Individual and Community Development:
The Vision, Perceptions and Role of Early Adolescent Youth

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Contents

1 Intro **3**

2 Community Engagement and The Period of Adolescence **4**
2.1 Identity, Purpose and Meaning 6
2.1.1 Selflessness as a means to find self 9
2.1.2 Morality and Identity 11
2.1.3 Purpose, Meaning & youth 12
2.1.4 Importance and Outcomes of Purpose 14
2.2 Realising Identity, Purpose and Meaning through Community Engagement 15
2.2.1 Identity Integration 17
2.3 Emotional, Volitional and Cognitive Development 18
2.4 Ideologies and Social Evolution 20
2.5 Summary 21

3 Youth and Community Building
A Review of the Literature **23**
3.1 Participation and Empowerment 24
3.2 Who Engages? 25
3.2.1 Demographics 26
3.2.2 Qualities and Attitudes 27
3.2.3 Environment 28
3.3 Benefits of Community Engagement 28
3.3.1 ...to the community 28
3.3.2 ...to individual contributors 30
3.3.3 Early Adolescent Community Engagement 31
3.3.4 Factors Affecting the Engagement of Young People 33
3.3.5 Foundations Developed while Engaged with Community 35
3.4 Motivations and Mandating Engagement 35
3.4.1 Mandating Community Service 35
3.4.2 Motivation to Engage 37
3.5 Approaches to Youth Community Engagement 40
3.5.1 Positive Youth Development 41
3.5.2 Critique of PYD 42
3.5.3 The sixth C - Contribution 43
3.5.4 Environment 44
3.6 unsorted 45

4 Development as Capacity Building and Systematic Learning **48**

4.1 Prevailing thought on Development . . . 48
4.2 Modernisation . . . 49
4.2.1 WDR . . . 49
4.3 Post development theory . . . 50
4.3.1 LOOK UP . . . 50
4.3.2 western approaches . . . 50
4.3.3 post-development theories critiqued . . . 50
4.4 Feminism, Capability Approach and the United Nations Human Development Index... . . . 52
4.4.1 Human Development . . . 52
4.4.2 Feminism . . . 52
4.5 Freire . . . 53
4.6 Education and Service Learning . . . 53
4.7 unsorted . . . 54
Bibliography . . . 55

Chapter 1

Intro

This research seeks to answer the following questions:

- How do young people (aged 12-15) understand their own capacity to contribute to their communities?
  - How do young people, in particular those in early adolescence, view community development?
  - What do they understand to be the role of young people in the process of community development?
  - What do young people see as important in community building processes? What is their vision? How do they envision achieving this?
  - What do they believe would motivate young people to get involved in community development activities?

Chapter 2

Community Engagement and The Period of Adolescence

"And you? When will you begin that long journey into yourself?"

- Rumi.

The desire for a better society may be one of the most ubiquitous in the world today, and this desire is held equally by youth (UNEP 2011). In general, the vision and methods of this better society may vary significantly, some fulfil this desire through work, some through raising children, some through the products they buy and others through volunteering. The most effect means to create a better society, however, is through systematic, ongoing community development efforts which, ideally, include an increasing number of people from within a population, including youth. This not only increases the human resources available for such efforts, it also demonstrates the importance of the participation to all community members, and simultaneously develops numerous skills and attitudes important for effective community building processes - consultation, coordination, perseverance, etc. To understand the contributions and role of youth to community building processes, we should consider if engaging individuals at different periods of life will bring about particular emotional, intellectual, social and physical benefits, and whether those benefits are limited to the individual or if they extend to the community. To do this, there must be an understanding of emerging capacities at each developmental period of life and the most effective corresponding opportunities for those to fully develop.

This chapter will take a brief look at the biology and youth studies fields which examine this period of life from different perspectives. The remainder of this chapter will explore some of the key areas of development for adolescents, and how this relates to their engagement in community settings. This draws largely from developmental psychology. This will cover identity, purpose and meaning in the context of individual development and how this process is affected by engaging in the community. The discussion will continue by looking at emotion, volition and cognitive development, and finally reflect on the ideologies of youth and how this contributes to social evolution. The discussion looks primarily at the period of adolescence, and when available articulates the research on early adolescence: how this period may be a pivotal time to engage individuals and

that, compared to other age periods, there are significantly greater and sometimes unique developmental advantages. It is a time in which identity is being crystallised (Verlande et al. 2002; Finkenauer et al. 2012), moral framework is explored (Fabes et al. 1999; Carlo et al. 1999) and growing independence means that connection moves beyond familial relations to incorporate the wider community (Eccles and Gootman 2002). The early teenage years see changes in behaviour, language, thought processes and interactions which suggests the importance of further research in the context of community building.

While there are often varying definitions of childhood, adolescence and adulthood, there is a growing consensus about the adolescence as a key period in which to develop their full capacity. Adolescence can be broken down into early (12-15), middle (15-18), and late (18 and above) (Abela and Hankin 2011). These definitions are rarely straightforward however; some youth literature may consider those over 18 adults and hence no long an adolescent, while numerous sources identify different age ranges for early adolescents. Humanities, for example, define early adolescence from 10 to 14 years of age (*The Journal of Early Adolescence* n.d.), while reports from the Australian Government indicate a much narrower age range of 13-14 years (McMatamney and Morgan 2009). Another view of adolescence suggests that specified age ranges become less relevant than development milestones since puberty - the biological indicators of early adolescence - is a multifaceted construct, with genetic, environmental and gender impacting its onset (Pfeifer and Blakemore 2012). Attempts to explore how early adolescents engage in the community have sometimes used these defined age ranges instead of recognising the developmental milestones that occur at different points throughout this age range. One study, for example, purporting to research early adolescents, conducted a self-reported survey with 10-11 year olds, and found the average research participant was only half developed in terms of puberty, with many likely showing little or no signs of pubescent maturation (Lerner 2005*a*). This suggests that defined age ranges used in this way may overlook different rates of development between individuals. We can also use other fields such as neuroscience which suggest that by the age of 12 the vast majority of individuals have experienced the onset of puberty, and use the ages of 12-15 as a guide for investigating this period. Since by 12 years old almost all individuals will have experienced the onset of puberty (Pfeifer and Blakemore 2012) and consequently are beginning to think deeply about society at large and their place therein, this research will echo the definition of neuroscientific research of early adolescents between the ages of 12–15 years. Additionally, this age is generally associated with the transition to high school for most Australians, and middle school in the United States; transitions such as this have traditionally been associated with new strengths and challenges (Urdan and Klein 1998).

Youth engagement literature, however, has, to date, primarily focused on youth over the age of 15. With an increasing scholarship around engaging children as active citizens (see for example Naughton et al. 2008; Jans 2004; Golombek 2006), and, with youth engagement research - whether it be democratic citizenship or positive youth development - examining youth primarily from 15 years of age, early adolescence seems to be a clear gap in the research. Hence, little is known about the importance or impact of community engagement during early adolescence, despite a growing body of research demonstrating emerging capacities (see for example Pfeifer and Blakemore 2012). This could be a missed opportunity in two ways - first it is possible that engaging in community development efforts during this age period brings unique advantages, and secondly it may also increase the likelihood of continued engagement throughout one's life, increasing the pool of

potential resources for community development efforts. Whilst little is known about the benefits of engaging in community during early adolescence, areas of development ranging from identity to ideology, hormonal to mental capacities, all have the potential to influence both their experiences of service and the roles they can embody.

These changes are, in part, explained by another perspective in which to understand the development of youth - the field of biology. Youth experience increased levels of hormones which are argued to be the cause of many adolescent behaviours, from increased sexual drive to deviancy. Yet hormones are also understood to impact behaviour, in particular social behaviour (National Institute of Mental Health 2011). Dopamine, for example, is one such hormone, and its presence influences the level of enjoyment and desire to re-engage with certain environments and experiences in the future, in particular how they value certain social experiences (Crone and Dahl 2012). This undoubtedly impacts an individuals willingness to engage and re-engage in community building settings. Questions remain, however, about the effects of hormones on early adolescents, specifically how intense feelings impact social valuation (Crone and Dahl 2012). The cognitive abilities of adolescents allow for increased impulse control, with increasing consistency as they age and their brains mature (Johnson et al. 2009). Studies of adolescent brain development also identify unique mental capacities - such as critical thinking - developing during these early adolescent years. From this perspective, we can see an emerging understanding of the significant of this period that are yet to be fully understood or appreciated. Despite criticisms from other fields based on observations of young children undertaking critical analysis, the importance of early adolescence is becoming increasingly clear in many domains, and the impact of community on their emerging capacities cannot be overlooked.

The youth studies field is perhaps one of the most comprehensive, as it attempts to explore youth from an interdisciplinary perspective, incorporating historical, cultural, political and psychological experience of adolescence. This period is often clouded with terms such as 'early intervention' and 'prevention', which have strong implications of inherent negative behaviours: that youth deviancy is inevitable. While most youth studies theorists postulate adolescence as an important transition, most no longer agree that there is a universal period of storm and stress (Hall 1904; Muuss 1975). Some even attest to adolescence as relatively stress-free (Muuss 1975). I am not, however, entirely convinced of either, instead I tend towards the belief that each individual will have varying challenges that will ebb and flow as they mature. With this view however, questions inevitably arise around what leads an individual to one or the other, an intense period of storm and stress or periods relatively stress-free, and the impact of one's environment or community context. Identity, purpose and meaning seem to be important internal indicators which may determine the extent of those ebbs and flows, yet these are often moulded by external factors such as community engagement.

2.1 Identity, Purpose and Meaning

Adolescence is a crucial time for the development of identity, purpose and meaning, and, when an individual is unable to develop these adequately, there are often lifelong consequences (Flanagan 2008). Much of the thinking about identity hearkens back

to Erikson who argues that youth explore different identities as a means to become independent and find their role in society. This crucial stage of development entails the exercise of free will and the perception by peers of increased independence from family. Seeking the approval of peers is also evident in the choice of particular activities as a means to avoid shame, often deliberately in contrast to the opinions of adults.

Identity development often requires a period of experimenting with different roles which can lead to an identity crisis. This crisis is often understood as the rejection of particular roles being forced upon them and subsequently, to the outside observer, the road to delinquency, seen by Erikson (1968, p132) as a mental illness, suggesting these choices need to be "diagnosed and treated" to avoid "seemingly psychotic and criminal incidents". However he maintains that "adolescence is not an affliction but a normative crisis" (Erikson 1956, p116). In this period of experimentation, when society identifies youth as "psychotic or criminal" it may solidify them in their investigation of a negative or "delinquent" identity (Erikson 1968, p255). Hence, the way in which society views youth particularly those who experiments with anti-social behaviours, can define and reinforce negative behaviours. Viewing them as resources to be developed however, opens up pathways (Roth et al. 1998).

The importance of peer perception is one element of identity consciousness. This can become identity confusion when an individual experiences dissonance between how they are perceived by others, their increased autonomous self-image, and their self-esteem (Erikson 1968). As an individual explores this dissonance, they will become increasingly self-conscious which arises alongside the culmination of autonomy, emerging visibility in an adult world, the judgement of peers, and self-certainly (which can often be veiled by a sense of group certainty). Through formations of subcultures, youth explore perceptions of themselves, how they are perceived by others, sexual maturity, identity and social placement (Erikson 1968). Significant individuals in the life of a young person can have a marked impact on identity at the individual level, while media, school and institutions have an impact on the collective level (Juhasz 1982). Consequently, the personal and social interactions within which an individual engages forms identity, and if those are in the context of contributing to the community, a prosocial identity is likely to develop.

From sexuality to cruelty, identity construction is furthered by an individual's relationships with others. Romantic involvement during adolescence, for example, is seen as an act of identity formation through "projecting one's diffused self-image on another and by seeing it thus reflected and gradually clarified" (Erikson 1968, p132). In this way, intimacy is the fusion of identity, and as such true intimacy can only be achieved once identity formation is already progressing; individuals not able to form bonds of intimacy make themselves susceptible to more superficial forms of relationships and feelings of isolation (Erikson 1968). This points to the importance of healthy connections with others and the community at large as a contributor to one's sense of self and the reduction of long term mental health problems. On the other hand, cruelty to others - the exclusion and intolerance of others whether by their characteristics or by preferences and choices - facilitates and affirms identity development in youth. Through conflicting social values, this cruelty is understood to aid development of their own values (Erikson 1968). This process - the exploration of different values, testing boundaries, investigating attitudes and beliefs, and ultimately questioning their purpose in life - is increasingly understood as commencing in early adolescence (Verlande et al. 2002). In short, adolescent development

- and early adolescent in particular - is a crucial time in which the environment in which youth find themselves, and the connections they make, shape who they are and how they see themselves in relation to their community.

Lastly, an important part of the process of identity formation is belonging : the exploration of people and groups to which one might trust, and to which service to whom might be meaningful (Erikson 1968). Erikson believes that these commitments are sporadically tested, so as not to seem foolish if they were to adhere themselves to a foolish cause. The meaning that is derived from these associations can be so important that adolescents will, according to Erikson (1968), choose meaningful occupations in lieu of greater or delayed remuneration. As such, the experiences of youth needs to be relevant to them, to the historical era, and to their search for belonging, in order to capitalise on the courage, resourcefulness and devotion of youth (Verlande et al. 2002). In sum, community has profound implications for the development of identity, purpose and meaning which also has significant implications for how that individual develops, their relationship with others and how they see their role in the community.

Collective identity, as explored by social psychologists, is defined as an "individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of shared status or relation . . . and it is distinct from personal identities, though it may form part of a personal identity." (Polletta and Jasper, 2001, p. 285)" Futch (2016)

Collective identities are a means to belong and is a key component in health and well-being Futch (2016)

REWORD FOR MY OWN PURPOSES For example, much of the social-psychological work on collective identity has stemmed from research on collective action as it relates to political movements.

QUOTE? This highlights the impact of the environment on youth but ALSO the potential for youth to shape their world: "Such work is important to highlight because it suggests ways that we can move from understanding settings as mere crucibles for youth development to exploring how identity development can occur in conjunction with youth actively shaping their settings." Futch (2016)

REWORD FOR MY OWN PURPOSES Existing literature shows that development of and engagement with collec-tive identity(ies) are important psychological processes that influence how we understand ourselves and interact with our social world."

Engaging in youth programs influence thoughts, behaviours and actions beyond the program itself, impacting other contexts of the lives of youth. Futch (2016)

REWORD FOR MY OWN PURPOSES - The body of research is rich with evidence that theater, in particular, allows an opportunity for personal expression and creative reaction to the conditions in which its participants live. ":

REWORD FOR MY OWN PURPOSES - Thus, while the findings of this study speak most directly to arts-based programs, the underlying processes that occur are relevant for any youth program that wants to understand its impact and the role of its group in the lives of youth, as I will argue below ":

REWORD FOR MY OWN PURPOSES - overall aim being to show how combining these

literatures may be mutually generative for both fields. ":

Belonging arises out of participation when an individual feels a connection to the group, identification with the group as a means to express feelings of connectedness and that the group forms part of their identity Futch (2016)

Social psychologist .... reminds us that "beyond the question of how identities are defined is the question of the *meaning* associated with an identity" (Deaux 1991, p83, emphasis added).

"the individual development of the person in interaction with the environment and/or social condition to be equally as important as the extent to which individuals and settings are mutually informed and reconstituted through this interaction." [p688]Futch (2016)

Understanding the processes of collective identity allows insight into the psychological importance of development opportunities in youth programs, while also recognising that specific activities are likely to nurture this development. Futch (2016)

2.1.1 Selflessness as a means to find self

As youth reflect on broader social circumstance, they also contemplate their own roles. Engaging in community stimulates the formation of civic identity through the development of their role in political processes, their own commitment to moral principles, their own sense of agency and social responsibility (Youniss et al. 1997). This sense of duty to others is closely linked with in-depth identity exploration and commitment; this emerges as a sense of social responsibility and is understood as a potential mechanism to develop higher order identity processes related to community engagement (Crocetti et al. 2012).

