Political (and policy) Change

Devolution in 1998 meant that Wales could increasingly set its own agenda for supporting young people, albeit within limits. At the time, the UK government was alone amongst EU countries in having no coordinated youth policy[""]. The Welsh Assembly Government responded to this through *Rights to Action,* its seven core aims for children and young people[""1] and through *Extending Entitlement,* its "flagship policy" which placed a duty on Local Authorities, other Statutory bodies and the Voluntary Sector to provide Youth Support Services to deliver 10 core entitlements to young people aged 11 — 25. Young People's Partnerships were established to ensure a cohesive approach in every local authority area to meet this agenda. The Children's Act 2004 requires local authorities in Wales to prepare and publish a plan setting out the authority's strategy[xiv] for discharging their functions in relation to children and relevant young people. Directions under the Learning and Skill Act 2000 requiring local authorities to make provision for Youth Support Services also remain in place.

The Welsh Assembly Government has consistently developed policy that views young people as citizens with rights. Examples include the *All Wales Youth Offending Strategy,* with its focus upon prevention and treating offenders as children first and offenders second[xv] and the *National Service Framework (NSF) for Children, Young People and Maternity Services,* which outlines the quality of services that children, young people and their families have a right to expect and receive[xvi]. These policies are underpinned by *Making the Connections,* the Welsh Assembly Government's policy for public service reform that focuses on public engagement and putting

citizens at the centre as a process to ensure more integrated policy through collaboration and partnership, to better meet people's needs[xv].

Participation is also at the heart of the *National Youth Service Strategy for Wales*[1]. A range of mechanisms for enabling participation and consultation, including the establishment of a national participation consortium and unit, Funky Dragon, the children and young people's National Assembly for Wales, local authority youth forums and school councils have now been established[TM].

In order to close the gap in outcomes between disadvantaged and more advantaged children and young people and raise the bar for all, the Welsh Assembly Government has recently launched a range of initiatives. These include *Flying Start** providing childcare and support for parents; the *Foundation Phase,* with its focus upon experiential learning, fun and social and emotional skills[50]; *14-19 Learning Pathways,* with its focus upon skills and wider learning delivered through an individualised pathway and underpinned by learning coaches, personal support and careers advice and guidance[xx]; and Raising Attainment and Individual Standards of Education (RAISE), providing additional funding for schools serving disadvantaged communities. These pre-school and school based polices are complemented by the *Child Poverty Action Plan,* which lays out a series of targets for narrowing the gap[xxm].

Social (and cultural) Change

There have also been massive changes in social structures with shifts across Wales from traditional class-based identities in favour of more individualised identities, although arguably the effects of this are less noticeable in the poorest communities. The authority of the institutions that 'shaped' and maintained social structures, such as the church, state and family, have been eroded. Family structures are more varied and, whilst this represents greater instability in relationships, it also shows how society has become more accepting of differences. Migration has also created a new diversity in many Welsh communities. As a result, young people have more opportunities to define and construct their own identity, rather than having it imposed or thrust upon them and policy seeks to support this[3TMTM]. The Welsh Assembly Government has a strong commitment to confront discrimination, and has issued anti-

bullying guidance[xxv] and is developing a Single Equality Scheme and Action Plan (due Spring 2008).

Alongside the development of cultural diversity has been an awakening of Welshness in young people. The Welsh identity and language have strengthened, albeit unevenly across Wales[xxvl].

NEW RISKS

The changes in the economic, social and political spheres of life have tended to make young people's transitions more complex, individualised and extended. These extended transitions are characterised by increasing dependency upon the family and to a lesser degree, the State. Common experiences have become individualised and transition has become personal for all young people, in the way it once was only for the academically successful[xxv"]. These changes hi Wales have created new risks.

Employment
The changes in employment opportunities at a national and European level[0"111] masks an increase in disadvantage at a local level whereby young people in Wales with no or low qualifications have fewer chances than ever. Most of those with no qualifications at the age of 19 will not have acquired any more by the age of 25, and those aged 25-50 with no qualifications face a markedly higher risk of unemployment, economic inactivity and life on low pay[2TM"]. The numbers of young people not in employment, education or training has remained stubbornly fixed at around 10% in Wales[xxx], large numbers are in jobs without training[30"1] and poorly paid jobs, trapped in so called "poor work" with few prospects often interspersed with periods of unemployment[3"TM11].

Even for those young people with higher-level qualifications there is less certainty than there used to be. Increasing attainment and participation in further and higher education means that although higher level qualifications are still reflected in higher salaries and higher rates of employment, the premiums at a UK level are not as

' Less than £6.50/hour

significant as they used to be[50™"] and a minority of young people will find themselves back living at home with parents and unemployed after completing degrees[xxxiv].