In a self-reporting study conducted in Italy, 14-20 year olds were asked to explore the relationship between identity and civic engagement. The researchers observed that youth who had a strong sense of identity had stronger aspirations to contribute to their community, particularly compared to peers who were still exploring identity (Crocetti et al. 2012). However a deeper exploration into an identity context, moreso than identity commitment, was positively related to social responsibility which, successively, was a predictor for previous and future community engagement. They concluded the importance of active reflection - discussed in more detail in section 4.1 - as a means to promote future engagement and identified that participation in community can have a reciprocal effect on an individual's civic efficacy and social responsibility, each leading to and resulting from the other (Crocetti et al. 2012). Again, the nexus to community engagement is obvious: youth who engage breeds civic identity to enforce responsible membership of the community; disengagement favours individualism and is not conducive to positive individual development. Active reflection is a means to bridge that identity gap.

Increased understanding of moral issues also comes to the forefront when youth engage in the community. When an individual's understanding of moral issues is combined with a sense of responsibility, youth are able to apply moral reasoning and are more likely to act, which, in turn, consolidates identity (van Goethem et al. 2012). In a study on community service projects with the homeless, youth were able to not only see themselves as able to

make a positive difference and develop a sense of responsibility for others, but they also became acutely aware of underlying social forces:

> "Service allows youth to see society as a construction of human actors with political and moral goals rather than as a distant, preformed object. Instead of viewing themselves as too young to have power, youth observe that their actions have effects both in helping individuals... and in comprehending the forces that pertain to poverty and its consequences. Instead of thinking of society as determined by impersonal forces, youth recognize that their agency gives them responsibility for the way society is and for the well-being of its members." (Youniss et al. 1997, p625, see also Youniss and Yates 1997).

Increased recognition of social forces allows individuals to act more consciously and in a manner which is conducive for both the individual and community (further discussion of social forces can be found in section 4.1. This quote also touches on the importance of agency ; this capacity is, in itself, important, however in service to the common good it is integral to larger community development processes (Youniss and Yates 1999). The authors also noted that any analysis of civil society which uses top down approaches can leave a sense of dissatisfaction and frustration, however when a developmental analysis is employed, individuals mature and develop their capacity to make a positive impact in their society, while simultaneously understanding underlying social processes (Youniss et al. 1997). This suggests that as an individual develops their own capacities, a sense of responsibility to one's community coupled with a sense of agency is, fundamentally, a means to, and outcome of, individual and community engagement, bringing with it corresponding benefits.

As the development of identity is increasingly understood in the context of community service, it is clear that selfless and altruistic actions undertaken in the path of service are a powerful means to discover oneself. In the words of one social activist: "You felt like you were part of a historical movement... You were making a history and that you were...utterly selfless and yet found yourself" (McAdam 1990, p138). These words demonstrate reciprocal relationship - engagement fuels identity development, while at the same time identity development fuels engagement (Hardy et al. 2011). In an analysis of identity and morality work, Davidson and Youniss (1991) propose that the development of morality and identity are different aspects of the same construct. Hence, moral judgement is merely an expression of an individual's identity or aspect thereof. In the formation of identity, community involvement contributes by: providing opportunities for the development of agency and self-efficacy; connecting with adults, organisations and ideologies which strengthen social connectedness; engaging in activities infused with, and providing spaces for reflection which nurture, values and ideologies (Hardy et al. 2011, see also Yates and Youniss 1996). Interestingly, in addition to identity formation resulting from engagement, individuals who had more developed identities tended to engage more, reinforcing this reciprocal effect (Hardy et al. 2011). Hence, to capitalise on the courage, resourcefulness and devotion of youth, experiences of community engagement need to be relevant to the youth themselves, to the historical era, and to their search for belonging (Juhasz 1982).

2.1.2 Morality and Identity

There is an increasing awareness about the reciprocal nature of community service and identity which ties in closely with one's sense of morality. Whilst youth form their identity through engaging with meaningful causes (Youniss et al. 1997), current and future service is strongly influenced by both morality and identity (van Goethem et al. 2012). For youth in search of identity however, the values and ideologies of groups to which they belong will often dictate the options for identity that an individual would consider meaningful (Phinney and Baldelomar 2011; Flanagan et al. 2011). Additionally, while all cultures and communities have the potential to assist in the development of civic dispositions, skills and identities (Flanagan et al. 2011), identity may be critical in understanding continuity around engaging in one's community irrespective of varying social contexts throughout one's life (Youniss et al. 1997). Longitudinal research has also demonstrated the importance of community involvement for identity maturation (Hardy et al. 2011). Age, for example, is increasingly understood as influential in commencing volunteering, and a number of other factors, including identity integration, determine the frequency of volunteering (van Goethem et al. 2012).

Important in the process of identity development is the ideal self; when this is closely connected to the current self, individuals are more likely to engage in prosocial behaviour (Hart and Fegley 1995). Identity is closely connected to behaviour; the more youth are able to develop their moral identity, the more involved they are likely to be in the community (Porter 2013). Interestingly, a survey of students from the US about their civic activities and moral and political identities, and identified that as an individual's moral identity grows, there is a corresponding decrease in traditional political involvement (Porter 2013).

The relationship between morality and identity is interesting, for as morality becomes integral to one's sense of self, individuals are less likely to attribute their actions to a sense of morals, but instead it becomes a norm. This integration represents an individual's moral identity and commonly refers to "the degree to which being a moral person is important to a person's identity" (Hardy and Carlo 2011, p212). It is noteworthy however, to acknowledge that different interpretations of being a moral person may not be fully articulated in this analysis. For example, one could argue that few people, if any, believe they are immoral people. Many who undertake acts which are perceived as immoral are often able to justify those actions (see Bandura 1999).

The distinction between moral judgement and moral action can also be examined to aid understanding in this area. As an individual develops their moral identity, they increasingly understand morality as flowing from one's relationship to others. According to Youniss and Yates (1999, p372) "To understand the breadth of a person's moral orientation, then, one needs to know how that individual conceives of the self in relationship to personal others and to society". Hence, actualising morality through relationships centres one's moral actions in identity, instead of a specialised psychological function. They continue, "...moral choice and action come from the individual's sense of self in relationship to others... moral actions lead to a moral identity which, in turn, leads to further moral actions and solidification of moral identity". However moral judgements - the mental state or expression of belief - must be assessed through one's sense of moral responsibility before one acts, and it is increasingly believed that moral identity may hold

the key to overcoming the moral judgement-action gap (Hardy and Carlo 2011, see also Hart and Fegley 1995). This demonstrates the importance of opportunities for service as youth seek meaning, which can often be found through engaging in organisations with particular ideologies which resonate with an individual's moral framework. These opportunities provide an avenue for expression and identity consolidation (Youniss and Yates 1999).

Viewing actions as dichotomous - as either self-interested or self-sacrificing overlooks how actions to help others enhance one's own moral self. When actions are understood as having the dual nature of enhancing one's own self while simultaneously being beneficial for others, altruistic deeds become merely an expression of their moral selves (Youniss and Yates 1999, see also Colby and Damon 1999). How youth perceive themselves and their understanding of social norms are then transformed such that individuals who act morally do so believing they are reinforcing social norms, instead of seeing themselves as moralistic. This integration is effectively summed up in the words of one research participant who helped Jews in Nazi Germany: "I don't think I did anything special... What I did is what everybody normally should be doing" (Monroe and Epperson 1994, p213). Altruistic deeds as habitual action, then, result in everyday morality becoming an integral aspect of one's identity (Youniss and Yates 1999).

Underlying much of the process of moral identity and social responsibility integration is a sense of civic efficacy - the belief that one can impact their community (Crocetti et al. 2012). When adolescents have a higher level of moral reasoning, they experienced increased feelings of moral responsibility and understandings of real life moral issues (van Goethem et al. 2012); this can be linked to one's sense of moral identity and moral judgement which are founded on the same thought structures (Davidson and Youniss 1991). Understanding underlying social forces, such as workplace situations or greater social inequalities, provides motivation to engage which solidifies a young person's sense of moral responsibility and identity, which ultimately increases civic efficacy.

The implications of a moral framework - the set of morals which an individual identifies with and uses as a basis to guide their behaviour - integrated into one's identity extend beyond engaging in community. Much of the literature on youth's engagement, for example, focuses on the value of engagement to the future time in the workforce, encouraging individuals to gain skills to improve their employability (Shukra et al. 2012). Yet rarely is this explicit in what attitudes and behaviours are required for the workforce. For a potential business owner for instance, there are obvious benefits to youth learning the importance of book keeping or sales, but is it not also important, perhaps more so, that they learn about honesty in a corrupt office environment and treating co-workers with respect and dignity, to be stalwart and persevere in the face of challenges? Or are we only encouraging them to make money no matter the consequences? Arguably, attitudes and behaviours such as honesty and service apply not only to the workplace, but also to community interactions more generally.

2.1.3 Purpose, Meaning & youth

Purpose brings together a sense of meaning and the ability to make a contribution to something greater, provides motivation and increases a sense of well-being. Those who lack purpose, however, are often challenged by low self-esteem and consumed by material

desires (Damon et al. 2003). Community engagement is an effective means to fulfil this search for purpose, with a pertinent body of empirical work demonstrating purpose as both a motivator for, and outcome of engagement (van Goethem et al. 2012; Youniss and Yates 1999; Youniss et al. 1999; Hardy and Carlo 2011).

As explored above, adolescence is a key time in the life of an individual in which the search for meaning and purpose is central to their thoughts, attitudes and behaviours - their inner and outer lives - and ultimately their sense of who they are - their identity. This search for purpose, a meaningful life and the pursuit thereof comes to the forefront during early adolescence and can continue throughout one's life (Malin et al. 2015). Indeed, youth have been found to reflect on their own sense of purpose naturally, without any prompting (Inhelder and Piaget 2013). Some have attributed this altruistic pondering - from the reconciliation of science and religion to social and political reform - to "egotism" and a "sophisticated game of compensation functions" (Inhelder and Piaget 2013, p344-345), however it also has as direct impact on the life plans that youth adopt. From an analysis of youth's personal diaries Inhelder and Piaget (2013, pp344) note the importance of this search for meaning to their path in life, they state that such pondering "has a real influence on the individual's later growth" and may form the basis for their later life pursuits. This contributes to the development of purpose which is significant because, according to prominent developmental theorists, when unable to be developed during their adolescent years, it is increasingly difficult to do so later in life further pointing to the significance of the period (see Marcia 1980; Erikson 1968; Damon et al. 2003).

The period of adolescence is a time of seeming contradictions, it is a time of passion and pursuit of a higher purpose in which youth can test their boundaries and desire to create meaningful social change. According to prominent purpose researcher Damon (2009) these feelings of passion are rooted in the same deep brain systems as biological drives and the primitive elements of emotion. Hence, the neuro-development of the brain during early adolescence can lead an individual to risk taking behaviours while at the same time make them want to ponder world politics, it increases morbidity and mortality rates while also expanding their range of interests (Damon et al. 2003). Yet this passion is also intertwined with the highest levels of human endeavour: passion for ideas and ideals, for beauty, and to create music or art. Some have even suggested that if these emotions are directed towards the passion to succeed, whether it be in sport, business, or politics, or towards a person, activity, object or pursuit, they can engender transcendent feelings (Dahl 2004). Such structures (for instance a non-familial mentor) can have a significant impact on the young person's search for purpose (Damon et al. 2003). Hence, when structures are put in place to support these desires, youth are more likely to think beyond themselves, and these passions can be aligned with more positive pursuits in service of higher goals (Dahl 2004; Mariano and Vaillant 2012), such as the development of one's community.

A key component of purpose is developing values and goals and learning how to apply moral principles to complex situations (Malin et al. 2015). At a time when an individual is starting to plan life goals such as career and family, the development of values plays a key role (Nurmi 1991). Early adolescents however are developing their cognition to grapple with increasingly complex situations, and this process can appear as a decline in moral decision making and loss of purpose. As their cognitive development continues however, they are able to have more nuanced perceptions of abstract moral principles

and see links between suffering and the unjust actions of others (Malin et al. 2015). This demonstrates the value of supporting this crucial period of development, exposing youth to ever-more challenging situations and critically exploring with them nuances to maximise their development capacity.

These theoretical propositions have significant practical implications for practitioners working directly with youth. In an analysis of different engagement practices of youth, researchers found that until they identified what sort of society they wanted, youth were not able to identify what sort of services they wanted, reducing engagement to an ideological enterprise (Shukra et al. 2012). This confirmed the importance of a values based approach and leads to the necessity of asking sometimes difficult and uncomfortable questions: "What sort of society do we want? What are the barriers and opportunities to developing this? Who are the agents of change and their allies? How can we shape a youth service that supports youth in building such a society?" (Shukra et al. 2012, p52). This brings to focus the importance of engaging youth with a greater vision of community development and ensuring this vision incorporates supports for the inclusion of youth.

2.1.4 Importance and Outcomes of Purpose

Purpose is increasingly understood as a source of happiness and satisfaction in life (Damon et al. 2003). It provides answers to the big questions in life - 'Why?' - and its related questions of 'Why is it important?' 'Why does it matter to me?' 'Why am I doing this?' (Damon et al. 2003). Purpose consists of three aspects - future oriented goal which provides meaning and a path for forward momentum (particularly important for goals unachievable in one's lifetime), motivation to make a positive contribution to the world at large, and activity towards the realisation of that goal which is both current and sustained. If all three are unable to be fulfilled, this is considered a precursory form of purpose. Unfortunately, when an individual possesses a form of precursory purpose, there is little known about the developmental pathways required to fully realised purpose. Hence, those who engage and are future oriented, yet have self-serving motives for example, may not be able to fully realise the integration of values, goals and actions required for true purpose (Malin et al. 2015). Despite the importance of these purposeful goals, many chosen by youth may be unachievable in their lifetime, such as equality or universal education (Damon et al. 2003).

Lacking purpose in life can impact an individual both physically and mentally. A lack of purpose can lead an individual to a life of self-indulgence, believing that this life will lead them to happiness; they mourn for meaning in their lives which Damon et al. (2003) maintains is a universal desire. A lack of purpose has been identified as a pathway to addiction, depression and self-absorption (Damon et al. 2003). For youth, low levels of purpose has been linked to drug use (Padelford 1974), an inability to sustain relationships, deviance and lack of productivity (Damon et al. 2003).

When purpose is achieved, particularly during one's adolescent years, it provides meaning, allows the individual to effectively prioritise, as well as motivates and inspires an individual to pursue learning and achievement (Damon et al. 2003). An understanding of purpose provides insight into the likelihood of potential issues; it provides an understanding of levels of determination, grit and morale, all of which allows the individual to overcome challenges and show resilience (Damon et al. 2003). For Erikson

(1968, p141), purposefulness was a key principle to build "vital individual strength" for adulthood. He argued that the period of adolescence is an essential time to form "a realistic sense of ambition and purpose". When an individual is able to develop purpose during adolescence, it leads to high self esteem, personal achievement, moral commitments and prosocial behaviours (Damon et al. 2003).

Since purpose is understood as a "stable and generalized intention to accomplish something that is at the same time meaningful to the self and consequential for the world beyond the self" (Damon et al. 2003, p33), it provides meaning by connecting the individual to a world larger than him/herself, it implies the desire to make a contribution to others or create something anew. Purpose is about engaging in something that is challenging and compelling; it is marked by an individuals valued contributions to the world larger than himself (Damon et al. 2003). Purpose requires a certain level of commitment and progress to achieving a larger aim. To fulfil one's purpose, an individual also needs a structure of social support consistent with the effort exerted (Damon et al. 2003). Again, this all points to the importance of youth's engagement and ongoing support to ensure that engagement results in benefits for the individual and community.

2.2 Realising Identity, Purpose and Meaning through Community Engagement

Purpose, meaning and identity are all important developmental milestones for every young person. As they begin to ask questions such as "Who am I?", their sense of purpose, fuelled by emerging ideals, concerns and values inform this journey and consolidate the process of identity formation (Malin et al. 2015). For many, this is evidenced in their participation in community, whether it be through participating in community events, volunteering, or being involved in social action. This process often coincides with an increased awareness of the importance of morals in their life, and as they become central to their identity, individuals seek corresponding actions which reflect this, resulting in prosocial behaviour. To act on one's quest for meaning provides purpose; both understood as being rooted in the same moral development processes - cognitive, emotional and identity formation. Purpose, according to Malin et al. (2015, p109), "is driven by the recognition that by understanding what I can contribute to the world and by acting on that understanding, I can have a meaningful existence". In some cases, it can appear as if youth have a lack of purpose, however this is often merely an exploration of social roles and the process of identity consolidation (Malin et al. 2015).

Community service can be an effective means to express their new-found purpose and meaning. Individually, youth need to develop the capacity for meaningful participation. This includes the desire for, and commitment to sustain engagement, as well as developing values which serve as a foundation for socially responsible behaviour (Malin et al. 2015). Developing this moral structure requires an individual to not only learn about social values, but gives them the opportunity to inquire about the reason those values exist as they do (Malin et al. 2015).

Purpose is an expression of meaning, is it part of who you are and provides motivation to contribute to the world. Using our skills to address a need in the community creates

a sense of enjoyment, is a source of motivation and contributes to feelings of hope. Working alongside other community members also provides a culture and atmosphere which inspires one to continue along your path of purpose (Malin et al. 2015). This demonstrates that by engaging youth, they not only find meaning and purpose, but they contribute to the process of change in their community.

The relationship between engagement of various kinds and purpose has been extensively researched. In a study looking at Chinese adolescents, when an individual had strong prosocial values, volunteering intention and behaviour, they also had a high sense of purpose (Law and Shek 2009). Indeed the importance of purpose extends beyond one's adolescent years. Across the globe in a US study looking at retirees, researchers found a correlation between those who volunteered more than 10 hours a week and those who scored highly on the purpose in life test (Weinstein et al. 1995). Another US study looking more deeply into the relationship between purpose and engagement proposed that *how* purpose is manifested, instead of who finds purpose in community engagement, was a stronger predictor of who was likely to continue their engagement long term (Barber et al. 2013). This longitudinal study, found that different engagement practices between demographic groups of youth lies less in who is able to find purpose through engagement, and more how purpose is manifested. The researchers conclude that engagement programs should allow youth to consider various forms of community engagement, and not limit their choices, since the process of finding an activity of personal importance is an integral part of the process (Barber et al. 2013). Hence, engaging in community, and in particular the form that engagement takes can shape an individuals purpose, which has fundamental implications for the well-being of the individual.

While one form of engagement may lead an individual on a path of purpose, for others it may lead to frustration or a more limited focus for ongoing engagement. With any engagement opportunity challenges often arise - this may be external from individuals, organisations or laws which inhibit their efforts, or internal from preconceived expectations of the experience and its results. The stronger one's sense of purpose, the easier it will be to overcome these challenges, and the greater likelihood that civic identity will be formed (Malin et al. 2015). Such challenges often arise from the social context which plays a role in development of civic purpose. For marginalised groups this can often lead to disempowerment or engagement in activities which serve the interests of their own groups instead of wider society (Malin et al. 2015). In these cases practitioners must be mindful of reflecting with these youth, aligning their efforts with underlying values and goals, to ensure that the development of social responsibility "goes beyond concern for others to encompass concern for interdependent society and a personal sense of responsibility for sustaining the common good" (Malin et al. 2015, p110).

For youth who have a strong civic purpose, their motivations are often derived from well developed values. In a US-based longitudinal study looking at civic purpose with youth, those who held strong values and beliefs about social issues were far more likely to engage and discussed their engagement with respect to their values (Malin et al. 2015). This study found that, of the values that motivate an individual with civic purpose, social responsibility was common, and of the social contexts that seem to nurture civic purpose, family, faith and community was the strongest (Malin et al. 2015). Once civic purpose was identified, parents, community members etc. were often needed to assist in the identification of opportunities to further develop those interests (Malin et al. 2015).

Hence the opportunities need also provide youth with personal support prior to, and during their engagement.

While purpose answers questions of why, noble purposes must account for both the *how* and the *why* of the goal, devoting oneself to a worthy goal and undertaking that task in an honourable manner (Damon et al. 2003). Thus, "noble purposes also may be found in the day-to-day fabric of ordinary existence" (Damon et al. 2003, p44). Noble purpose provides mundane activities with meaning, and is not limited to heroic tasks or life-endangering adventures. Purpose is taking pride in your work, interacting with siblings in a joyful manner, doing household chores with care, being friendly to new or younger students. Hence, when purpose is imbued with nobility, an attitude of service becomes seamlessly integrated into all aspects of one's life.

Whilst voluntary work is important in many respects, the environment in which one volunteers tempers certain benefits. Volunteering for non-professional organisations, for instance, gives volunteers the opportunity to negotiate roles, demonstrate equality with all members of the organisation and engage in a more supportive environment increasing empathy, understanding of others and friendly relationships. These opportunities, more so than professional ones, help individuals develop responsibility and a sense of connection. Šerek (2016) While volunteering has shown benefits, these are by no means universal. A study on two generations of Czech youth demonstrated that levels of civic identity reduced between the previous generation and the current one; the researchers attributed this to an increased level of professionalised volunteering opportunities as opposed to non-professionalised Šerek (2016)

2.2.1 Identity Integration

Youniss et al. (1997) proposes that engaging during one's adolescent years significantly increases the likelihood of engagement during one's adult years in two ways: it familiarises the individual with the inner workings of community organisations and it provides an opportunity for the individual to incorporate community oriented activities into their lives as they form their identity. Engagement allows the integration of civic character into identity, which in turn forms the foundation for engagement during adulthood, hence, identity is the link which differentiates engaged and disengaged adults. Identities may develop over different contexts and time, however as an individual advances through adolescence, these identities will integrate and create a sense of continuity, what some consider the autonomous identity (Kroger 2006; Davidson and Youniss 1991). In a study with Dutch adolescents between 12 and 20 years of age, researchers found that the more identity contexts an adolescent experienced, the more likely they were to volunteer and the frequency of volunteering increased (van Goethem et al. 2012). Interestingly, they found that the more integrated their identity, the less frequently they volunteered, suggesting the importance of volunteering opportunities in the early adolescent years when they are still exploring and developing their sense of identity (van Goethem et al. 2012).

The researchers identified significant differences in volunteering for older and younger adolescents, attributing this difference to identity integration and their capacity for moral reasoning. They suggested that for younger adolescents, volunteering is a means to explore identity (van Goethem et al. 2012). However being able to integrate morality and identity, is a means to demonstrate a closer integration between one's ideal moral

self and their real autonomous self (Youniss and Yates 1999). Moral development is, in the words of Davidson and Youniss (1991, p119), "the primary identity's progressive acquisition of facility in entering, or opening up to, and eventually becoming explicitly aware of, the autonomous identity".

Adolescents are at the same time searching for a unique identity and a way to be part of a group. The inseparability of these two desires is effectively expressed by Youniss et al. (1997, p626): "Participation adds social meaning to identity by providing specific information about being a civic actor along with like-minded others in the building of society... In this regard, the individual and society are not separate entities but complementary parts of a single relationship." Understanding this relationship helps us explicate how adolescent identity development becomes an integral aspect of the evolution of social values. Juhasz (1982), for example, comments on how youth influence the evolution of values in society. In essence, their developmental characteristics allow adolescents to become influential agents in the processes of social change. He also notes the importance of mentors - teachers, parents and adults in the community - on the development of individual identity, while media, school, state and mass media have an impact on the collective level (Juhasz 1982). He argues that in the current social milieu, much of the mass media, religion, science and education is focused on the self, and as such developing a strong civic identity can be challenging (Juhasz 1982). Fundamentally, this demonstrates the importance of developing a strong civic identity through engaging youth in purposeful engagement directed at social change, and creating an environment that is simultaneously supportive and helps them deal meaningfully with prevalent social forces.

2.3 Emotional, Volitional and Cognitive Development

Whilst there is increasing awareness that adolescence is not to be seen as a time of storm and stress, there are significant biological, psychological, cognitive, and social changes occurring in the individual. The teenage brain, for example, is increasingly understood as unique from other stages of one's life, unique to both children and adult brains (Blakemore 2012). Intellectual capacity matches an adult brain, learning is at its peak, and mental tasks including calculations, impulse control and reacting to emotional stimuli use different parts of the brain to varying degreed during this time (National Institute of Mental Health 2011). These differences, scientists are quick to emphasise, do not imply an inferiority of the adolescent brain. To the contrary, their capacity to learn, expanding social life, desire to explore and test limits actually facilitate their transition to independence (National Institute of Mental Health 2011). Whilst little is known about the impact of those in community building settings or on how they impact the developing brain, it would be difficult to argue that this would have no impact.

Youth have a heightened response in emotional processing when exposed to emotionally charged images and situations which is also linked to the rewards system of the brain, effecting motivation (National Institute of Mental Health 2011). A willingness to engage is increasingly important as the young person establishes their independence and asserts their place in society. All these changes suggest a potential window of opportunity specific

to adolescence which raises questions around the long-term effects of early adolescent experiences and whether this can be used to create opportunities for positive pathways at particular developmental periods (Dahl 2004).

The increased freedom and autonomy that accompanies adolescence heightens the impact of experiences which, in the context of community created lasting feelings, both positive and negative. This autonomy also comes with an increased choice of activities which undoubtedly impact the developing adolescent brain (Kuhn 2006). Rewards and emotions which generally follow these new experiences create a level of excitement in the the teenage brain, and when these experiences are enjoyable there is a release of dopamine which further increases the enjoyment of the activity (more so than adults and children), this dopamine creates a desire to seek out that experience again (Galván 2013). From such experiences, adolescents - more so than children - will create meaning and will use this meaning to create identity. Hence, the activities in which they engage, and the meaning to which those activities are attributed, contribute to their sense of self (Kuhn 2006).

These changes also affect motivation and emotion (Dahl 2004). Adolescent vulnerabilities, for instance, are increasingly associated to changes in social and affective processing, yet this may also bring advantages such as increased flexibility in their ability to adjust intrinsic motivations and priorities in life in response to changing social contexts (Crone and Dahl 2012). However, motivations and priorities can often be linked to the desire to change these social contexts. The increased sense of idealism experienced by adolescents is often coupled with a desire to contribute to the world around them (Dahl 2004). Changes in motivation and emotion remain largely understudied, and further studies into this area could provide insight into how actions channelled into a range of activities can impact motivations and passions, and how they are shaped by particular experiences (Dahl 2004).

Focusing in on early adolescence, this age is increasingly recognised as unique in studies of cognition, identity, purpose and so on, yet research on community engagement in general remains scarce. Relevant research includes community engagement as it relates to purpose in 12-18 year olds (Barber et al. 2013), identity in 12-20 year olds (van Goethem et al. 2012) and gratitude in 12-20 year olds (Froh et al. 2010) (a more detailed analysis of these studies can be found in section 2.1.3). One study surveyed youth aged 12-19 (and notably was one of the few inter-country studies), yet the early adolescence specific analysis was limited to an observation of an overall decline in civic engagement, despite a continuing endorsement of such initiatives throughout this age (Flanagan et al. 1999). A meta-analysis of literature on prosocial behaviours across adolescence identified a dearth of knowledge on early adolescence, yet suggested "there are general increases in prosocial behavior during this time when compared with early age periods" (Fabes et al. 1999, p5).

The interplay between early adolescent developmental processes creates an important context for participation in community, and in particular the two-fold purpose of individual and community development. In this milieu it is easy to see why adolescence is considered a "critical time for the interplay in development of the brain, the mind, and the person" (Kuhn 2006, p65). The cognitive changes occurring during this time are defined by the environments in which early adolescents spends time. These changes result in a more efficient brain, creating stronger, fewer associations to those contexts with which they are exposed (Blakemore 2012; Kuhn 2006). These processes are generally complete by the end of early adolescents (Kuhn 2006), which suggests that environments to which this age group is exposed contributes to behaviours both destructive and constructive to

themselves and others (National Institute of Mental Health 2011) and largely determines what an individual most strongly associates with during their lifetime. These cognitive processes allow adolescents to imagine their future selves in a way that brings out positive emotions, and play a part in the development of self and identity in a way that supports those future selves (Dahl 2004).

The suggests that the development of skills at any age requires careful and systematic attention. In the case of early adolescents, when they are just starting to gain the faculty of critical thinking and awareness of themselves in relation to society, many have limited opportunities to systematically develop these skills (Forrest-Bank et al. 2015). Certainly, some may have opportunities in school settings or through family interactions, but this is by no means a universal opportunity, and rarely if ever would it be systematically implemented to ensure full development of these abilities. Hence, to develop capable, community minded citizens, these initial years, when establishing their independence, may prove critical.

2.4 Ideologies and Social Evolution

In addition to identity, Juhasz (1982) maintains that adolescents are developmentally programmed to desire two things: an ideology or belief system to which they can adhere, and having an impact on both the present and future from a wider social perspective. As adolescents are most attuned to changing ideology, it is a key time in which to develop purpose and systems of belief (Erikson 1968). This newly found ideology can be effective in creating a sense of enjoyment towards an occupation, and a means to avoid acting out destructive feelings (Erikson 1968). Erikson (1968, p187) observed the importance of ideologies in providing youth with (1) a counteraction of "time confusion" through simplified vision of the foreseeable future; (2) insight into the promises and challenges of the inner and outer world; (3) a form of social uniformity which hinders identity-consciousness; (4) collective action which discards inhibition and guilt; (5) justification for progress coming from an understanding of prevailing technology; (6) an understanding of self in relation to a particular world perspective; (7) guidelines for sexual intimacy concerned with a relatable set of principles; and (8) insight into a social order with adults community members who avoid paternalism.

Erikson (1968) sees a distinction between early and middle adolescence in the development of ideologies. He suggests the ages 16-20 are when youth become cognisant of social needs and awareness, and they develop an ability to think about issues, groups and ideologies beyond themselves and their immediate surroundings. He also notes that the preceding years, 11-15, are when youth start to contemplate hypotheticals in new ways, allowing them to explore a full range of possibilities which would have been previously impossible, and laying the foundation for the development and attachment to new ideologies. This period also sees the burgeoning of understanding around historical relevance; the impacts different social and historical contexts have on current trends and situations, and consequently attempts to align themselves with groups which have a more acceptable historical identity. In this way, we often see the importance of the ideological positions of organisations which sponsor engagement opportunities, and how those organisations are able to influence the ideologies of the young. Erikson's studies

also noted the increasing difficultly to acquire motivating belief systems if one is unable to do so during adolescence.