Although the scope is there to forge individual identities there is still evidence of significant conformism in some sections of the labour market. In parts of Welsh society experience of work has changed little since the 1970s[xxxv]. Evans and Furlong[xxxvl] write about how young people 'locate' themselves in the society they grow up in and how this defines their understanding of employment options. In many Welsh communities there is still a belief that learning is best achieved in work even though the opportunities for work-based learning have become increasingly limited[xxxvu]. Ballet al[xxxvul] argue that, far from expanding opportunities, such 'new' urban economies generate new, and compound old, inequalities. Such inequalities operate across *and -within* communities. For example, much work within Wales remains gender segregated, and there is evidence that careers advice and guidance, training and work experience opportunities are particularly poor for females, whilst the majority of men and women from ethnic minorities continue to be employed in low paid sectors of the Welsh economy[xxxlx].

Education & Qualifications
The success in educational attainment identified above tends to falter after primary school. At Key Stage 4 the proportion of Welsh 16 year olds failing to achieve five or more good GCSEs (or equivalent), and the proportion with no GCSEs, has barely changed since 2000[xl]. Underlying this is the persistently strong link between poverty and both attainment and participation, illustrating the difficulty of ensuring the most disadvantaged benefit from opportunities. Analysis of the UK youth cohort studies suggests that there is an attainment gap between children from high and low socio economic classes from 22 months and that this gap widens throughout school, culminating in a failure to reach the expected standard of National Qualifications Framework (NQF) Level 2 (equivalent to 5 or more GCSES A*-C)[xli].

Although rates of participation in further education amongst lower socio-economic classes have risen in Wales, it does not match that of more advantaged groups and participation in higher education amongst disadvantaged groups continues to lag significantly"[1]". UK research also suggests that young people from disadvantaged

backgrounds have less success when they do access higher education"[llll], tend to study in less prestigious universities and make slower progress in finding graduate jobs[xllv] than their more advantaged contemporaries.

Health & well-being

Young people in England report improvements in their health year on year[xlv] and it seems reasonable to assume the same for Wales. Childhood mortality continues to fall and life expectancy in Wales increases year on year[xlvi]. However, the *Health Behaviour in School-Aged Children Survey* shows that rates of alcohol consumption and obesity are higher and rates of exercise lower amongst school aged children in Wales than the 34 other countries in the survey. Sexual health rates are also poor and rates of teenage pregnancy have remained consistently high by European standards, particularly amongst some groups such as children in care. There is also evidence that young people in Wales are experimenting with drugs and alcohol and engaging in sexual activity at younger ages [v"].

There is some UK evidence that young people's mental health is deteriorating[3][xlvm]. We know that behavioural and emotional problems are reported to be increasing in Wales[xhx], that access to child and mental health services is difficult in Wales and that the child suicide rate is five times higher than in England[1]. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that mental health among some young people in Wales is poor .

The link between social and health problems is made in the Chief Medical Officer for Wales' Annual Report 2006 which suggests that young people's poor self-esteem is an underlying factor in binge drinking and other risky behaviours. The report also shows how children in disadvantaged areas are also exposed to a markedly higher risk of accidents.

We only have limited data on the well-being of young people in Wales, but we know that the UK was recently ranked bottom in a comparison of child well-being in 21 industrialised countries and that where data for Wales (as opposed to the UK) is available, Wales ranks poorly in comparison to these countries. [h] Well-being is linked

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[1] The NPHS has published data on adult, but not child mental health in Wales.

to poverty and whilst child poverty rates have recent fallen, they remain high and large numbers of children in Wales (24,000) live in overcrowded accommodation[1"]. We know that despite Welsh Assembly Government policy, bullying remains a serious concern for many young people hi Wales[1"1] and the space for play, in terms of both place and time has fallen[hv]. The "lack of things to do" emerged as young people's key priority in a recent national consultation with young people[lv] but there is a growing gap between the crowded itinerary of the child facilitated by family to access a rich mix of sports, arts, school and youth activities, but who may increasingly find the pressure of the curriculum, homework and course work squeezing out time for extra-school activities and the young person with very limited participation in any form of organised activity outside school who is also devoting less time to educational demands.[lvi]

A key factor in well-being is the quality of social interaction available to individuals and groups of young people. Technological and housing changes have contributed to a life increasingly spent indoors and an increase in virtual interaction, through mobile phones and the internet. Television and computer games can also contribute to isolation and a limiting of collective or group experiences [v"].