With the process of forming ideologies, youth will often desire to create social change (Juhasz 1982). Indeed, the processes by which youth are changing likely form the foundation for social change: "In this respect adolescence is a decisive turning-point - that at which the individual rejects, or at least revises his estimate of, everything that has been inculcated in him, and acquires a personal point of view and a personal place in life... the first duty of the modern adolescent is to revolt against all imposed truth and to build up his intellectual and moral ideals as freely as he can" (Piaget 1947, pp3-4). The natural tendency for youth to re-examine themselves and their surroundings can lead to them to reorient their values (Mead 1947). This process, according to Verlande et al. (2002), influences the evolution of values in society and, ultimately, creates opportunity for youth to be at the forefront of social change. Erikson (1968) echoes this sentiment, stating that as youth dedicate their energy and loyalty to causes which they find significant, they thereby develop their social identity and become regenerators of social evolution. He states: "... no longer is it merely for the old to teach the young the meaning of life. It is the young who, by their responses and actions, tell the old whether life as represented to them has some vital promise, and it is the young who carry in them the power to confirm those who confirm them, to renew and regenerate, to disavow what is rotten, to reform and rebel" (Erikson 1968, p258). In essence, this process allows youth to express themselves through actions which spring forth from the ethical foundations of human nature, a process which is most effectively expressed between individuals and society, which subsequently provides meaning. The implications of this is that when engaging with youth, workers need to be open about their own ideology, not presenting themselves as impartial and objective. All have a vested interest in the future of their own community, hence youth workers need to also be committed in participating alongside youth in the critical discourses about the society to which we aspire, and how our own services and agency can, and can not, facilitate the realisation thereof (Shukra et al. 2012, p52).

2.5 Summary

This section explored the period of youth as critical in the development of the individual, both in laying the foundations for who they will become, and how they see themselves in the context of their community and society in general. Yet there are still questions around whether there is a unique developmental window during early adolescence in which particular capacities develop, and whether community service or participation in community development efforts play a unique role in developing an individuals qualities, attitudes and behaviours. While few would argue that the development of purpose, meaning, identity and so on are not important, questions remain around the best way in which to assist youth to develop these, and in particular, whether engaging them in a dialogue about purpose, meaning, identity, etc is the most effective means to do so, or whether engaging them in discussion of, and participation in, community development processes can be a more holistic means of achievement in this domain. While there is an increasing recognition about the capacities of this age group, rarely are the increased flexibility or the exploration and sensitivity to social affective influences considered positive (Crone and Dahl 2012). The nexus to community is clear: early adolescence

may be a critical period in which youth form views on community and their role in its transformation.

Chapter 3

Youth and Community Building
A Review of the Literature

"Like a sculptor, if necessary, carve a friend out of stone. Realize that your inner sight is blind and try to see a treasure in everyone."

- Rumi.

"Like a sculptor, if necessary, carve a friend out of stone. Realize that your inner sight is blind and try to see a treasure in everyone." - Rumi

The last chapter discussed how young people develop in the context of community and in particular community engagement. I used the term community engagement as a catch-all phrase to include any engagement, from participating in sports and clubs, to volunteering, etc. In this section I will attempt to differentiate community engagement from terms such as community service and community development. This is done partly because the literature on youth engagement was often used by different researchers in different contexts and hence was difficult to distinguish, and also because few spoke of community service (or in the context of education it was often referred to as service-learning) specifically. Hence, this chapter will differentiate betwen community service - an act or project undertaken by one or more individuals for the greater good - and community development - a more systematic approach to ongoing efforts aimed at transforming a community. Community engagement will, then, be discussed as mere engagement in community organisations which often serve as a means for connection, but are not primarily for the benefit of others.

From the outset, I would like to address a number of possible criticisms of the theoretical approach I am about to explore. Firstly, it is easily assumed that community building is a process that is not relevant to developed countries, or possibly that there are certain communities within developed countries which it might apply to, but those are generally limited to low socio-economic communities. This issue will be addressed in more detail in section **??**, however this thesis assumes that all communities have the potential for further growth and development, and that in fact expanding our mindset to think beyond this will allow mutually beneficial learning between developed and developing countries, and greater gains overall. This point is particularly relevant given the example from which I draw my framework - a developing community in South America - however the principles

which will be employed, namely capacity building and systematic learning, have been identified as important for development in all development work, and, as I will argue, should be considered essential in all settings.

The second is an issue that is explored in some youth community engagement literature to varying degrees - the capacity of youth to meaningfully engage and contribute to community building processes. Given their developing capacity, and current lack of skills and abilities in some areas, it is understandable that there are reservations from the public and community organisations to encourage youth to be involved in community building activities, yet conversely we know that engaging them develops many prosocial capacities. Hence, this thesis is by no means suggesting that the best means to engage young people is by doing so in the same way as adults would engage. Engagement must be done in a way that allows them to gain knowledge and experience in a safe and conducive environment, and allow them to explore ways they see as important in contributing to their community. This may include engaging in other community organisations or not. In this way, young people will not only be able to develop their own capacities to the fullest extent, but it may also allow them to think beyond the possibilities offered to them by adult-centred community organisations. It is also because of this that I am not using frameworks which many other esteemed academics have used, such as developmental psychology or sociological perspectives.

3.1 Participation and Empowerment

For young people to realise their desire to partake in the creation of social change, they must engage with society, in whatever form. This often comes in the form of community or civic engagement, volunteering, or community service. Community engagement, sometimes referred to as youth participation, can be understood as a spectrum of involvement, from tokenistic attendance and having a voice to more influential democratic community consultations and engaging as responsible citizens who can meet a particular need (Camino and Zeldin 2002). Volunteering generally refers to ongoing efforts to assist strangers, and is usually carried out in an organisational setting. Community service however, requires an individual to be engaged in sustained prosocial actions (Penner 2002). It is this latter definition, participating in sustained, civically-oriented, prosocial voluntary activities in one's community which is most likely to bring about the change that young people seek. Yet not all theory or research has taken this strict definition, and as such this thesis will often use a catch-all term for the participation of young people in community activities - herein referred to as 'community engagement' or simply 'engagement'.

Development must go beyond notions of participation, since participation cannot be equated with empowerment. Individuals must be able to choose not only in how they participate, but also whether they participate in existing structures, or create new ones. Participation in a flawed system merely perpetuates current patterns of injustice. As such, an individual needs to become empowered so they are able to effectively assess the strengths and weaknesses of existing social structures, and then be able to freely participate in them, work to reform them, or even participate in the creation of new structures. By simply participating in existing social structures, structures designed and

built by those with power and resources, individuals may be contributing to existing inequalities they are trying to eradicate.

There is a belief that the younger generation (under 20) are less interested in participating and do not have the civic values which support participation (Pattie et al. 2004, p17). This belief is based on the idea that younger people are less invested in the system. This idea may be challenged when considering different forms of participation, and whether those forms of participation contribute to existing social structures, or whether the participation itself is an indication that they are undertaking the task of building new systems of governance (or at least engaging in systems which are not familiar to the general society). This must also be viewed as a legitimate avenue to participation.

Despite noble intentions, many efforts to empower communities, to remedy injustices, place responsibility on the very people who struggling from the effects of these injustices, struggling from the systems which deny them access to full participation and decision making opportunities. Efforts need to recognise this phenomenon, and take responsibility - as communities and as social institutions - to open up possibilities for every individual to contribute to the creation of equitable and just communities.

Empowerment is often conceptualised as a linear process, often constructed as a gradual forward-movement. However empowerment is rarely straightforward, but dynamic, it is better conceptualised as a "dance that takes two steps forward and three steps back before moving slowly in a spiral around the floor" (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002, p54).

Many of the definitions of empowerment are rooted in the advocacy work with women and poor communities, focusing on the elimination of barriers and building confidence to overcome exclusion and powerlessness (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002).

Critical consciousness is a critical aspect of change within the individual, and it is this change, personal change, which can often be more difficult than institutional chance. Individuals will often resist the urge to change even if it is for their own benefit (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002).

Empowerment requires all individuals, men, women, white, black, rich and poor to question their roles and their society. It can cause discomfort and anger. It changes depending on the social space and the individuals which occupy them. It can often be so confronting or involve potential violence that some may opt out of the process, despite the undoubted long-term benefits (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002).

One depiction of the empowerment process, the Chaz Framework, demonstrates the integral nature of empowerment through individual and collective transformation - as the two processes connect, both become empowered. It also identifies the importance of this being an unending process of construction and deconstruction in which the process of conscientization which continually questions ideas of equality, equity, rights and discrimination (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002).

3.2 Who Engages?

When thinking about the predictors, one might also need to consider how these predictors impact the likelihood of engagement. Metz and Youniss (2003) suggested these predictors

were actually an indication of the resources available to them, in both the material sense - as in time, money and skills - as well as cognitive and emotional disposition - a sense of efficacy and interest in community affairs, as well a psychological concern for the common good.

A number of studies examined individual characteristics to identify the extent to which they influence the likelihood of engagement. A longitudinal study looking at Australian high school volunteering, for example, found gender, family, society, values, religion and socio-economic status all influence volunteering practices: higher levels of education, private and rural schools and full time education all positively influenced volunteering rates; pessimism led males to volunteer, whilst optimism led females; and tertiary education and mothers working outside the home increased volunteering in females (Brown et al. 2003). In addition, this study also suggests volunteering is a habit - those who engage at a young age are more likely to continue their engagement through different life stages (Brown et al. 2003). However, if individuals are able to overcome these potential barriers, there are advantages.

3.2.1 Demographics

A pertinent body of empirical work has been undertaken on understanding distinct paths to engagement. One body of work is looking at demographics, yet this approach is perhaps the least accurate form of prediction, and becomes almost indistinguishable as a predictor once other factors such as identity and purpose have been accounted for (Taylor and Pancer 2007). Irrespective, factors such as age, gender, education, socio-economic status, religion and marital status have all been found to impact engagement rates. Age for instance, was identified as correlating to engagement in a study looking at volunteering as a form of community service. Penner (2002) conducted an online survey and reviewed existing literature, and when comparing volunteers, age was positively associated with both number of organisations and the length of time an individual spent working for that organisation. In a similar finding from a study of religious volunteers who participated in surveys, Garland et al. (2008) also found that volunteers tended to be older church goers. Longitudinal research has also identified that those who engage during their formative years, are also more likely to engage as adults (Barber et al. 2013). Even amongst youth themselves, a short-term longitudinal study looking at youth from 15 years of age found that younger adolescents were more likely to engage by (Cemalcilar 2009). Linking these studies, it would suggest that the younger an individual initially engages, the more likely they are to engage throughout their lifetime.

Gender was also analysed in two of the above mentioned studies. For adult volunteers, whilst the likelihood of engagement was significantly higher if one was female, 77%, the number of organisations, as well as the length and time of volunteering commitments did not differ between genders. This trend was seen, albeit less noticeably, even during adolescence. The study by Cemalcilar (2009) found that 56% of volunteers and 45% of non volunteers were female.

Education and perceived intelligence both significantly influenced engagement. In the above mentioned Penner (2002) study, levels of education were positively correlated with number of organisations, and the length and time to which a volunteer committed. A similar study compared religious volunteers to non-volunteers and found that those with

tertiary education were more likely to volunteer, yet less likely to report a change in values as a result of volunteering (Garland et al. 2008). Additionally, longitudinal research on young people identified that as an individual gets older, higher levels of education corresponded to higher levels of community engagement (Barber et al. 2013).

For socio-economic status however, income was not likely to affect the likelihood of engagement, but the number of organisations with which an individual was likely to engage (Penner 2002). Socio-economic status was not found to be a predictor of engagement in a study in which education of mothers was also used as a proxy for socio-economic status (Barber et al. 2013). The authors suggested that this might arise from an increased likelihood of higher education from students whose mothers are also highly educated, from which point the students education is more influential on engagement since higher forms of education often support engagement practices. Similarly, in another study which followed African-American youth from early adolescence (M=13.1 years), family income became less important as other variables such as spirituality (the experience of the sacred in their lives) and receptivity to mothers were considered (Smetana and Metzger 2005).

The concept of spirituality is closely linked to religiosity, which can be seen to influence engagement significantly. In the Penner (2002) study, religiosity was found to have the strongest association with volunteering, in the number of associations, the length and time of volunteering. Even for studies that looked solely at religious participants, there was a strong positive association between those who were long time members of the church and attending services more regularly and volunteering (Garland et al. 2008). In a study looking exclusively at recipients of volunteering awards, surveys and interviews were utilised to identify that 85% of respondents found religious or spiritual reasons as significant motivators, despite half the respondents being selected on the basis of non-religiosity. Most did, however, cite additional motivations alongside religion, including the importance of community (Perry et al. 2008). The previously mentioned longitudinal study with African American youth identified the importance of spirituality during middle adolescence as a key predictor of community involvement 3 years later in late adolescence (Smetana and Metzger 2005).

3.2.2 Qualities and Attitudes

Few studies have also examined the qualities an adult is likely to possess that increases the likelihood of engagement, fewer still have looked at young people. Penner's 2002 study comparing volunteers with non-volunteers identified that volunteers scored significantly higher on scores for other-oriented empathy and helpfulness. Omoto and Snyder's earlier 1995 study looking at motivations for volunteering with AIDS patients also identified helpfulness, alongside other values. In addition, however, a concern for community, personal development, understanding and enhancing self-esteem were also identified. Ballard's 2014 study used semi-structured interviews of school children in divers settings. This study will be discussed in more detail in section 3.4.2 on motivations, however one finding emphasised that young people engage because of a belief in the importance of civic action.

3.2.3 Environment

A discussion of who engages cannot be complete without a discussion of the impact the environment has on individual engagement; family, school, and community contexts are known to impact engagement likelihood, frequency and form. From a study on religious volunteers, marriage was identified as a correlate for increased engagement (Garland et al. 2008), while for African American adolescents religion and spirituality was important, as well as the influence of mothers (Smetana and Metzger 2005). Interestingly, in the above mentioned study on AIDS volunteers, perceived social support actually has a negative correlation to volunteering longevity, although a marginal level of social support is required (Omoto and Snyder 1995). Arguably the study by (Duke et al. 2009) provides some insight into this seeming contradiction. In their longitudinal study of young adults, they found that the quality of connected significantly affected the likelihood of engagement. Put simply, the stronger a young person feels a connection to family and community, the more likely they are to participate in that community, contributing to its development in a myriad of ways - community service, social action groups and voting.

This community involvement, as well as other extracurricular activities, can also influence engagement, particularly for young people. In three longitudinal studies in the United States, engagement was most likely increased if individuals engaged as adolescents (Obradovic and Masten 2007), more specifically in a combination of required and voluntary service during their adolescent years (Barber et al. 2013), as well as participated in community (not political) and church (Smetana and Metzger 2005). Yet a study with American and Italian college students found that external incentives may be detrimental to intrinsic motivations for individuals to volunteer. Not surprisingly, those with amotivation were significantly less likely to volunteer. However student with high extrinsic motives, despite also having high intrinsic motives, volunteered less frequently than those with high intrinsic but low extrinsic motives (Geiser et al. 2014). The final noteworthy study is the importance of life-changing events. The study identified that 25% of volunteers cited the importance of life-changing events being a catalyst for engagement (Perry et al. 2008). Some may argue that adolescence itself is a life changing event, for as Anna Freud (1958) states "adolescence is by its nature an interruption of peaceful growth... [it] is in itself abnormal" or in the words of Erikson (1956, p72) "adolescence is not an affliction but a normative crisis."

3.3 Benefits of Community Engagement

3.3.1 ...to the community

A focus on youth in community engagement is useful in revealing broader social benefits; it provides insights into individual development as well as future community development possibilities. Theorists discuss the importance of volunteering, particularly youth volunteering, for effective social change. Fukuyama, for example, suggests that true and lasting change can be accomplished by winning the hearts and minds of individuals and communities (Fukuyama 2006). Winning the hearts and minds is also dependent on the approaches used, in particular whether such efforts use a top-down or grass-roots approach. Top down approaches of winning the hearts and minds often

use economic incentives and military force to create change, however there needs to be an understanding that development takes significant investments of time and resources to empower individuals and to allow them to develop trust in those assisting with this transformation. This was identified by Fishstein and Wilder (2012) in their analysis of effective development. They identified that quality programs that make greater investments of time - not money - are better at building and sustaining relationships and resulting in more positive development outcomes. Alternatively, when "winning the hearts and minds" is the implementation of development initiatives which institute programs and facilitate grass-roots growth, the effects can be positive, ranging from greater well-being, more positive attitudes to local and foreign military forces and NGO's and reduced security incidences (Beath et al. 2013). This process likely takes longer because of the immense injustices which have been heaped on these societies, which, by many accounts, have been at the hands of Westerners. As such, for Western aid organisations to come in and expect their "saviour" facade to be seen over any other previous challenges would be short-sighted.

Winning the hearts and minds of youth has also been reflected in Erikson's work, suggesting it is the key to social evolution. According to Erikson, adolescence is "...a vital regenerator in the process of social evolution; for youth selectively offers its loyalties and energies to the conservation of that which feels true to them and to the correction or destruction of that which has lost its regenerative significance" (Erikson 1994, p126). Erikson's discussion of evolution is also interesting to consider for he speaks of evolution both in terms of human development as well evolution of virtues. He cautions that the tendency to link virtues with evolution as a "naturalisitic fallacy" - that 'good' is thought of in terms of 'desirable' or 'pleasant' properties (Erikson 1994, p141-2). Although idealistic, Erikson believed in the capacity for social evolution based on the importance he placed on identity. Identity to act in an intelligent pursuit of one's goals, reinforced through social relatedness which develops trust, understanding and cooperative feedback, and - perhaps most relevant to this discussion - guided by their ethical framework (Youniss and Yates 1997).

In his article *The Golden Rule and the cycle of life* explores how adolescence is a time to develop ones ethical framework. He proposes a difference between morals and ethics which centres on their area of application: morality considers the individual, their outer security and sense of self as well as their internal feelings of shame or guilt, while ethics considers a wider scope of ideals, based on a higher perfection to which one should strive (Erikson 1963). Their awakened sense of the future leads them to consider their own ideological position (Erikson 1963). For Erikson ethics "can not be fabricated; it can only emerge from an informed and inspired search for a more inclusive human identity, which a new technology and a new world image make possible as well as mandatory" (Erikson 1963, p418). He goes on to reinforce the importance of this ethical ideology emerging through engagement in the community: "one can study the nature of things by doing something to them, but one can really learn something about the essential nature of beings only by doing something with them or for them" (Erikson 1963, p420). The development of ideology and ethics are, according to Erikson, firmly in the realm of the adolescent (Erikson 1963). Whilst this statement was originally published in 1964, viewing adolescents as vital regenerators was largely overlooked for Erikson's 1968 discussion of adolescence as a stage of crisis (Erikson 1968). Rarely, if ever, do community programmes understand young people as a resource in the process towards community

growth and transformation (White and Wyn 2008, p105). There is also a revealing pattern about the common perceptions of the capacities of young people, with much of the sociological literature showing a paradox of ambiguous expectations: they are encouraged towards freedom and 'to make a positive contribution to society', and simultaneously identified, both in media and in policy, as instigators of anti-social or harmful behaviours (Ellis 2009; Wyn et al. 2011).

3.3.2 ...to individual contributors

For those who do channel their energies into community service there are benefits for the individual including the development of pro-social identity and qualities. US research by Youniss and colleagues identified a number of benefits ranging from identity, pro-social qualities, mental health and increased academic performance (Kerestes et al. 2004; Youniss and Yates 1997). In their 1997 paper, for instance, they examined high school civic behaviours and subsequent adult participation, identifying that adolescent engagement forms the basis of a strong civic identity with a sense of agency and social responsibility (Youniss et al. 1997). Later, they suggested that morality formed a developmental link between actions and identity (Youniss and Yates 1999). This identity-morality integration was particularly evident in the response of one research subject, reflecting on their actions to overcome injustice by saying: "I acted as I did because I am who I am" (Youniss and Yates 1999, p373). This identity-morality development, then, informs an individual's relationship to others and society, extending one's values and sense of justice beyond their own group or community and is observed when youth apply their sense of agency toward the development of society (Youniss and Yates 1999). Presently, identity development is understood to begin in early adolescence, however it solidifies later in adolescence, or even young adulthood (Steinberg and Morris 2003; Meeus et al. 2010).

Community service then becomes a powerful deterrent for anti-social behaviours. Indeed, a study looking at 13,000 high school students identified that lack of involvement in community service was a more accurate predictor of deviant behaviour, in this instance the illegal use of marijuana, than individual background characteristics (Youniss et al. 1999). This may, in part, be due to the establishment of supportive networks while serving. A US study found that engaging in supportive cultures - whether they be youth cultures or wider social cultures such as volunteering organisations - helps youth avoid risk taking behaviours (Kerestes et al. 2004). In another study looking at social change and identity with at-risk early adolescents in New Mexico, the researchers found that participation during early adolescence significantly reduced alcohol consumption. This applied to all participants, but was particularly noticeable for females (mean = 5.58 down to 1.16), and it remained low after an 8 month follow up (mean = 2.05). They identified that at-risk youth experience greater benefits from engaging in community service programs (Verlande et al. 2002). Whilst it is difficult to argue that engaging youth as a means to deter anti-social behaviour is not beneficial, the question must be asked - is it the only reason we are wanting them to engage? Can we view them as a potential resource for community building instead? While there are significant numbers of youth programs aimed at "troubled" youth or at reducing antisocial behaviours, there needs to be a conscious effort to broaden our vision of community youth programs, ensuring that the ideas and efforts of youth are appreciated for the benefits they bring to society not

merely the reduction of potential problems.

In addition, research has identified a range of positive qualities and behaviours resulting from youth engagement. Such research has identified benefits such as critical thinking (Gellin 2003), academic, behaviour and civic gains (Schmidt et al. 2007), and positive identity development in relation to normative, unconventional and deviant behaviours (Youniss et al. 1999). The Australian longitudinal study mentioned above also observed that volunteering increases levels of overall happiness (Brown et al. 2003). In fact, the importance of youth engagement was highlighted by more recent research which suggests that many prosocial qualities are more likely to be acquired if developed during adolescence. This study looked at qualities and attitudes related to civic involvement and found that civic knowledge saw a sharp increase prior to 17 years of age, after which it plateaued (Hart and Atkins 2011), which may be indicative of a developmental window particular to adolescence. One final study is noteworthy in this respect: a US study of almost 500 high school students examined attitudes and behaviours towards community service. This study identified that youth who had fewer predictors of engagement, when required to do community service, showed greater gains from their experiences compared to those with numerous predictors. In other words, those who were less likely to engage derived greater benefits, particularly in schools mandating such involvement (Metz and Youniss 2005).

3.3.3 Early Adolescent Community Engagement

There is an awareness about the importance of development happening at certain stages of an individuals life, and there is strong evidence to suggest that if this stage is missed, it can be difficult for an individual to develop fully in that area. The few detailed studies on early adolescent community engagement which do exist are all the more valuable because of their scarcity. However, to date there is insufficient research to provide a coherent understanding of the whole. A significant body of research exists to suggest the same applies for the development opportunities arising as a result of engaging in community initiatives (see for example Hart and Atkins 2011). This section will explore some of the development opportunities of individual and social development as it applies to early adolescent youth. It is in no way prescriptive or to suggest that individuals are unable to gain these skills in other ways, but whether engagement is an effective means in which to develop these skills.

As discussed previously, youth who engage are more likely to become adults who engage. However there is also evidence to suggest that throughout the lifespan of an individual, a individuals alter the amount of time they are able to dedicate to community engagement initiatives; both Australian and US statistics demonstrate the declining involvement as the individual ages. In the United States for example early adolescents were 30% more likely to engage in community activities than their older youth counterparts (Spring et al. 2006). Similarly, whilst there was no data about Australian early adolescents in particular, the Australian Bureau of Statistics saw a similar trend when surveying all Australians over 15 year olds, with 15-17 year olds having the highest volunteering rates of any age group (Yates 2015). These statistics suggest there is strong motivation and perhaps greater availability of time for young people to engage which decreases with age. In addition to motivation and availability however, there is some evidence to suggest

early adolescent engagement is more beneficial than mid or late adolescent engagement.

A frequently heard argument for adolescent engagement is to reduce problem behaviours. This has certainly been found to be the case for early adolescents, more so than middle and older adolescents. An example of this is the two-fold increase in alcohol consumption between grades 7 and 9 (Verlande et al. 2002). This information was used as a basis for a social change study in New Mexico examining changes in anti-social behaviours for early adolescents. The study found that participating in social change programs significantly reduced alcohol consumption, and this effect lasted at least until the 8 month follow up questionnaire (Verlande et al. 2002). For males, there was a 40% reduction of frequency in alcohol consumption compared to the control group, whilst females who participated in social action saw a reduction down to 20% of previous drinking rates.

Moreover, in a US study looking at community service programs for middle school and high school students (early and mid-adolescents), the researchers identified better outcomes for early adolescent students than those who engaged during their high school years in the areas of academic performance, school suspension and pregnancies. In addition, programs which encouraged students to select their own service - service that was enjoyable, taught them new skills and challenged them to think about the future - was more effective in the reduction of problem behaviour in middle school students (early adolescents), but not high school students (Allen et al. 1994). The researchers suggested that high school students are likely to have already found opportunities to develop their autonomy and identity, and as such did not gain as significantly from these programs. Early adolescents, however, derived significantly greater benefits, including reduced risk taking and anti-social behaviours (Allen et al. 1994). Recognising that older youth have already had opportunities to become empowered and connected to their community captures the importance of targeting efforts towards these earlier adolescent years, whilst also highlighting a lack of understanding around this age group. Allen et al. (1994) suggests that programs targeting early adolescents may do well to focus on providing opportunities and discussions for students to become independent and capable individuals. This caters to their specific developmental requirements instead of trying to 'manage' them, but doing so in a productive, service oriented environment (Allen et al. 1994).

Going beyond the reduction of problem behaviours to view young people as potential assets, a few studies give us a glimpse into the development opportunities of engagement at this age. In a similar pattern of benefits observed in the previous study, another US study analysing service-learning programs surveyed young people from grades 6 to 12, and found that grade 6 students displayed greater acceptance of diversity after engagement, which did not hold true for older youth (Blyth et al. 2014). Meanwhile, a more in depth study of empowerment programs for early adolescent youth in India found social action was an effective means to generate and apply new knowledge which improved the quality of their lives (Merchant 2013). The researcher found this to be particularly true for changing age and gender power dynamics - an ongoing issues in many Indian villages. On the issues of age relations for example, the researcher found that older children had learnt to abuse the power they had over the younger members of the community, instilling fear and mistreating them. However through this program the young people not only learnt to show care and respect for the children of the village, they created spaces for them and the children to learn together about positive behaviours, resulting in bidirectional love

and affection (Merchant 2013).

The nuances of gender inequality were also explored. The study found that although there was discussions and increased awareness about the importance of gender equality, the boys continued to dominate the discussions assuming that girls would interrupt them if they had something to share. Whilst this furthered the group discussion, it highlights the subtle distinctions of gender discrimination that are often entrenched in culture and the slow nature of social change as discussed in **??**. While the overall process of social change may take decades, noticeable changes in dynamics can be seen in a relatively short period of time. In the case of this empowerment program, it took only months for young female participants to see themselves as capable and actively assisting the male participants in their reading (Merchant 2013). In the context of Indian village life, girls often undervalue their role in society, believing they should not aspire to careers and hence their studies are futile. Empowerment programs in this region were found to alter this mindset, resulting in girls increased interest in study and increased aspirations for careers (Merchant 2013).

Merchant (2013) suggests that empowerment cannot be measured, hence identifying predetermined indicators can create a bias around the outcomes of empowerment programs, narrowing the scope of understood outcomes. In her findings, each youth expressed different outcomes as significant moments of learning, demonstrating the unique outcomes of empowerment for every individual. As eloquently identified by Merchant (2013, p23), "it is problematic to define empowerment as a linear process whose outcomes can be anticipated"; it is arguably more constructive to conceptualise empowerment as "a dance that takes two steps forward and three steps back before moving slowly in a spiral around the floor" (VeneKlasen and Miller 2006, p54 as cited in Merchant 2013, p23). In this context, empowerment must then be understood through a more holistic lens, in a way that views this process as an ongoing struggle to generate and apply knowledge which can be used to improve their own circumstance (Merchant 2013). Merchant (2013) concluded by observing the importance of undertaking social action as a collective experience instead of as individuals. This assisted individuals to develop group-decision making skills, understanding the importance of, and building, a strong group dynamic, as well as learning from other points of view. For Merchant (2013), the collective space for action and reflection was a critical component of the empowerment process. These insights give us a glimmering into the importance of this age, however more needs to be understood about whether happenings during the early adolescent years may serve as developmental precursors to later civic participation.

3.3.4 Factors Affecting the Engagement of Young People

The likelihood and form of youth engagement can be impacted by these vacillating social perceptions. Adolescence is frequently described by society and many theorists as a time of crisis or stress. Aristotle, for example, criticised young people for their lack of self-control, instability and impatience (Santrock 2010, p12). The early 1900's saw adolescence being characterised as "the storm and stress period" (Hall 1904, p73) in which an individual experiences a temporary mental illness (Mueller 2009). Today, there is still ongoing academic debate challenging the notion that all adolescents go through this tumultuous stage (Muuss 1975), yet many societies assume it is axiomatic for this

age group (Stevens et al. 2007).

These concepts seem to permeate social attitudes towards youth, and in doing so give youth the impression that their input is not valued, however along with notions of crisis, theorists also acknowledge the burgeoning capacities of adolescence. Plato for example recognised the development of the power of reason, while Aristotle saw the emergence of self-determination and choice (Santrock 2010). Rousseau, on the other hand, saw the development of self-consciousness and reason occurring from around 12 years old, and recognised that emotional maturity came years later (Santrock 2010). Piaget identified new capacities including abstract thinking and the understanding of long-term consequences (Dulit 1972). Adolescence is seen as "...the most critical period of life" in which the individual "now realizes in a deeper sense the meaning of maturity and is protensive towards its higher plateau" (Hall 1904, p72). It is a time of idealism in which they look ahead to new possibilities. The altruism experienced during adolescence is discussed in terms of a previously unseen self-sacrifice in an effort to improve the lot (Hall 1904). The juxtaposition of these views contributes to young people vacillating between extremes - adolescence being a time of both virtue and vice: cruelty and sensitivity, conservative and radical, selfish and altruistic (Hall 1904).

Despite this vacillation, youth engaging in community often coincides with a growing awareness of the capacity of young people and the importance of their contribution (Holdsworth 2000, 2007; Wyn et al. 2011). One study on "the impacts of youth on adults and organizations", for example, demonstrated that the integration of youth resulted in a cultural change in an organisation. Youth integration necessitated a greater focus on learning and vision, and resulted in an increased appreciation of the contributions of youth by their adult counterparts. This study did acknowledge however that little could be understood about the impact on the general community without ongoing participation from multiple organisations encouraging youth engagement (Zeldin et al. 2000). This study, alongside Erikson's quote identifying youth as a vital social regenerator, both hint at a capacity and energy unique to this period of life, and highlights the importance of youth inclusive engagement initiatives. Whilst Erikson saw the value of youth for society, both individual and social factors seem to influence youth engagement rates.

Influential theorists such as Sigmund Freud and his daughter Anna, as well as Erik Erikson all wrote about adolescence as a period of crisis; this notion still permeates many social discourses today. However the validity of this notion is being increasingly questioned, with most theorists now rejecting the idea of a universal period of stress, instead suggesting that the experience of most adolescents is stress-free (Bandura 1964 and Offer 1969 according to Muuss 1975).