Specific groups within the community can be even more isolated. For example, ill health is much higher for certain ethic groups such as Roma, Irish and Gypsy Travellers and support services for vulnerable groups such as lesbian, gay and bisexual young people are limited[1TM1].

Social Inclusion and Exclusion
As noted education levels, literacy and numeracy have all increased and child poverty in Wales has fallen since the late 1990s[hx]. However, the penalties paid by those with no qualifications in terms of lower salaries and risks of economic inactivity, unemployment and ill health have all increased.

Policy in much of the UK has focused upon controlling so called 'problem' youth, fuelled by media reports suggesting crime and anti-social behaviour have increased (despite more equivocal evidence on actual trends)[1"]. Although youth crime has decreased overall, the use of Anti Social Behavioural Orders has increased (from 1

one in 2000 to 88 in 2005) and youth incarceration rates remain high (there are estimated to be between 180-190 Welsh young people in custody at any time)[lxi]. Moreover, data for England and Wales suggests that both the perpetrators and the victims of crime tend to be amongst the most disadvantaged young people[lxii] although media and policy focuses tend to be exclusively on young people as the perpetrators.

Although disadvantage may remain the most powerful predictor of poorer outcomes, ethnic and gender divisions overlap and may exacerbate it. Boys tend to leave school earlier, exhibit more problematic behaviour, engage in more criminal behaviour, face higher risk of unemployment and are more likely to take their own lives[lxiii]. Certain ethnic groups are also exposed to markedly higher risk of poor outcomes.

Patterns of political engagement have changed. Despite devolution, levels of voting have declined (only 22% of 18-22 year olds exercised their right to vote during the 2007 National Assembly elections) although there is evidence that rates of participation in more informal political activity, such as interest groups, are high amongst young people in the UK[lxiv]. Although society has changed, our political system has not: it remains rooted in a system of elected representation, based upon deference, with a party system rooted in class-based identities that have fractured. As a consequence, it is argued, many young people are disengaging from formal politics and engaging in new social movements[lxv].

INEQUALITY & YOUTH TRANSITIONS

Why do these inequalities persist? Policies increasingly require the young person to be an active participant, a decision maker who is able to plan for the future and map their needs. In order to prosper in such a society young people need to be "reflexive", better able to exploit opportunities and manage risks[lxvi]. It is clear that some young people are more equipped, and supported, to do this than others. Young people's capacity to exploit the opportunities and avoid the risks created by economic, social and political change depends upon both how they approach those opportunities and risks (their orientation to them) and the resources they can access.

We have used "orientation" to describe a young person's knowledge and understanding of opportunities and risks including their perceptions of their relevance and importance to them and their future. A young persons' orientation is shaped by a complex mix of influences that include experiences, culture, family, community and personal attitudes. The wider then" range of influences, and the more effective their capacity to reflect on these, the better equipped a young person will be to exploit opportunities and manage risk.

A young person's capacity to seize opportunities and manage risk also depends upon the "resources" they can access. These include the personal capabilities of young people made up of a range of hard skills, such as literacy and numeracy, and a range of social and emotional skills, such as self-awareness, self-motivation, empathy, the ability to handle relationships and manage one's mood, that have been described as "emotional intelligence" [lxv]" and "emotional competence"[lxvi]". Resources also include financial resources and the support that young people can access from other people, such as partners, family and friends and institutions, such as the state, private and voluntary sector organisations[lxix].

Inequality is a result of the unequal distribution of opportunities coupled with increased exposure to risk, the unequal distribution of resources and differences in young people's orientation and understanding of opportunities and risks. Young people growing up in poorer areas tend to have less access to opportunities[lxx]. There is evidence from the UK Cohort studies that they tend to have poorer literacy and numeracy and poorer social and emotional skills[lTM]. There is evidence that they also receive less effective support from their family and from statutory services, and that their limited capacity to exploit opportunities and manage risk is compounded by their orientation, which makes them less motivated to try to exploit opportunities and manage risk effectively. They may, for example, be waiting for the right job to come along, rather than pro-actively searching for it or they may have a fatalistic attitude toward risks such as teenage pregnancy.[lxxu].

The unequal distribution of resources and orientation means, for example, that the expansion of educational opportunities at 18 has been more effective in benefiting the better off[lxxiu] and there is a risk that the greater opportunities being introduced during

compulsory education, such as Learning Pathways 14-19, will also disproportionately benefit the more able and better supported[lxxlv] unless these inequalities are tackled.