Many developmental theorists have offered insights into normative adolescent development. Both Mead and Piaget speak about the period of adolescence as one of re-examination and one in which the individual forms their identity (Muuss 1975). This process of identity formation, however, is influenced by the increased critique of what is being presented to them; it is often a time in which they critically examine social and familial ideologies, rejecting or revising their beliefs and solidifying their own standpoint. Piaget extends this notion of re-examination as a "duty" by which the adolescent must "revolt against all imposed truth", and in doing so build ones intellectual and moral character. In this context it is easy to see why incorporating adolescence into community building approaches, in particular critical theory approaches of community

building, would be advantageous. With their thinking already inclined towards critiquing previous traditions and ideologies, and the available time and energy accessible to most youth, channelling this energy would naturally lead to discarding of outdated ideologies. Additionally, whilst engaged, these youth will also build their own capacities in this manner, and refine the practices of building communities, but also they contribute to the body of knowledge being generated (Muuss 1975).

3.3.5 Foundations Developed while Engaged with Community

Sen's approach makes certain assumptions about the capacities of individuals - they have access to information and skills that allows them to make an informed decision and that they have the capacity to make decisions about what is in their best interest. In order for individuals to make decisions about what they value and what they desire for their own development, arguably one will need to have developed - at least to some extent - critical thinking skills and pro-social identity; these abilities and characteristics are often developed during adolescence. This is not to suggest that each individual should not have the opportunity to choose, but it does identify the importance of certain foundational capabilities for people to be able to make the best decisions about desirable capabilities. A child, in an extreme example, might value a pony, even though they do not realise the challenges inherent in the care and upkeep of a said pony. Sen does identify that children and the mentally ill might need assistance in identifying capabilities that they value and desire, however the average person might also benefit from skills such as critical thinking to assist them in this process of identification. In so doing, individuals are opened to new understandings about the possibilities of each capability, and whether they would be truly valuable to them.

3.4 Motivations and Mandating Engagement

3.4.1 Mandating Community Service

Leaving aside the oxymoronic conceptual contradictions intrinsic to the term compulsory volunteering, many educational bodies have enacted compulsory community service as an element of the school curriculum. Using this experience, academia has learnt some very interesting insights. .....

Allen et al. (1994, p635) come to the conclusion that mandating community service in high school may detract from the experience, and suggests that the data supports the voluntary aspect of the program is a critical feature, particularly for younger adolescents. However this conclusion might be limited, in that it suggests that there is no choice within the program itself. In fact, the discussions within his own paper referred to autonomy in the sense of individuals choosing what service to be part of, not whether one chooses to engage in service at all.

Given the above research on the benefits to the young people themselves of engaging young people as volunteers in community development activities, questions arise around the validity of mandating such engagement. Although many suggest mandatory or

compulsory volunteering implies a lack of free will (cf. McLellan and Youniss 2003), the effects of mandatory volunteering were examined after a number of Canadian provinces introduced it into their High School curriculum. Brown et al. (2007) did qualitative interviews and found that mandating volunteering in this context did not have a negative impact on the volunteering experience or on continued volunteering rates, however two factors positively influenced ongoing engagement - whether the experience was positive and if they volunteered with one organisation consistently (Brown et al. 2007). Even youth who held a negative view towards mandatory volunteering appreciated its positive outcomes for the individual and the community (Brown et al. 2007). These two factors - namely a positive experience and engaging with one organisation consistently - were examined more closely by Taylor and Pancer (2007) in a Canadian university setting, identified these factors as more important than background characteristics in determining the likelihood of ongoing volunteering.

The requirement of service in the curriculum did not deter volunteering behaviour or attitudes in youth. In fact there were significant increases in the intent of youth to continue their volunteering beyond the requirements of the school (Metz and Youniss 2003)

These findings were also replicated in a longitudinal study looking at three schools - one which did not require service learning and two which did (Metz and Youniss 2005). This study looked at changes in 4 civic measures for almost 500 students in the United States, and found that youth who were already likely to engage did not benefit significantly, those unlikely to engage gain significantly (Metz and Youniss 2005).

Some studies have suggested that programs that require service, rather than inspire service, devalue the experience and can lead otherwise motivated youth to disengage (see Stukas et al. 1999). Stukas et al.'s (1999) study looked solely at students who were required to undertake service, and compared those who indicated they were likely to engage without the requirement, to those who were unlikely to engage without the requirement. The duration of this study is also noteworthy - 12 weeks - as other research suggests a motivational transformation after continued engagement with a program. In Pearce and Larson's (2006) study it was only in the final stage of engagement in which motivations towards such programs changed, and intrinsic motivations were developed. This change often comes about after the frequently experienced positive involvement of engagement It was also found by Henderson et al. (2007) that requiring service does not create a negative effect on students. Mandating service was insufficient in motivating student to continue their engagement, but instead sustained commitment seems to determine ongoing motivation and engagement (Henderson et al. 2007)

(McLellan and Youniss 2003) - Looked at 2 types of compulsory school engagement - one which required service but left it to the individual to identify and engage according to their own interests, while the other integrated service into the curriculum. The latter tended to engage students emotionally and cognitively, and reflected on the political and moral aspects of the experience. This article suggests the importance of integrating service into the academic curriculum, and in doing so create a more systematic experience of planning, action and reflection.

Young people themselves have also identified the importance of mandating such developmental opportunities. Whilst not specific to volunteering, programmes such as

that of Pathways to Education - also based in Canada - designed to improve academic performance for low income communities, sought feedback from youth at different stages of the programmes implementation, and it was the youth themselves, in particular the 'naughtiest' young people, that identified the importance of making such opportunities mandatory:

> "The kids actually told us to make tutoring mandatory. After our first year... we asked the young people "how do we increase attendance at tutoring?" and the naughtiest boys of all looked at us and said "you have to make it mandatory". So the young people want structure, and they want to know that somebody is caring about them." (Caroline Acker as quoted in Dubner 2014)

Whilst this quote centres on the use of mandating participation to improve academic performance, it highlights how youth themselves acknowledge the benefits of a particular venture while still needing a 'nudge' to ensure participation. It also highlights that mandatory service may be a way to demonstrate to the younger generation that 'somebody is caring about them', which touches on the importance of supportive networks and cultures, an important element in deterring anti-social behaviours (Kerestes et al. 2004) as well as in the establishment of a fair society (Marmot 2010).

3.4.2 Motivation to Engage

The benefits of community engagement are numerous, however surveys of youth internationally show volunteering rates range from 20-60% (Flanagan et al. 1999), and of those who do, most begin these practices during adolescence (Hart et al. 2007; Youniss and Yates 1999; Metz and Youniss 2003; Zaff et al. 2008). Individual and group motivations are rarely universally definable, but instead are context-specific and locality-bound; these motivations are also influenced by government policy, culture, history, and social, economic and political structures (Botes and van Rensburg 2000). A more robust understanding of the factors that motivate young people to engage, or not engage, could potentially assist those working with youth to increase retention rates, as well as to engage an increasing population of youth in the community, consequently increasing positive outcomes for young people and their communities.

In 1999, Chapman and Morley investigated the motivations that led US tertiary students to engage in community service projects (Chapman and Morley 1999). This quantitative study with 60 students - about half of whom had a required service-learning component - revealed two motivators universal to service: expressing their beliefs on the importance of helping others, as well as being able to understand others and themselves in relation to those they served. However those engaged in service-learning rated these two motivators as higher motivating forces. They also found that females identified values, understanding and self-esteem motives to be of greater importance than males (Chapman and Morley 1999), which may also contribute to higher female participation rates (Metz and Youniss 2003).

Motivation - internal vs external

Finally, US research explored motivational differences within low and high resourced schools, finding that student motivations to engage ranged from: beliefs and attitudes about the importance of civic engagement; personal goals derived from ideas of self-improvement; causes and issues where youth felt passionate; and individual or group invitational responses (Ballard 2014). The first two findings again touch on the concept of values identified in earlier research (Chapman and Morley 1999), however the expression of these values differed for higher and lower socio-economic groups: higher resourced students reflected more internal motivations reporting belief about the importance of engagement as a key motivation, while lower resourced students tended to be externally motivated, being motivated in relation to particular causes or issues about which they felt passionately (Ballard 2014). Arguably, this suggests a lower likelihood of ongoing engagement for lower resourced students once that issue is no longer of concern.

Motivation and Identity

Engagement models have also been proposed which echo the importance of values and beliefs, demographics and identity. One of the first attempts at formulating a conceptual model for initial and sustained volunteering was proposed by Penner in 2002. This model outlined the influences on initial and ongoing volunteering, detailing such factors as values and beliefs, demographic characteristics, and relationship to, and characteristics of, organisations, inter alia, as reasons for initial involvement (Penner 2002). While there was no specific evidence to support the idea that sustained engagement was more beneficial than sporadic engagement, this author and other academics argue for its importance (c.f. Penner 2002; Musick and Wilson 2003). As such, the model proposed that the formation of a volunteer identity transformed initial motivations into ongoing motivations for engagement (Penner 2002). With a growing awareness by psychologists that adolescence as a crucial age to develop identity (van Hoof and Raaijmakers 2002), this suggests the existence of a developmental window specific to adolescence which could be harnessed to maximise the benefits of engagement.

Motivation is also understood to be influenced by an individual's identity. Studies of extracurricular activities by US researcher Eccles, for example, suggest particular identities motivate action: role identity such as gender, race and social class have implications within a society and gives rise to particular values and behaviours; collective identity serves to strengthen social ties between individuals and within groups; and personal identity has a twofold motivation - that of skills and abilities, as well as values and goals (Eccles 2009). She concluded by suggesting that linking an individual's values to the groups values could be an effective means to motivate action (Eccles 2009). Assuming pro-social values of community or volunteering organisations, in this context, could effectively elicit motivated actors in the community.

When the youth experience of social change involves purpose and the forming of moral identity, this furthers their motivation for future engagement (Dawes and Larson 2011). This is believed to occur through internal conversations around questions of "Who am I?" and "What do I want to achieve or become?" and are more closely aligned with engagement when these questions are interconnected with questions of "What personal

or transcendent goals are served by participation in program activities?" (Dawes and Larson 2011, p266).

Whilst many programs aim to attract youth through "fun" activities or material gains, the research suggests the most effect means to engagement is connecting with their "earnest and serious side" (Dawes and Larson 2011, p266)

When identity was closely linked with prosocial values, individuals were more likely to demonstrate prosocial behaviours regardless of the social context and across different settings (Hardy 2006) Whilst moral reasoning and empathy were believed to be important in determining prosocial behaviour, a study on US university students actually found identity to be a more important factor (Hardy 2006).

Motivation - initial and sustained

The relationship between initial and sustained volunteering was examined in more detail in later research when US researchers used longitudinal interviews to look at motivational changes towards community programmes when youth engage (Pearce and Larson 2006; Dawes and Larson 2011). A 2006 study identified that personal connection to a programme and its activities creates enjoyment, triggers interest and develops intrinsic motivation. Additionally, this research also found both peers and programme leaders were integral in facilitating motivational change throughout the program. Collective engagement developed a sense of efficacy and group meaning, resulting in the creation of both personal meaning and practical skills (Pearce and Larson 2006). Their subsequent 2011 study identified that the practice of reflection proved effective in linking activities with individual values and goals, and whilst many programmes aim to attract youth through "fun" activities or material gains, the most effective means to engagement is connecting with their "earnest and serious side" (Dawes and Larson 2011, p266). These findings challenge popular conceptions of youth as apathetic and narcissistic (Nelson 2014).

Many motivation studies identify intrinsic motivation to be the primary reason for engagement, particularly ongoing engagement, and external motivations as secondary (Dawes and Larson 2011; Ballard 2014; Eccles and Wigfield 2002; Eccles 2009). The exception was a US study which interviewed 10 youth over 4 months of their community service (Pearce and Larson 2006). They found that mandatory service brought with it extrinsic motivations, but that most youth experienced a motivational transformation in which continued engagement with a programme saw an elicitation of intrinsic motivations. Arguably then, external motivators such as peers (Youniss et al. 2001; Wilkenfeld 2009) or invitations (Marzana et al. 2012) perhaps tap into an already existing, but unidentified, internal motivation, and this suggests that benefits of mandating engagement may outweigh any potential drawbacks.

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The relationship between individual and social transformation is not just about how individuals benefit more when serving in society, nor is it about how when people work together they are more beneficial than if they were to work alone. These facts are true and important, however the relationship between individual and social transformation is also about the importance of having two foci simultaneously, regularly exploring with

individuals ways in which they can develop their own capacities, their critical thinking, their compassion, their love for humanity, and simultaneously regularly exploring how they can make their society a better place, what injustices exist, how small acts of service can significantly improve the life of others or the community as a whole, believing that society has the capacity for continual advancement. There is potency in the link between these two concepts, however there is also importance when thinking about them individually as well. To omit thinking in terms of a two-fold purpose, could mean missing out on potential advances in all areas.

3.5 Approaches to Youth Community Engagement

Definitions and concepts of civic engagement, citizenship and participation all relate to one's connection with community and a willingness to enact that connection in ways which promote its progress (Lerner et al. 2007). Despite definitions often having similar elements across discourses, desired outcomes of engagement vary. Young people express a range of reasons for engagement, yet most fall into one of two categories: that of personal development or to make a positive contribution to their community. Similarly, most academics argue the importance of engagement based on the positive effects it can have on the development of the individual, such as Positive Youth Development (PYD), or a focus on changing the community (often described as political empowerment) importance of engaged political citizens, such as Democratic Citizenship. These discourses are also the most prominent of those informing civic engagement practices (Shaw et al. 2014; Jennings et al. 2006).

Words such as citizenship and civic are used ubiquitously in engagement literature, making them synonymous with implied and stated implications of responsibility. Civic engagement has a myriad of definitions: more general definitions include the rights and responsibilities of being a denizen of a community (Zaff et al. 2010) to definitions focused on the ability for an individual to contribute to the well-being of their immediate or greater community (UNDP 2010); while youth focused definitions include young people's contributions to society as a virtue of citizenship (Lister 2007) and the ability of young people to influence society as part of their responsibility towards a democratic process (Camino and Zeldin 2002). The UNDP offer definitions for civic engagement and participation which are almost identical and highlight the systematic, ongoing nature of development, reflecting the interconnectedness of individual and social development: they define civic engagement as a "process, not an event, that closely involves people in the economic, social, cultural and political processes that affect their lives" (UNDP, p1 2002, p1; UNDP 1993, p21). Additionally, they note that civic participation and civic engagement are used interchangeably, and that community service and volunteering are a subset therein (UNDP 2010).

A range of citizenship concepts, from minimal to maximal, are used to describe the role of individuals within society, and these can limit or include youth in various ways. Minimal citizenship focused on legal status, voting and rights and responsibilities which often exclude youth. Whereas maximal citizens should be conscious of their role in society and accounts for an array of roles that an individual can play in 'forming, maintaining and changing their communities'. This maximal concept of citizenship lends

itself more to community building processes. Conceptualising citizenship in this way allows youth to be valued and valuable with their existing capabilities and not only as future contributors (White and Wyn 2008, p108). Citizenship, according to maximal interpretations, develops reflective practices, critical thinking, self-determination and autonomy. Additionally, they allow individuals to understand their relationship to a shared, democratic culture, the social disadvantage resulting from lack of participation, as well as their own involvement in the community (White and Wyn 2008, p109)

Since definitions vary, this paper will use the terms community service and volunteering interchangeably to mean actions that benefit others in the community, and participation and community engagement, or merely engagement, as a broader term to mean involvement in the community such as being part of a community organisation.

With a growing awareness about the importance of one's environment in the opportunities and influences that young people are exposed to, little overlap really exists between community development research and youth engagement research. Much of the scholarly work today on community building overlooks the role particular groups of people within a community can play, for example, young people. As we can see, the role of civically engaged young people and the impact this involvement has on young people has been explored, with a number of youth studies fields having examined how young people experience and develop through engagement in community. From this perspective, we can understand how individual young people gain from this process - engaging in the community has a reciprocal positive impact on individual self-development (Lerner et al. 2007) - but little about how the community gains.

3.5.1 Positive Youth Development

Historically positive development in adolescents was seen in the absence of negative behaviours, indicating assumptions around their tendency towards young people being "problems to be managed" (Lerner 2005*b*). The view of adolescents as a time of storm and stress is increasingly seen as counter-factual. Instead, the first decade of the current century saw a new vocabulary for the discussion around young people. This vocabulary was firmly based in concepts around young people as assets, capacious and resources to be developed. Such vocabulary included the importance of moral development (Youniss and Yates 1999; Colby and Damon 1999; Damon and Gregory 1997), well-being (Dolan 2010), civic engagement (Zaff et al. 2010; Flanagan et al. 2007), and thriving (Lerner et al. 2007).

Emerging from the barrage of deficit models of youth development arose a contradictory model which rested on the premises of youth as resources to be developed (Lerner et al. 2010). The foremost of these approaches is the Positive Youth Development (PYD) model, which is based on the assumption that all youth have positive qualities and capacities existed, but which likely were in need of development. Positive Youth Development is predicated on the idea that young people have potential for positive development (Lerner et al. 2010) and are "to be viewed as resources to be developed, and not as problems to be managed" (Lerner 2005*b*, p27). When viewed in this light, young people engage in society by drawing on both internal and external resources, making a contribution to society while also gaining personally (Sherrod 2007). This model focused on five key character areas which, according to its advocates, formed

the basis for thriving (Lerner et al. 2010). These key characteristics are widely known as the 5 C's, and they constituted the qualities of competence, character, confidence, connection and caring. The relevance to this thesis is particularly pertinent in PYD's 6th C, contribution. Contribution, as the theory proposed, would naturally arise as a result of a firm foundation in the first 5 C's.

There are many studies which report the significant benefits of these qualities. A sense of connection, for instance, has been linked to fewer academic challenges (Youngblade et al. 2007), while self-confidence is an integral aspect of many conceptualisations of empowerment (Murphy-Graham 2008). This model became the foundation for many youth programs including the 4H program which has been the focus of a longitudinal study . Some Positive Youth Development advocates speak of a relative plasticity of the individual which legitimates the proposition that all individuals can successfully and positively develop (Lerner et al. 2010). This is similar to the neurobiology approach discussed in section 2. This plasticity is, according to Lerner et al. (2010) the essence of adolescent neurobiology and legitimises a view of young people as assets to be developed.

A focus on individual development is a key interest within much of the positive youth development literature. For example, Sherrod (2007) discussed the 5 C's of development: competence, character, confidence, connection and caring. A sixth element, contribution, is expected to naturally emerge from the first five and is exhibited through community engagement (Sherrod 2007). This suggests a level of causation which may not exist, since in this approach there is no direct education for, or encouragement around community engagement. Whilst some theorists note the unintended consequence of individual empowerment as a result of participating in community empowerment endeavours (Jennings et al. 2006), however arguably this is insufficient for true individual empowerment.

3.5.2 Critique of PYD

While there is growing support for this approach both from academia, as well as youth practitioners and increasingly the wider society, there remains questions about its validity. The 6th C, contribution, is of primary interest in this regard. The theory posits that young people who have effectively developed the initial 5 C's will naturally arise to contribute to the betterment of their community (Sherrod 2007). This suggests a level of causation which is questionable.

Despite this disjuncture, the concept of two-fold purpose is eloquently described discussions of PYD: "young people and their communities are involved in a bidirectional relationship wherein community assets are both products and producers of the actions of engaged young people" (Lerner et al. 2010, [p178). This disjuncture, to me, suggests a disconnect between the desired outcomes (which seem to line up well with the two fold purpose discussed in this thesis) and the methods of achieving those outcomes. This gives rise to questions around whether they see youth as capable of understanding and enacting the two aspects of development required (or the motivation to engage in such a way), or whether they see the focus on the self as a means to achieve these dual goals in a way which subverts the necessity to be forthright about them.

The importance of contribution, however, can be found in the original 5 C's. When

assessing the connection an individual experiences, the third C, specifies reflect how the young person is supported by individuals, institutions and their community, and less about their contribution. Examples of this include "My friends care about me", "I get a lot of encouragement at school" and "Adults in my city or town make me feel important" (Jelicic et al. 2007). Connection is about positive bonds with others, community and institutions. It advocates that contribution to this relationship needs to come from both parties. This aspect certainly does point to the need for individuals to contribute to the wider community (Jelicic et al. 2007).

The way in which PYD theorists (such as Lerner et al. 2010) discuss civic engagement suggests they see the importance of community context - both in its influence on the individual as well as the importance of individuals having a moral obligation to its development. This view however, does not seem to come across in the basic "five C's" of PYD, or in the seeming inevitable outcome of the "sixth C". Indeed, evaluations of PYD programs found that the vast majority (98%) of students undertaking PYD programs also undertook a number of other additional programs. This brings into question the previously discussed finding that engaging young people in the 5 C's naturally saw the emergence of the 6th C a year later. Perhaps those who are already community minded are the ones participating in these programs, and the PYD program, whilst valuable, is not the key factor in predicting a young persons willingness to contribute to their community (Lerner 2005*b*).

In the conclusion of one such article the authors suggest that youth programs think about the who, what and where of implementing PYD (Jelicic et al. 2007). However this suggests that only certain youth will benefit from this experience. Whilst acknowledging that the implementation of such programs will vary depending on context and needs of the social reality, and that some may be more in need of such initiatives than others because of the lack of already existing support structures, this should, in my opinion, in no wise limit the offering of these programs to all youth, irrespective of circumstance. Indeed, while PYD is claimed to be the most empirically tested framework to date, PYD nor any other framework is viewed as universally applicable. Indeed, it is claimed that universality is not possible given the divers and diverse conditions of the world (Lerner et al. 2011). This lack of universality, however, may not be as accurate as these theorists claim, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

3.5.3 The sixth C - Contribution

Coming back to the sixth C as an expected outcome, the focus of Positive Youth Development, assumes a causality between the "Five C's" - competence, confidence, character, social connection, and caring or compassion - and what is naturally supposed to arise - the "sixth C" of contribution. Contribution is the desire and ability to give back to the communities and institutions with which an individual associates. It assumes that those who receive social benefits will instinctively understand their responsibility in contributing to, and even enhancing, that social system (Lerner et al. 2010). Individuals who have developed according to PYD naturally feel a sense of responsibility to others, and enact that in their lives (Forrest-Bank et al. 2015). Contribution is conceived as having two aspects - ideological and behavioural. The ideological component is linked to identity development specific to contributions to community of a moral or civic nature

(Lerner 2005*a*; Jelicic et al. 2007).

In a longitudinal study looking at young people involved in a PYD program, found that students who had high levels of PYD in grade 5, had low levels of depression and risk-taking behaviours, as well as moderate levels of contribution (the sixth C) in grade 6 (Jelicic et al. 2007). The results from wave 1 included limited levels of contribution, indicating that the more an individual displays indicators of PYD, the more likely they were to be contributing to their community (Lerner 2005*a*). The study on PYD primarily measured the sixth C, contribution, at wave 2, which raises questions about whether their contribution already existed in wave 1. The results seem to imply a causation between the existence of the five Cs in wave 1 to the presence of the sixth C in wave 2 (Jelicic et al. 2007).

However a more recent study actually challenges the causal assumptions between PYD's five C's and contribution. A PYD study looking at a sample of 17 adolescents who attended after school activities identified that it may be more beneficial to conceptualise contribution as more than merely an outcome. Two findings from this study are particularly interesting. Firstly, they found that young people who experience opportunities to contribute prior to entering late adolescence fair better. Second, the importance of the sixth C, contribution, was discussed as integral to the development of the individual, and that it should not be considered to come about only as a result of the first five C's. The authors noted that when this sixth C is integrated into programs, it promotes the proficiency of the other C's (Forrest-Bank et al. 2015). Opportunities to contribute, provide positive opportunities for young people irrespective of whether they came about as a result of youth programs or challenges in their own life, such as that of taking care of a younger sibling (Forrest-Bank et al. 2015). This echoes other research which identifies compulsory engagement can have a similar effect on long-term participation when compared to entirely voluntary experiences (see Brown et al. 2007; Stukas et al. 1999; Henderson et al. 2007; Pearce and Larson 2006, in section 3.4.1). This finding led them to posit that contribution may in fact be the key to effective 'interventions' for disadvantaged youth. This arguably brings about feelings of control in an environment which they would otherwise have no control, develop competence and autonomy (Forrest-Bank et al. 2015).

3.5.4 Environment

Both personal and environmental relations create a system which both facilitates and constrains opportunities for change (Lerner et al. 2010). Indeed, this interdependence is echoed by Lerner et al. (2010, p173): "The forefront of contemporary developmental theory and research is associated with ideas stressing that systemic (bidirectional, fused) relations between individuals and contexts provide the bases of human behaviour and developmental change... Within the context of such theories, changes across the life span are seen as propelled by the dynamic relations between individuals and the multiple levels of the ecology of human development (e.g. families, peer groups, schools, communities and culture), all changing interdependently across time..." (Lerner et al. 2010, p173). In a study using the Positive Youth Development framework, researchers found that a positive neighbourhood environment, where young people felt connected with others in their community, was positively associated with social competence, while negative

neighbourhood environments was associated with externalising behaviours (Youngblade et al. 2007).

Developmental systems theories recognise both the role individual and social contexts play in development, and as such they focus on the relationship between these two when analysing development and development opportunities (Lerner et al. 2010). Understanding both the positive and negative aspects of multiple contexts of a young person's life - family, school, neighbourhood - as well as positive and negative aspects of individual behaviour, provides a more holistic interpretation of development (Youngblade et al. 2007).

3.6 unsorted

REWORD - "Contemporary researchers (e.g., Youniss et al., 1999) increasingly frame questions about the impact of service activity on the healthy identity development of youth." (Lerner et al. 2010)

Adolescence is the period of time when there is significant biological, psychological, cognitive and social change within an individual, changing from child to adult characteristics. When an individual is in this state of change, of liminality, they are considered an adolescent (Lerner 2005*b*). One cannot, however, deny the existence of problems during adolescence, or the value of efforts to avert problems. Yet, what is critical in any approach to curtail these problems is whether these young people are viewed as having deficits or strengths, and the impact those views have on how the individual overcomes those problems (Lerner 2005*b*)

"Youth as resources to be developed" (Lerner et al. 2005)

Whilst we cannot overlook the importance of viewing young people as resources to be developed, does this approach also rely too heavily on overlooking the negative? Maybe not?

Approaches to youth programs that promote a PYD approach focus on the strengths of young people, should be developmental in character, and must be flexible to the social circumstance in which these young people find themselves and the strengths and capacities of the young people themselves. When this is achieved "young people may thrive and civic society may prosper" [p15] (Lerner et al. 2005)

Use the word vocabulary instead of "definitions" or "concepts" ??? Then at the end one can talk about the absence of a standard vocabulary which is a key obstacle in the study of adolescence for both basic and applied scholarship

The importance of community based youth development programs should not be abandoned for more general community development programs however, for it is through targeted programs such as this in which both individual development and youth contributions to the community are likely to take place. (Lerner 2005*a*) Youth development programs provide an ongoing connection with a non-parent adult who can assist them to develop their capacity and provide opportunities to contribute to the community. (Lerner 2005*a*)

look up the construct of the 4-H study - does it include actual programs to build PYD, or merely analyse the existence of factors that contribute to it

The finding that indices of certain attitudes and behaviours being able to predict later attitudes and behaviours of a different nature support the importance of this research - that earlier engagement opportunities may bode well for greater and more meaningful development of the individual and their contribution to social change later in life. (Jelicic et al. 2007)

In this field, particularly as it relates to policy, there can be dichotomous debates based on false assumptions. Prevention versus promotion, problem youth versus capacity to contribute, capacity versus actual contributions. Understanding these as false dichotomies can open pathways for youth who, for example, have an ongoing struggle with risk-taking behaviours to offer meaningfully service to their community. This perhaps is evidence of the need to introduce such factors into the life of an individual who may not have access otherwise. Those who, as a result of their family, community or social context, do not have ready access to the five C's. (Jelicic et al. 2007)

Collective identity, as explored by social psychologists, is defined as QUOTE..."individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of shared status or relation . . . and it is distinct from personal identities, though it may form part of a personal identity. (Polletta and Jasper, 2001, p. 285) "

Collective identities are a means to belong and is a key component in health and well-being Futch (2016)

Comment on Page 5, on highlighted text " Similarly, Jones and Deutsch (2012) combine a psychological needs approach (Deci and Ryan, 2000) with stage-environment fit theory (Eccles, Lord, and Midgley, 1991) to understand how after-school programs may serve as group-based settings that meet specific developmental tasks across pre-, early-, and midadolescence. "

REWORD FOR MY OWN PURPOSES: "For example, much of the social-psychological work on collective identity has stemmed from research on collective action as it relates to political movements. "

QUOTE: "Such work is important to highlight because it suggests ways that we can move from understanding settings as mere crucibles for youth development to exploring how identity development can occur in conjunction with youth actively shaping their settings. ": This highlights the impact of the environment on youth but ALSO the potential for youth to shape their world

REWORD FOR MY OWN PURPOSES: "Existing literature shows that development of and engagement with collec-tive identity(ies) are important psychological processes that influence how we understand ourselves and interact with our social world. ":

Engaging in youth programs influence thoughts, behaviours and actions beyond the program itself, impacting other contexts of the lives of youth.Futch (2016)

REWORD FOR MY OWN PURPOSES: "The body of research is rich with evidence that theater, in particular, allows an opportunity for personal expression and creative reaction to the conditions in which its participants live. ":

REWORD FOR MY OWN PURPOSES: “Thus, while the findings of this study speak most directly to arts-based programs, the underlying processes that occur are relevant for any youth program that wants to understand its impact and the role of its group in the lives of youth, as I will argue below ”:

Reword for my own purposes?: “overall aim being to show how combining these literatures may be mutually generative for both fields.”

Belonging arises out of participation when an individual feels a connection to the group, identification with the group as a means to express feelings of connectedness and that the group forms part of their identity Futch (2016)

Social psychologist Kay Deaux (1991) reminds us that “beyond the question of how identities are defined is the question of the meaning associated with an identity” (p. 83, emphasis added) ”:Futch (2016)

Good quote about collective identity

“the individual development of the person in interaction with the environment and/or social condition to be equally as important as the extent to which individuals and settings are mutually informed and reconstituted through this interaction.” Futch (2016)

Understanding the processes of collective identity allows insight into the psychological importance of development opportunities in youth programs, while also recognising that specific activities are likely to nurture this development.Futch (2016)

Chapter 4

Development as Capacity Building and Systematic Learning

"Start a huge, foolish project, like Noah...it makes absolutely no difference what people think of you."

- Rumi.

4.1 Prevailing thought on Development

Since the impetus for development came about, significant bodies of knowledge and resources have targeted poorer communities, whether they were poor developing countries or poorer communities within developed ones. Due to the need for basic goods and services in these communities, a large portion of these resources were aimed at economic development. In the words of (Goulet 1980, p481), approaches to development tended to be characterised by a "reductionist approach" that was "stripped to its material dimensions alone". Many of these approaches were based on a modernisation paradigm - with industrialised countries being the model to which developing countries must aspire, focusing on entrepreneurship to agricultural development, and health services and education - almost exclusively based on Western models.