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR YOUTH WORK

The research shows, then, that the context for youth work has changed radically. The changes in external influences that helped to shape behaviour, such as church/chapel, employer, communal activities and team sports, have combined to individualise experiences in a way that has liberated some and isolated others. As traditional influences have declined in importance, the role of parents, family and social networks have become stronger than ever as young people navigate their way around choices and options that few had to face in the past. Consequently, the impact of having parents who cannot help, who may be struggling themselves, has become greater, diminishing the chances of 'breaking cycles' of deprivation.[lxxv]

This all creates both a challenge and an opportunity for youth services. No other discipline working with young people is as well placed practically or theoretically to meet these changing needs but there are ideological and capacity challenges that would need to be addressed.

Because both opportunities and young peoples' capacity to exploit them are unequally distributed, it has been argued that Youth work can be both "reflexive", helping change structures and services that exclude and marginalise some groups and "redistributive", helping increase young people's capacity to exploit opportunities and manage risk. For some, this is the purpose of youth work and what distinguishes it from other work with young people[lxxvi].

However, there is a lively debate about the implications of a focus on inequality for Youth Services which has encouraged government in England to focus upon more targeted work[lxxvu]. The focus is reflected in increasing specialisation, with different types of 'youth work' developing for different groups. There is also a concern that this targeted and increasingly differentiated approach, focusing only upon the excluded and marginalised, fragments youth work and strips out its collective

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tradition[lxxvui] and contributes to a shift from "challenge and critical engagement" to "compliance and control"[lxxix].

The evidence presented in this paper suggests that the choice between generic and targeted work may be a false choice and that young people and society need both. There is growing evidence of the increasing importance of social and emotional skills[lxxx] with some studies suggesting they may be more powerful predictors of outcomes than literacy and numeracy[lxxxl]. They can be fostered through association[150™1], but crucially, researchers suggest it is the *quality* of association that matters[5™011]. For, example, Kindermann[lxxxiv] found in his two studies that young people tend to associate with those most like them in terms of their characteristics, skills and attitudes[lxxxv] and that this has a reinforcing effect on attitudes, motivation and behaviour. In this context, for some, attending a youth club that offers unstructured activities with a group of friends may be associated with anti-social behaviour and mixing with antisocial peers and suggests that not all youth activities provide real benefits[5™""] Feinstein's research on the Youth Cohort study suggests that the type of activity, organisational structure and goals are crucial[xxxv"].

The "socialisation gap", in which the social and emotional skills of young people from more disadvantaged backgrounds tends to fall behind that of their more advantaged peers, is attributed to a number of factors including, in particular, the quality of interaction with peers and adults[lxxxvlli]. The family is central to this[lxxxix], but peers and other adults increase in significance as a child matures into a young person. There is evidence that those participating in more "structured" activities - that is activities in which adults have clear authority, there are clear rules and expectations and goals (including both achievement and the acquisition of skills), support and encouragement - gain more, in social and emotional terms, than those participating in looser, more unstructured activities[5"1]. The danger can be, however, that when structuring youth services there is a tendency to focus on the acquisition of skills and knowledge when the evidence suggests the real need is for participation and the development of reflective, emotional competence.

The inequity is that those most in need of more structured activities - those with poor social and emotional skills - are also amongst those least likely to experience it, either

because they cannot access it or because they exclude themselves or become excluded. The danger is that they, then, only associate with their immediate peers, who reinforce the 'fixing' mechanisms"[01] that work against broadening horizons and help to embed disadvantage.

This inequity raises implications for youth workers themselves. Working effectively with young people with poor emotional competences is challenging and demands sophisticated skills[xcu]. Arguably it is the sort of work that should only be undertaken by the most skilled and experienced youth workers who themselves clearly have strong emotional competences*[0111], yet frequently falls upon the least experienced and qualified. This type of role demands that youth workers not only have the skills to work with often challenging young people but also model appropriate behaviours and values which may otherwise be absent from these young people's lives.

Young people's capacity to exploit opportunities and manage risk rests in part upon their personal capabilities, but also upon the support of others. Like personal capabilities, support is unequally distributed. Youth workers are increasingly being promoted as "trusted adults" able to help and advise, and in some cases, support young people[xciv]. In this context there is a question about how far youth workers should go in advising and supporting young people's decision making and the skills that they need to do this effectively.