Western civilisations often undertake development with a scientific approach, blind to traditional cultures which manifest a wisdom which often unites the soul and the body while also uniting communities, it creates meaning and sacredness.

From the early 80's development experts were recognising the challenges of existing approaches; those which are determined by outside agencies who are largely unfamiliar with the social reality, and those that exclude religious values.

"In the development strategies that are propagated it is always the pursuit of material well-being, it is the socioeconomic component of development which has primacy. Underlying this bias are the European ideologies of social change and the cognitive systems which grew out of the industrial revolution and enthroned the economistic view of society and man." [p481] (Goulet 1980)

Lack of meaning in western countries brings about increased rates of suicide (Goulet 1980, p481)

authentic development is that which creates networks of solidarity based on reciprocity, not domination (Goulet 1980)

reflexivity - symbiosis between transformative action and active reflection (Goulet 1980)

4.2 Modernisation

The last few centuries saw a surge of new thinking around society and being human, much of this became central to the plethora of development theories. We begin with the work of Adam Smith, the Scottish moral philosopher and economist who, although not directly discussing issues of community development, paved the way for many of the economic based theories. Smith's work assumed economic exchange based on mutual benefit, and his trickle down economics theory played a significant role in how societies generate wealth. In Smith's thought emerges the notion that as an individual pursues their own interests, he is also promoting the interests of society, moreso than when he intends to promote social good (1998, par. IV.2.9). His rational, material view of humans was also the basis for the principles od freedom and equality that emerged as part of the Enlightenment which continued to argue for free markets and Enlightenment ideas form the foundation of human progress and development practices (Schafer et al. 2012). Development as an economic enterprise continued for decades, until the 1970's when it became clear that trickle down approaches rarely benefited the poor. Philosophers such as Karl Marx shed light on the exploitation of the working class, highlighting the social reproduction of inequality Social progress for Marxists consisted of recognition of their own alienation, organisation and revolt against the controlling classes (Vakil 2001). The culmination of these different approaches gives unique insight into effective development practices. The independent, rational thinking of individuals; the ineffectiveness of trickle down economics; the social forces that lead to inequalities - all demonstrate critical issues for consideration.

4.2.1 WDR

Despite the increasing recognition of the inefficacy of economic based models, this is often still at the core of many efforts (Karlberg and Correa 2016). An 'alternate' and globally recognised approach to development comes from the 2015 World Development Report. This report explores some of the challenges of development, identifying humans as not economically rational, and that thinking with mental models automatically and socially limit the potential for growth. The potential mental barriers that exist within every individual can, in this approach, be manipulated for the benefit of the individual: "Since every choice set is presented in one way or another, making the crucial aspects of the choice salient and making it cognitively less costly to arrive at the right decision (such as choosing the lowest-cost loan product, following a medical regimen, or investing for retirement) can help people make better decisions" (The World Bank 2015, p38). As is evident, goals such as investing and low-cost loans are exhibited as the "right decision" for they lead to economic gains. Additionally, personal characteristics such as self-confidence

is addressed as an important mental model which, if lacking, can limit opportunities: "A belief in a race-based or gender-based hierarchy can affect self-confidence in ways that create productivity differences that sustain the beliefs, although no underlying differences exist" (The World Bank 2015, p69). A fundamental premise with this principle is that the systems and assumptions which perpetuate these injustices are not challenged (Biccum 2016). The report appears to be a departure from traditional models of economic based development, however the strategies suggested and the desired results reinforce the importance of economic rationalism, providing financial and entrepreneurial behaviours as the desired (Biccum 2016).

Like many academics (Biccum 2016; Karlberg and Correa 2016), I have strong concerns around the assumption of an economic focused approaches to development for their appearance as naturally superior and developed countries as being the 'saviours'. These approaches seem to assume that humans desire to be self-serving and not concerned with others (unless it directly or indirectly benefits them) or altruism, and they all seem to focus on the material aspects of life.

4.3 Post development theory

4.3.1 LOOK UP

ferguson (1994) and Escobar (1995, 2006) suggest local movements focused on social action, community based economic solutions, and autonomy from international aid and state. Escobar, A. (1995). Imagining a post-development era. In J. Cruch (ed.). Power of Development. London: Routledge, pp. 211–27. Escobar, A. (2006). Post-development. In D. Clark (ed.). The Elgar Companion to Development Studies. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 447–50

4.3.2 western approaches

to development are hegemonic, perpetuate power imbalances, and traditional knowledge systems

4.3.3 post-development theories critiqued

for romanticising non-western cultures, not offering adequate alternatives to western development approaches There is increasing criticism about the current educational system. This Western form of education, often based on the ideal of training people for employment, is increasingly being introduced into developing countries as a means to development. The consequences of this introduction are often far from beneficial, with examples world-wide of abstract, Western specific education resulting in skills and knowledge which is not relevant to the communities in which it is taught, and done so in a way which reflects traditional ways as backwards and ignorant. As a result, students either become failures by not attaining sufficient grades to continue onto secondary school, as was the case in Zambia, or they consider their culture inferior and

ashamed of their way of life, as was the case with Ladakh (Norberg-hodge 2016). It inadvertently teaches Western values of materialism and exploitation of the environment. Several operating principles were employed in this thesis... "Development is assumed to be a global challenge focused on more than the developing countries. Knowledge and empirical examples are therefore drawn from both the First and Third Worlds" [][p26]. **Developed and Developing, Western and non-Western countries!!! (Vakil 2001) QUOTE FROM NON-PEER REVIEWED ARTICLE OF VAKIL - "In the "developed" countries, the problem is perhaps of a different nature. Communities are far less willing to acknowledge the underdevelopment in their midst. There is a perception that North American/European society is a kind of end-state, or point of arrival, and that it is the rest of the world that needs developing." ANOTHER SUCH QUOTE - "North America in particular faces serious development problems, which, similar to those of the developing countries, are a result of the colonial and post-colonial history of the region, such as the ... the horrendous treatment and persistent exploitation of the continent's indigenous peoples... the steadily increasing poverty and violence in most of the urban areas, the lack of "world view" which has serious implications for the ability of Americans to perceive that they are a part of a global community, to name just a few. Surely these cannot be considered anomalies of what is otherwise a state of equilibrium, but are formidable development challenges which may, in the end, be much more difficult to surmount than those currently experienced in the "Third World." AND ANOTHER - "The key to creating a development agenda, one that is relevant to the nation, region, or locality in question, seems to be dialogue — a dialogue that is completely uninhibited. True dialogue leads to an ever-changing agenda, one which recognizes the real development context and is responsive to the needs of the time and place in question. Thus the agenda is not a fixed entity but a dynamic, changing one that needs to be re-created again and again." Much of the development theory of the past century has almost exclusively focused on developing countries, and whilst some have extended this to apply to impoverished communities in developed countries, few have seen the implications for development in industrialised nations, assuming these to be already developed (Vakil 2001). It is in many respects a methodological individualism, even though it proposes to account for culture, mental models and social networks, "requires a change in individual behaviour rather than changing the capacity for the individual to contribute to a change in the social order" (Biccum 2016, p33-34). Aggression and an individualistic self-serving human nature are often presumed to be the bedrock of civilisation, in particular Western civilisation. This is seen to form the competitive and self-serving society in which we find ourselves today, and to some, the cause of social progress (see Rose, Lewontin and Kamin 1987, p5, and Howell and Willis 1989, pp1-2). This may have been the case for many centuries, however Karlberg argues that this approach might have now reached a point of diminishing returns, and that a cooperative mutualistic interdependence is the best mode of creating social change. In this model, anger - the feeling behind aggression - can be considered a positive quality; it is a means by which injustice is identified and provides motivation to act determinedly and perseveringly to overcome these injustices. (Karlberg 2005). Development, if conceptualised in the context of developed and developing countries, might be understood as increased material wealth, technological infrastructure or even the level of infrastructure... Increasingly the Human Development Index is recognised as an integral aspect of assessing the level of development in a country..... Freidman's approach suggests overcoming poverty is the primary means to development, and takes a more holistic understanding incorporating the market and the state in his considerations

of power at the political, social and psychological levels. His discussions however do not focus on a Western-style individualistic approach, but instead acknowledges that people are "moral beings" who have motivations beyond profit (Vakil 2001). Friedman's theory has two basic shortcomings, acknowledged by Friedman himself. First his model is based on the household, and so does not account for the role of the individual [search for "black box" in Friedmans work]. Secondly, because of this there are significant limitations in communities with high numbers of single-person households, such as Western countries. These factors likely impact both the practical and theoretical implications of development (Vakil 2001)

4.4 Feminism, Capability Approach and the United Nations Human Development Index...

4.4.1 Human Development

The late 1970's saw a shift from economic-centric development approaches. In a 1976 report by the International Labour Organisation, the authors highlighted the ineffective nature of these approaches is that while economic growth was important, it was not sufficient to adequately address the issues of poverty, unemployment and disadvantage (Vakil 2001). Additional strategies needed to include education, health care and improved employment. This new-found understanding sparked a focus on the "basic needs" approach to "human development" (Vakil 2001). This diversion from economic development began to be addressed by theorists such as ul Haq (1996) and Sen (2006, 1983) and became integral to the United Nations Human Development Index, but has yet to be integrated with development theory. It is however, indicative of some of the earlier integration of moral standards in development (Vakil 2001; Karlberg and Correa 2016).

4.4.2 Feminism

Feminism has also come to the fore in many development efforts, addressing a significant disadvantage globally. With an increasing awareness of the role of gender empowerment in development theories, critical insight into such theories demonstrated a focus on rational thinking, receptivity to new ideas, power and dominance. These are the hallmarks of progress and development and character traits traditionally attributed to men. In this context, women become invisible or treated as the determining factor of a country's backwardness (Hartwick and Peet 2015, p280). The argument that men are endowed with rational thinking and women with emotional thinking reinforces gender inequality. This is by virtue of the assumption that problems are overcome through rational, and consequently male, thinking (Hartwick and Peet 2015, p273). As more academic interest was shown in feminism, a greater understanding around the different challenges women both across and within different countries experience as a result of inequality become more evident. These differences were, initially, overlooked, yet as this movement gained momentum the differences became a source of empowerment (Hartwick and Peet 2015,

p276). Issues of gender and empowerment have proven to be essential aspects of successful development processes.

4.5 Freire

Development as an economic quest couched as modernisation is "simply one possibility, among many, of development in a broader, more critical, sense." and SAY SOMETHING HERE... He goes on to say that "Authentic development aims at the full realization of human capabilities" (Goulet 1980, p482, quoting his 1971 article)

"We begin with the work of the Brazilian educator-priest Paulo Freire, whose rural literacy programs of the 1960s earned him exile during Brazil's years of military dictatorship. For Freire, the critical problem of development related to poor people's inability to understand the causes and nature of their oppression. He saw education as the primary means of addressing this problem. Using the medium of literacy education, Freire worked on the assumption that the rural poor already possessed a reservoir of knowledge and that the educator's role was to facilitate the process of building on this knowledge base. As opposed to the "blank slate" approach of traditional pedagogy where the teacher "deposits" information into the mind of the learner—a model Freire saw as a convenient instrument of neocolonial regimes—he promoted a pedagogy of dialogue. The means by which the rural poor could improve their quality of life, according to Freire, was the process of "conscientization": coming to an understanding of the causes of oppression. This, in turn, was realized through "liberating" education whereby, with the help of facilitators or animators, the poor could come to understand the social forces shaping their lives and believe in their ability to change these forces. The end result of the conscientization process was individual and community-level empowerment." (Vakil 2001) Freire's focus on local oppression meant that he rarely mentioned the state or the market. Freire's work is not specifically a theory of development... (Vakil 2001)

4.6 Education and Service Learning

With an extensive number of benefits arising from community service, various attempts to maximise student participation have been tried in different educational contexts. One common way for community service programs to become more universal is to integrate them into school education; these curricula are often called service learning. Education has long served as a means to link citizens with social order. Traditional forms of education did so as a means to subdue deviancy while higher education, in its earlier years, was to inculcate the ability to become a good citizen, and to imbue young people with the skills for public service (London 2000). For many American students, higher education served as a means to a lucrative career and ultimately to increase their earning potential (Karlberg 2005). While in many contexts historically, education has served as a means for class reproduction, increasingly it is also serves as a platform for political activism and mobilisation, social change and empowerment (Freire 2000; Shultz 2007).

More recently however, higher education shifted in focus to "professionalize, vocationalize, and specialise in a manner that occludes its civic and democratic mission" (Barber 1997,

pxi). In this context, service to others is:

> "not just a form of do-goodism or feel-goodism. It is a road to social responsibility and citizenship. When linked closely to classroom learning... it offers an ideal setting for bridging the gap between the classroom and the street, between theory of democracy and its much more obstreperous practice... Service is an instrument of civic pedagogy" (Barber 1997, pxiii).

As this thought emerged, service learning programs began to emerge in schools and colleges. Beginning in college campuses in the US in the 1960's, service learning programs primarily took the form of college work-study programs (Karlberg 2005). Subsequently, there has been a significant academic interest in these programs, resulting in somewhat of a divergence around what service learning actually means.

For some (Furco 1996; Eyler and Giles 1999), service-learning was about the application of academic knowledge towards practical challenges in the wider community, what some have referred to as experiential learning. Others have understood it as the acquisition of practical job skills in a corporate setting, similar to that of an internship (Colby et al. 2003). Alternatively, some associate the term service learning with citizenship training and volunteerism - advocating the importance of time and energy spent outside the corporate sector (Giles Jnr and Eyler 1994; Smith 1994) and some see it as a means to create social change (Pollock 1999). Corporation based service-learning often had definitions which focused on serving the interests of the individual, not others (Karlberg 2005). Based on the latter two definitions, service-learning will be explored as an experiential pedagogy which cultivates an attitude of service to others and an awareness of mutualistic interdependence (Karlberg 2005). The link between undertaking service to others and personal development is encapsulated well in the words of Biccum (2016): "Continual transformation and betterment of the self through education contributes to continual transformation and betterment of the social order."

4.7 unsorted

Collective self-development falls under the community development tradition and concerns the mobilisation of individuals for the development of their own community and situation through active citizenship (Eriksson 2011)

Community development work can come in the form of community organising, community education, informal education, popular education and socio-cultural work. Each has it's own origins - conceptually and geographically - yet often exist in relation to each other (Eriksson 2011)

Social pedagogy has significant similarities to community work, however its practised by organisations and not educational institutions is one of the distinguishing features. Social pedagogy is fundamentally a way of thinking about the world, and the related practices that arise (Eriksson 2011)

Social pedagogy is, according to its founder Natorp, a theory which fosters community. Individuals and communities have a complex relationship: according to Natorp without the community an individual cannot be considered human. This led him to conclude the

individual and community are each other's prerequisites. Hence, fostering community, he argued, was a means to moral development throughout one's life (Natorp 1904 as cited in Eriksson 2011)

To liberate oneself from oppression and marginalisation is the goal of social pedagogy and a way of thinking developed by Freire, among others (Eriksson 2011).

Minimum of 94 different ways to define community development (Mayo 2008)

Whilst there are numerous definitions of community development, many researchers consider these initiatives as an educational enterprise since a largely associated with learning (Eriksson 2011).

The educational side of community building is described by (van der Veen 2003). It consists of 3 forms of citizen education: training, consciousness raising, and service delivery (Eriksson 2011)

As society changes, so do the theories and practices of community development (Eriksson 2011)

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