Finally, there is a question about the extent to which youthwork should seek to 'protect' childhood against the demands of the changing world. The issues raised in this paper of individualisation, managing risk, decision making and planning have, it could be argued, little to do with being a child or youth. There is a potential danger that youth services that focus upon skills and structured work risk marginalising fun and enjoying being young. There are good models of effective, structured youthwork that is also fun and continues to attract young people and there is a challenge for youthwork to meet the new demands outlined above without sacrificing the value of what is already being done.

Notes from the Text

[i] Beck, 1992

[ii] Guire, 1997

[iii] Leitch, 2007

[iv] McGuire 2002; Furlong 1992; Bynner et al 2002; Ashton, et al, 1990

[vi] Ashton and Field 1976

[vii] Furlong and Cartmel 1997

[viii] Istance et al. 1994; Williamson et al.1996; Green et al. 2001

[™] Kenway, et al, 2005

[ix] Catan, et al, 2004

[x] Kenway, et al, 2005

[''] Kenway, et al, 2005

[^] SEU, 2000

[**] WAG, 2004a

[™] WAG 2004b

[xvi] WAG, 2006a

[xvii] WAG, 2005

["*"] WAG March 2007

["*] Croke & Crowley 2007

['] WAG, 2005b

[™] WAG, 2006b

[™] WAG, 2006d

[^] WAG, 2005b

[xxiv] Margo & Dixon, 2006; Catan, et al, 2004

[""] WAG, 2003

[xxvi] Tanner, n.d.; Coupland, et al, 2006

[""*] Catan, et al, 2004

["^] Gangl 2002

[xxix] Kenway et al, 2005; cf. McDonald & Marsh, 2004

[xxx] Cordis Bright, 2007; Istance et al. 1994

["^] Haywood, etal,2006

[xxxii] Kenway et al, 2005; cf. McDonald & Marsh, 2004

[xxxiii] Leitch, 2007; Furlong and Cartmel, 2005; Bynner et al. 2002

[xxxiv] Jones 1995; Schneider 2000; Du Bois-Reymond, 1998

[xxxv] Lloyd-Jones 2005

["^] Evans and Furlong 1997

[c] Kenway, et al, 2005 [*"] Kenway & Palmer, 2007; Kenway, et al, 2005 [**] Feinstein, et al, 2007; Hensen & Joshi, 2007 [*"'] Kenway, et al, 2005 [*""] Forsyth and Furlong 2003 [^] Furlong and Cartmel 2005 [riv] DoH 2006c cited in Margo & Dixon, 2006 [M] WAG, 2006b [ri™] WAG 2006b. [riviii] Margo & Dixon, 2006 [riix] WAG, 2007 [1] Croke & Crowly, 2007 [11] UNICEF, 2007 ['''] WAG, 2007b [m] Funky Dragon 2007 [liv] Croke & Crowly, 2007 [lv] Funky Dragon, 2007 ['''] Margo & Dixon, 2006 [™] Margo & Dixon, 2006 [lviii] (Croke & Crowley, 2007

""Kenwayetal^OOS

lx Margo & Dixon, 2006; McDonald & Marsh, 2004; Jeffs, 1997

1xl Croke & Crowly, 2007

*** Margo & Dixon, 2006

lxiu McDowell 2001

lxiv Power Inquiry, 2006; Catan, et al, 2004

lxv Power Inquiry, 2006

lxvi Margo & Dixon, 2006; Giddens XXX: Beck, 1992

lxTM Goleman, 1995

taffl WAG, 2007

^ Jones, 2005; SEU, 2005

ta McDonald & Marsh, 2004

lxxi Hensen & Joshi, et al, 2007; Feinstein, et al, 2007; Margo & Dixon, 2006).

^ SEU, 2005

lxxiii Schoon cited in Catan, et al, 2004

lxxivHoltom,2007

lxxv Margo & Dixon, 2006

lxxvi Merton, 2005

lxxvii Merton, et al, 2004

lxxviii Smith, 2001

bodx Merton, 2007; Jeffs, 1997

lxxx HM Treasury, 2007

lxxxi Feinstein, et al, 2007; Margo & Dkon, 2006

lxxxii Smith, 2001

kxxiii Robson & Feinstein, 2007).

baxiv Kindermann 1993, 1996

lxxxvKandell978

"""^ Margo etal 2006

lxxxvii Feinstein at al 2005

ixxxviii Hensen & Joshij et al> 2007; Margo & Dkon, 2006

lxxxix Cassen & Kingdon, 2007; Desforges, 2003

xc Robson & Feinstein, 2007; Gilligan, 2007; Margo & Dixon, 2006

xciConnel!2001

xcu Holtom, 2007

xcm Holtom, 2007a

xciv Merton, 2005; cf. Williamson, 2004; 1997

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